



# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

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*"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust andinders of our feet, so long as in that notion, they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."*—MILTON.

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# SELECTIONS FROM THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

## THE LIFE OF MAHOMET FROM HIS YOUTH TO HIS FORTIETH YEAR.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L' Histoire des Arabes.* Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval. Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammad.* By A. Sprenger, M. D. Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sîrat Wâkidi.* Arab. M. S. | 4. *Sîrat Tabari.* Arab. M. S.
5. *Sîrat Hishâmi.* Arab. M. S.

IN a previous article, we have traced the boyhood of Mahomet down to the journey into Syria, which, in his twelfth year, (582, A. D.) he made under the guardianship of his uncle, Abu Tâlib. The next incident in his life possessed a wider and more stirring interest.

Between the years 580 and 590, A. D., the vale of Mecca and the surrounding country were rendered unquiet and insecure by one of those bloody feuds, so frequently excited by the fiery pride, and prolonged by the revengeful temper of the nation.

In Dhul Câada, the sacred month preceding the days of pilgrimage, an annual fair was held at Ocâtz, where within an easy three days' journey of Mecca, the shady palm and grateful fountain solaced the merchant and the traveller, after their toilsome journey.\*

Goods were bartered, vain glorious contests (those characteristic exhibitions of Bedouin chivalry) were held, and verses recited by the bards of the various tribes. The successful poems produced at these national gatherings, were treated with distinguished honor; they were adorned with golden letters, and so styled *Mudhakabâi*, and were sometimes suspended in the Kaaba, and thence called *Môallacât*; and the SABAA MOALLACAT (or seven suspended pieces,) still survive from a period anterior even to Mahomet, a wonderful specimen of artless Arab eloquence. The beauty of the language, and the wild richness of the imagery, are acknowledged by all, but the subject of the poet was limited, and the beaten track seldom deviated from. The charms of his mistress, the solitude of her deserted haunts, the noble qualities of his camel, his own generosity and prowess, the superiority of his tribe over all others;—these were the themes which, with little variation of treatment, and without the exercise of imagina-

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\* Ocâtz lay between Tâif and Nakhla. There were two other fairs, but of less note, held near Mecca: one at Majna, in the vicinity of Marr al Tzahrân, the other at Dzul Majâj, behind Arafat. (*M. Caussin de Perceval*, Vol. I, p. 296.)

tion in the contrivance of any general plot or design, occupied the Arab muse;—and some of which only added fuel to the besetting vices of the people, vain-glory, envy, pride and revenge.

At the fair of Ocâtz a rivalrous spirit, about the period of our story, had been engendered between the Coreish and the Bani Hawâzin, a numerous tribe of kindred descent,\* which dwelt (and still dwells,) in the country between Mecca and Taïf. An arrogant poet, vaunting the glories of his tribe, was struck by an indignant Hawâzinite; and a maid of Hawâzin descent was rudely treated by some Coreishite youths; an importunate creditor was insolently repulsed; † on each occasion the sword was unsheathed, and blood began to flow, until the leaders interfered to calm the excited people. Such was the origin of the FĪJAR, or Sacrilegious War, so called, because it occurred within the sacred term, and was eventually carried into the sacred territory.

These incidents suggested the expediency of requiring all who frequented the fair to surrender, for the time, their arms, and deposit them with Abdallah ibn Jodâân, a Coreishite chief, descended from Taym, and uncle of Cussei. By this precaution, peace was preserved for several years, when a wanton murder supplied a more serious cause of offence. •

Nomân V., Prince of Hîra, despatched to the fair of Ocâtz a caravan richly laden with perfumes and musk. It proceeded under the escort of Orwâ, an Hawâzinite. Bîrrâdh, an ally of the Coreish, was annoyed at being supplanted in the convoy of the merchandise, and watching his opportunity, fell upon Orwâ, encamped by a fountain near Fadac, ‡ and having slain him, fled with the booty to conceal himself in Kheibar. On his way thither he met a poet of the Coreish,

\* They sprang through Cays Aylân, from Modhar and Maad, who were the ancestors of the Coreish.

† The circumstances form a curious illustration of Arab manners. The Hawâzin creditor seated himself in a conspicuous place with a monkey by his side, and said, "*who will give me another such ape, and I will give him in exchange my claim on such a one,*"—naming his creditor with the full pedigree of his Kinânaite descent. This he kept continually vociferating, to the intense annoyance of the Kinâna tribe, one of whom drew his sword and cut off the monkey's head. In an instant the Hawâzin and Kinâna tribes were embroiled in bitter strife. The Bani Kinâna, it will be remembered, form the collective descendants of one of the ancestors of the Coreish, removed a few steps *above* the point at which the Coreishite branch shoots off. Both the poet here mentioned, and the murderer Bîrrâdh, who, we shall see below, kindled the war, belonged to the Bani Kinâna. The war, therefore, embraced a wider range than merely the Coreishite family.

‡ The spot was called Awârah, in the valley of Tayman, north of Medîna.

called Bishr, whom he charged to proceed with expedition to the fair then being held at Ocâtz, and communicate the intelligence to Harb (who was the confederate or *half* of Birrádh,) and the other Coreishite chiefs. The message was conveyed, and Abdallah ibn Jodáñ, thus privately informed of the murder, immediately resorted to all their arms,\* and feigning urgent business at Mecca, set off thither at once with all his tribe. As the sun went down, the news began to spread at Ocâtz, and reached the ears of Abu Borá, the chief of the Hawâzin, who forthwith perceiving the cause of the precipitate departure of the Coreish, rallied his people around him, and proceeded in hot pursuit. But the Coreish had already entered the sacred limits, and the Hawâzin contented themselves with challenging their enemy to a recounter at the same period of the following year. The challenge was accepted, and both parties prepared for the struggle. Several battles were fought with various success, and hostilities, more or less formal, were prolonged for four years, when Otba, the son of Rabia (the nephew of Harb,) proposed a truce. The dead were numbered up, and as twenty had been killed on the side of the Hawâzin more than of the Coreish, the latter consented to pay the price of their blood, and for this purpose delivered hostages, one of whom was Abu Sofân, the son of Harb.

In some of these engagements, the whole of the Coreish and their allies were engaged. Each tribe was commanded by a chief of its own; and Abdallah guided the general movements. The descendants of Abd Shams and Nowfal were headed by Harb, the son of Omeya, and took a distinguished part in the warfare.

The children of Hâshim were present also, under the command of Zobeir, the eldest surviving son of Abd al Muttalib; but they occupied no prominent position. In one of the battles, Mahomet attended upon his uncles; but though now near twenty years of age, he had not acquired the love of arms. According to some authorities, his efforts were confined to gathering up the arrows discharged by the enemy, and handing them to his uncles. Others assign to him a somewhat more active share in the warfare: but it is allowed by all, that he never spoke of it with much enthusiasm. "I remember," said the prophet, "being present with my uncles in the sacri-

\* Harb is said to have urged Abdallah to give up only the Coreishite, and to withhold the Hawâzin arms, so that they might fall upon the latter unprepared. Abdallah rejected the proposal as perfidious. But it looks very like an Abbasside tradition to vilify the Omeyyads. Harb was the son of Omeya.

"legious war, and I discharged arrows at the enemy; nor do "I regret having done so."\* Physical courage, indeed, and martial daring, were virtues which did not distinguish the prophet at any period of his career.

The struggles for pre-eminence, and the contests of eloquence at the annual fair, possessed for the youthful Mahomet a more engrossing interest than the combat of arms. At such spectacles, while his national enthusiasm had ample scope, he, no doubt, burned with strong desire after personal distinction, and trained his fertile genius into learning from the highest efforts there displayed by the great masters of those arts, the mystery of poetry and the power of rhetoric. But another and still nobler lesson might be taught in the course at Ocâtz. The Christianity, as well as the chivalry of Arabia, had there its representatives; and, if we may believe tradition, Mahomet, while a boy, heard Coss, the bishop of Najrân, preach a purer creed than that of Mecca, in accents of deep reason and fervid faith, which carried conviction to his soul. The venerable Coss was but one amongst many at that fair, who enlightened haply by a less Catholic spirit, or darkened by more of prejudice and superstition, yet professed to believe in the same revelation from above, and preached, it may be, the same good tidings. There, too, were Jews, serious and earnest men, surpassing the Christians in number, and appealing to their own book also. Mahomet was more familiar with them, for,

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\* Vide *Wâckidi*, pp. 23½ and 24, where will also be found an account of the origin and progress of the war, with the names of the leaders of the several tribes. The statement in Hishâmi is briefer. (p. 38.) Caussin de Perceval enters with great detail into the war, devoting to it no less than twenty-two pages, (Vol. I, p. 296 *et seq.*) He makes the engagement in which Mahomet was present to be the first, that, *viz.*, in which the Coreish retreated on receiving tidings of Orwâ's murder: but there does not appear to have been any *fighting* on this occasion; and Wâckidi distinctly ascribes Mahomet's presence to an engagement in the *following* year. Wâckidi speaks only of one battle, in which the Coreish at first gave way, but were subsequently victorious. The engagement is spoken of (p. 24,) as occurring in the month of Shawwâl, that, *viz.*, *preceding* the sacred months: but this is said, probably in order to shelter the youthful Mahomet from the sacrilegious charge of fighting within the sacred term. C. de Perceval, drawing upon the poetical remains in the Kitâb al Aghânî, details a succession of battles: he also makes Mahomet to have been but fourteen years of age on the occasion, and adds that, had he been older, he would have occupied a more important part than that of picking up his uncle's arrows. But the testimony of Wâckidi, Hishâmi, and Tabari (p. 77) is distinctly and unanimously in favor of the age of *twenty* years: and Wâckidi, as we have seen in the text, states that he actually took part in the archery.

Among the chieftains in command of tribes, it is interesting to trace Khuweilid, the father of Khadija; Ahattâb, the father of Omar; Othmân ibn al Huweirith; Al As ibn Wâil; Omeya ibn Khalaf; Zeid ibn Amr, and other well known names.

as a child, he had seen and heard of them and their synagogue at Medina, and he had learned to respect them as men that feared God. Yet they cast bitter glances at the Christians, and even when Coss addressed them, in language which approved itself to the heart of Mahomet as truth, they scorned his words, and railed at the meek and lowly Saviour of whom he spoke. Notwithstanding this enmity, Mahomet was surprised to hear the Christian preacher admit the authority of the Jewish book as equal to that of his own: and both parties mentioned with veneration the name of Abraham, the admitted builder of the Meccan Temple, and author of its rites and faith. What, if there be truth in all these systems;—divine TRUTH, dimly glimmering through human prejudice, malevolence, and superstition? What a glorious mission, to act the part of a Coss on a wider and yet more Catholic stage, and by taking away the miserable partitions which hid and severed each nation and sect from its neighbour, to make way for the natural illumination of truth and love, emanating from the Great Father of all! Visions and speculations, such as these, were, no doubt, raised by associations with the Jews and Christians frequenting this great fair; and late in life the Prophet referred with pleasure to the memory of Coss, as having preached there the *Hanefite* or Catholic Faith.\*

A confederacy formed at Mecca, for the suppression of violence and injustice, aroused more enthusiasm in the mind of Mahomet than the martial exploit of the sacrilegious war. It was called the "Oath of *Fudhul*," and occurred immediately after the restoration of peace.† The offices of State, and with them the powers of Government, had, as we have seen in a former paper, become divided among the various Coreishite

\* See page 67 of a previous Article in this Review, on the 'Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia;' also M. C. de Perceval, Vol. I., p. 159 and Sprenger, p. 35.

The only authentic tradition we have met with on the subject, does not prove that Mahomet ever heard Coss. It occurs at page 61 of Wäckidi, in the account of the deputation to the Prophet at Medina, from the Bani Bakr ibn Wâil. One of them addressed Mahomet, "Didst thou know Coss, the son of Sâida?" The prophet replied; "He was not one of you; he was a man of the tribe of Iyâd, who professed the true faith in the days of ignorance, and he visited Ocâts during the con-course of the people there, and addressed them in words which have been preserved from him."

فقال له رجل منهم هل تعرف قمل ابن ساعدة فقال رسول الله ليس هو منكم هذا رجل من إياد تحنف في الجاهلية فوافي عكاظ والناس مجتمعون فتكلمهم بكلامه الذي حفظ عنه

† Wäckidi states that it occurred the month after the conclusion of the war, while Mahomet was yet twenty years of age. (p. 24.)

families. There was no one who now exercised an authority such as had been enjoyed by Cossai and Hâshim, or even by Abd al Muttalib. When any of the numerous tribes neglected to punish in its members acts of oppression and wrong, no chief at Mecca was strong enough to stand up the champion of the injured. Thus right was not enforced, and wrong remained unpunished. Some glaring instances of this nature \* suggested to the principal Coreish families the expediency of binding themselves by an oath, to secure justice to the helpless. The honor of originating the movement is ascribed to Zobeir, the oldest surviving son of Abd al Muttalib. The descendants of Hâshim, and the families sprung from Zohra and Taym, assembled in the house of Abdallah, son of Jodâân, who prepared for them a feast, and they swore by the avenging Deity, "that they would take the part of the oppressed and see his claim fulfilled, so long as a drop of water remained in the ocean, or would satisfy it from their own resources."† The league was useful, both as a preventive against unjust aggression, and on some occasions as a means of enforcing restitution. "I would not," Mahomet used in after years to say, "exchange for the choicest camel in all Arabia, the remembrance of being present at the oath which we took in the house of Abdallah, when the Bani Hâshim, Zohra and Taym, swore that they would stand by the oppressed."‡

The youth of Mahomet passed away without any other incidents of special interest. At one period he was employed, like other lads, in tending the sheep and goats of the Meccans, upon the neighbouring hills and valleys. He used, when at Medina,

\* M. C. de Perceval gives two instances. The first in which a stranger, even though under the protection of the Chief Abdallah ibn Jodâân, had his camels slaughtered and devoured before his eyes. The second relates to a man who had no patron or protector at Mecca; and being denied the price of goods he had sold, repaired to an eminence on the side of the hill Abu Cobeis, near where the Coreish used to assemble for the cool evening breeze, and loudly called for justice. (Vol. I., p. 330.)

† The expression in the last clause is not very clear, but is probably as we have rendered it. The words are: — *وفي الناسي في المعاش*

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 24. It is remarkable that only these three tribes are included in the league. To the Bani Zohra belonged Mahomet's mother; and his friend Abu Bakr to the Bani Taym. That the league was only a partial one is evident from its name; *fudhûl*, meaning, "what is unnecessary or supererogatory," by which appellation it seems to have been called by the rest of the Coreish, who did not join it. For other, but less likely derivations, see *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I. p. 338, and *Weil*, p. 33. The former gives an alleged instance in which the league was appealed to by Hosein, the son of Ali, against Moâvia or his nephew.

to refer to this employment as one that comported with his prophetic office. On one occasion some people passed by with the fruit of the wild shrub *Arak*; and the prophet said "pick me out from thence the blackest of the berries, for they are sweet;— even such as I went to gather when I fed the flocks at Ajyâd." The hire which he received for this duty, would help to support him while he lived with his needy uncle, and the occupation itself was one which must have proved congenial with his thoughtful and meditative character.\* While he watched the flocks, his attention would be rivetted by the evidences of natural religion spread around; in the dead of the night the bright stars and constellations that glided silently along the deep blue sky, were charged to him with a special message; the loneliness of the desert would arm with a deeper conviction that speech which day everywhere utters unto day, while the still small voice which, to the attentive listener, is never unheard, would rise into grander and more impressive tones when the clouds darkened, and the rain and tempest swept with forked lightning and far rolling thunder along the vast solitudes of the Meccan mountains. Thus, we doubt not, grew up, or was strengthened, that deep and earnest faith in the Deity, as an ever-present, all-directing agent, which, in after days, the prophet was wont to enforce by eloquent and heart-stirring

\* See *Wâkidi*, p. 23, *Tabari*, p. 63; *Sprenger*, p. 81; *Weil*, p. 33; *Mishcât ul Masâbih*, (English Translation) Vol. II, p. 51 and 520. In the last named work, (p. 51) the hire received by Mahomet is specified. In one tradition given by Wackidi, Mahomet speaks thus *بالقراريط* *لأهل مكة* *وأنا رعيته* *لأهل مكة*. Some make the

word *Al Carârît* here, to be the name of a place, but it is more probable that Mahomet by it meant that he fed the flocks for *Kirats* or small coins, (*Weil*.)

Sprenger says that as this was a very humiliating occupation for a man, his engaging in it proves Mahomet's "unfitness for the common duties of life;" (p. 81). The duty, doubtless, was never regarded in Arabia as a very manly one, and as Burkhardt shows, is now committed by the Bedouins to their unmarried girls; yet in Mahomet's time, at least, it was evidently no insult or unprecedented humiliation for the boys of respectable citizens to be thus employed. We read of another Coresbite lad being engaged with Mahomet in tending the flocks. (*Tabari*, p. 63.) Omar used to be sent out by his father to feed his sheep and goats, and to bring in forage for his camels. (*Wâkidi*, p. 231) So Abu Bakr, even after his elevation to the Caliphate, is said to have been in the habit not only of milking the goats of the people of the quarter of Medina where he lived (al Sunh), but of taking them occasionally out to pasture. This may be an exaggeration, intended to magnify the simplicity of his life (as a lesson and example to future Caliphs); still, the very existence of the tradition proves that the task was regarded in as little dishonorable a light at Medina as at Mecca. Probably, it was less disliked by the people of the towns than by those of the desert.

The place Ajyâd is probably the rising ground to the south of Mecca, now called *Jabal Jyâd*, and the quarter *Haret Jyâd*, built on its declivity; (*Burkhardt*, p. 115; *Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 119) Mahomet used to compare himself to Moses and David, in having been a shepherd.



appeals to the sublime operations of nature, and the beneficent adaptations of Providence.

All our authorities agree in ascribing to Mahomet's youth a correctness of deportment and purity of manners, rare among the people of Mecca. His modesty, they say, was miraculously preserved:—"I was engaged one night," so runs the tradition of a speech of the prophet, "feeding the flocks in company with a lad of the Coreish. And I said to him, if you will look after my flock, I will go into Mecca, and divert myself there, as youths are wont by night to divert themselves." \* But no sooner had he reached the precincts of the city, then a marriage feast engaged his attention, and at last he fell asleep. On another night, as he was entering the town with the same intentions, he was arrested by heavenly strains of music, and sitting down, slept till the morning, and thus again escaped temptation. "And after this," added Mahomet, "I no more sought after vice; even until I attained unto the prophetic office." Making every allowance for the fond reverence which paved an easy way for the currency of such stories, it is quite in keeping with the character of Mahomet that he should have shrunk from the coarse and licentious practices of his youthful friends. Endowed with a refined mind and a delicate taste, reserved and meditative, he lived much within himself, and the ponderings of his heart supplied occupation for the leisure hours which were spent by men of a lower stamp in rude sports, or in riotous living. The fair character and honorable bearing of the unobtrusive youth, won, if not the approbation, at least, the respect of his fellow citizens, and he received the title, by common consent, of AL AMIN, "the Faithful."†

Thus respected and honored, Mahomet lived a quiet and retired life, in the bosom of the family of Abu Tâlib, who was prevented by his limited means from occupying a prominent position in the society of Mecca. At last Abu Tâlib, finding his family increase faster than the ability to provide for them, bethought him of setting his nephew, now of a mature age, to eke out a livelihood for himself. Mahomet was never covetous of wealth, or energetic in the pursuit of riches for their own sake. If left to himself, he would probably have preferred the quiet and repose of his present life, to the bustle and cares of a mercantile trip; and it is likely that he would never

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\* كما شعر الباب The story is told by Tabari, p. 63.

† Hishâmi, p. 38.

spontaneously have contemplated such an expedition. But when proposed by his uncle, his generous soul at once felt the necessity of doing all that was possible to ease the necessities of his uncle, and he cheerfully responded to the call. The story is thus told :—

Abu Tâlib addressed his nephew, now five-and-twenty years of age, in these words :—"I am, as thou knowest, a man of "small substance ; and truly, the times deal hardly with me. "Now here is a caravan of thine own tribe about to start for "Syria, and Khadija, daughter of Khuweilid needeth men "of our tribe to send forth with her merchandize. If thou "wert to offer thyself, she would readily accept thy services." Mahomet replied :—"Be it so, as thou hast said." Then Abu Tâlib went to Khadija, and enquired whether she wished to hire his nephew ; but he added : "We hear that thou hast "engaged such an one for two camels, and we should not be "satisfied that my nephew's hire were less than four." The matron answered, "Hadst thou askedst this thing for one of a "distant and unfriendly tribe, I would have granted it ; how "much rather now that thou askest it for a near relative and "friend." So the matter was agreed upon, and Mahomet prepared for the journey ; and when the caravan was about to set out, his uncle commended him to the men of the company. Meisara, a servant of Khadija, likewise travelled with Mahomet, in charge of her property.

The caravan took the usual route to Syria, the same which Mahomet had traversed thirteen years before with his uncle ; and in due time they reached Bostra, a city on the road to Damascus, and about sixty miles to the east of the Jordan. The transactions of that busy mart, where the practised merchants of Syria sought to drive hard bargains with simple Arabs, were ill-suited to the tastes and the habits of Mahomet ; yet his natural sagacity and ready shrewdness carried him prosperously through the undertaking. He returned from the barter, with the balance of exchange unusually favourable.\*

The philosophical mind of Mahomet, arrived at the mature

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\* The usual profit was to double the value of the stock ; so that in the case of Mahomet, who is said by some to have made *twice* the usual gain, the principal would be quadrupled. But Hishâmi says only that "he doubled the stock, or nearly so." A tradition runs thus, that a contention arose between Mahomet and one who wished to take his wares, but who, doubting his word, desired him to swear by Lât and Ozza, the two Meccan goddesses, which Mahomet refused to do. But this again is mentioned as one of the signs by which the Monk knew that he was "the coming prophet," and seems of a piece with the other marvellous tales on the occasion. The same story of his refusing to swear by Lât and Ozza, is related of his *first* journey to Syria as a child.

but still inquisitive period of early manhood, received deep and abiding impressions from all that he saw and heard upon the journey and during his stay at Bostra. Though we reject, as a puerile fabrication, the details of the interview which he held with Nestorius, (a monk who is said to have embraced him as "the coming prophet,")\* yet we may be certain that Mahomet lost no opportunity of enquiring into the practices and tenets of the Christianity of Syria, or of conversing with the monks and clergy who fell in his way. †

He probably experienced kindness, perhaps hospitality, from them; for in his book he ever speaks of them with respect, and sometimes with praise; ‡ but for their doctrines he had no sympathy. The picture of the faith of Jesus drawn in the Coran, must have been, in some considerable degree, painted from the conceptions now formed. Had he witnessed a purer exhibition of its rites and doctrines, and possessed some experience of its reforming and regenerating influence, we cannot doubt, but that, in the sincerity of his early search after the truth, he would readily have embraced and faithfully adhered to the faith of Jesus. Lamentable, indeed, it is, that the ecclesiastics and monks of Syria exhibited to the earnest enquirer but a little portion of the fair form of Christianity, and that little, how altered and distorted! Instead of the simple majesty of the Gospel, with its great sacrifice, the requisition of repentance, and of faith, and the solemn rites of Baptism and the Lord's Supper,—the sacred dogma of the Trinity was protruded upon our traveller with the misguided and offensive zeal of Eutychian and Jacobite partizanship, and the worship of Mary was so strenuously inculcated, and exhibited in so gross a form, as to leave the impression upon the mind of Mahomet that she was, in reality, the third person, and the consort of the Deity! It was by such teaching that Mahomet knew our Saviour as "Jesus, son of Mary" (the only

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† The ancient biographies have less of the marvellous in this journey than the former; yet there is a sufficiency. Nestor, the monk, saw Mahomet sitting under a tree, below which none ever sat but a prophet; he immediately recognized him as such, and was confirmed by the further prophetic symptom of redness in the eyes. Meisara saw two angels, who regularly shaded him during the heat of the day, and so forth.

‡ Arabic was spoken by the subjects of the Ghassânide dynasty, and there would be little difficulty found by our traveller in effecting an interchange of ideas with those about him. Poets, merchants, and travellers from Medîna used often at this period, to be the guests of the Ghassân Court.

§ Thus *Sura*, v. 91:—*Thou shalt surely find those to be the most inclinable to entertain friendship for the believers who profess Christianity. This cometh to pass because there are priests and monks among them, and because they are not elated with pride.*

term by which he is spoken of in the Coran,) and not as Jesus, the son of God. We may well weep that, this mis-named Catholicism of the Empire, so misled the master-mind of the age, and through it, in due course, the half of Asia.

But to return; when Mahomet had disposed of the merchandise of his mistress, and had, according to her command, purchased for her such things as she had need of, he retraced his steps, in company with the caravan, to his native valley.\* The mildness of his manners, and his kind attention, had won the heart of Meisara, and as they drew near to Mecca, the grateful servant persuaded Mahomet to go forward from Marr al Tzahrân, and be himself the bearer to his mistress of the tidings of his success. Khadija, surrounded by her maids, was sitting upon an upper story, on the watch for the first glimpse of the caravan, when a camel was seen rapidly to advance from the expected quarter towards her house, and as it approached, she perceived that Mahomet was the rider. He entered, and recounted the prosperous issue of the adventure, and the various goods which by her commission he had purchased for her. She was delighted at her good fortune; but there was a charm in the dark and pensive eye, in the noble features, and in the graceful form of her assiduous agent, as he stood before her, which pleased her even more than her success. The comely widow was forty years of age, she had been twice married, and had borne two sons and a daughter, yet she cast a fond eye upon that thoughtful youth of five-and-twenty; nor, after he had departed, could she dismiss him from her thoughts.†

Khadija was a Coreishite lady, distinguished by birth, as well as by fortune. Her father, Khuweilid, was the grandson of Asad, (whence the family is styled the Bani Asad;) and Asad

\* Though the *direct* route from Mecca to Bostra would run a great way to the east of the Mediterranean, yet it seems to us not improbable that either in this, or the former journey, Mahomet may have seen the Mediterranean Sea. His references in the Coran to ships gliding majestically on the waters *like mountains*, appear to point to a larger class of vessels than he was likely to see on the Red Sea. The vivid pictures of sea-storms are among some of the finest sketches in the Coran, and evidently drawn from nature: the waves and tempests may have been witnessed from the Arab shore, but the "mountain" ships, more likely refer to the Mediterranean.

† The above account of the journey to Syria is chiefly from Wâkidi. Tabari has a tradition, that Mahomet traded on account of Khadija, in company with another man, to a place called Habasha, a market in the Tehâma, erroneously named by Weil, Hayasha (p. 34.) This, however, is not well supported. Had there been really any such journey, we should have heard a great deal more about it, considering the mature period of Mahomet's life, at which it is said to have occurred.

was the grandson of Cussei. Khuweilid, in the sacrilegious war, commanded a considerable section of the Coreish, and so did his nephew Othmân, son of Huweirith. Her substance, whether inherited, or acquired through her former marriages, was very considerable; and through hired agents, she had increased it largely by mercantile speculation. To the blessings of affluence, she added the more important endowments of discretion, virtue, and an affectionate heart; and, though now mellowed by a more than middle age, she retained a fair and attractive countenance. The chief men of the Coreish were not insensible to these charms, and many sought her in marriage; but she rejected all their offers, and seemed bent to live on in dignified and independent widowhood. But the tender emotions excited by the visit of Mahomet, soon overpowered such resolutions: her servant Meisara continued to sound, in her not unwilling ears, the praises of his fellow-traveller; and at last her love became so strong and confirmed, that she resolved, in a discreet manner, to make known her passion to its object. A sister, (according to other accounts, a servant,) was the agent deputed to sound his views. "What is it, O Mahomet," said this female, with a cautious adroitness, "what is it which hindereth thee from marriage?" "I have nothing," replied he, "in my hands wherewithal I might marry." "But if haply that difficulty were out of the way, and thou wert invited to espouse a beautiful, wealthy, and noble lady, who would place thee in a position of affluence, wouldest thou not desire to have her?" "And who," answered Mahomet, startled at the novel thought, "may that be?" "Khadija." "But how can I attain unto her?" "Let that be my care," replied the female. The mind of Mahomet was at once made up, and he answered, "I am ready." The female departed and told Khadija.

No sooner was she apprized of his willingness to marry her, than Khadija despatched a messenger to Mahomet, or his uncle, appointing a time when they should meet. Meanwhile as she dreaded the refusal of her father, she provided for him a feast; and when he had well drunk and was merry, she slaughtered a cow, and casting over her father perfume of saffron or ambergris, dressed him in marriage raiment. While thus under the effects of wine, the old man united his daughter to Mahomet, in the presence of his uncle Hamza. But when he recovered his senses, he began to look around him with wonder, and to enquire what all these symptoms of a nuptial feast, the slaughtered cow, the perfumes, and the marriage garment could mean. So soon as he was made aware of what had happened,—for they told him "the nuptial dress was put upon thee

by Mahomet, thy son-in-law," he fell into a violent passion, and declared that he had never consented to give away to that insignificant youth, a daughter who was courted by the great men of the Coreish. The party of Mahomet replied indignantly that the alliance had not originated in any wish of theirs, but was the act of no other than his own daughter. Weapons were drawn on both sides, and blood might have been shed, when the old man became pacified, and a reconciliation ensued.\*

Notwithstanding this stormy and inauspicious commencement, the connubial state proved, both to Mahomet and Khadīja, one of unusual tranquillity and happiness. Upon the former it conferred a faithful and affectionate companion, and in spite of her age, a not unfruitful wife. Khadīja fully appreciated the noble mind and commanding talents, which a reserved and contemplative habit veiled from others, but could not conceal from her. She conducted as before the duties of her establishment, and left him to enjoy his leisure hours undisturbed and free from care. Her house was thenceforward his home,† and her bosom

\* It is not without much hesitation that we have followed Sprenger and Weil in adopting this version of the marriage. It has a strongly improbable air; but its very improbability gives ground for believing that it has not been fabricated. It is also highly disparaging to the position of Mahomet, at a period of his life, when it is the object of his followers to show that he was respected and honored. Its credibility is therefore sustained by the *Canon III. c.*, which we have laid down in the paper on the "Original sources for the biography of Mahomet." There was no object in vilifying Khuweilid or the Bani Asad; and even if it is possible to suppose the story to have been fabricated by Mahomet's enemies before the conquest of Mecca, it would (if resting on no better foundation,) have fallen out of currency afterwards. We can perceive, therefore, no option but to receive it as a fact, which later traditionists have endeavoured to discredit under the impression that it was a foul spot on their prophet's character, that Khadīja, the pattern of wives, should have effected her marriage with Mahomet by making her father drunk. (*See Canon II. L.*) Wākidī gives the story twice in a differing form and from different traditions (the variety of source thus giving it a wider and less doubtful foundation;) but he adds that the whole story is a mistake, as Khuweilid, the father of Khadīja, had died previously, and even before the sacrilegious war, (p. 25.) Yet we have seen above that his name is given as one of the *commanders* in that war. Tabari quotes the tradition from Wākidī, word for word, together with his refutation (p. 67.) Both add that not her *father*, but her *uncle*, Amr ibn Asad, betrothed her. Yet other traditions, containing no allusion to his drunkenness, speak of her *father* as having given her away (*Tabari*, p. 63;) and Hishāmi's account which is fused from a variety of traditions by Ibn Ishāc, while containing no reference to the drunken fray, states Khuweilid as the person who betrothed her. We are therefore driven to the conclusion that the tradition of Khuweilid's previous death has been invented to throw discredit on the story of his drunkenness. Wine shops were common in Mecca before Islām; but drunkenness, though occasionally mentioned, does not seem to have been a general or common failing. Hishāmi adds to his statement that Mahomet gave his wife a marriage present of twenty young she-camels.

† The house is specified by Tabari as one currently known in his time by Khadīja's name. It was purchased by Mo'avia, and though made use of as a mosque, was preserved unaltered. A little closet at its door used to be shown in those days, little more than a yard square, in which Mahomet used to crouch down under a large stone, to protect himself against the missiles of Abu Lahab, and Adi the Thackifite.

the safe receptacle of those doubts and longings after spiritual light, which now began to agitate his mind.

Within the next ten or fifteen years, Khadija bore to Mahomet two sons and four daughters. The first-born was named Cāsīm, and after him (according to Arab custom,) Mahomet received the appellation of AB UL CASIM, or "the father of Cāsīm." This son died at the age of two years. Meanwhile, his eldest daughter, Zeinab, was born; and after her, at intervals of one or two years, three other daughters, Rockeya, Fâtima, and Omm Kolthûm. Last of all was born his second son, who is variously named as Abd Menâf, Abdallah, Tayib, and Tâhir; but he, too, died in infancy. Salma, the maid of Safia, Mahomet's aunt, officiated as midwife on these occasions; and Khadija is said to have sacrificed at the birth of each boy two kids, and one at the birth of every girl. All her children she nursed herself.\*

\* Wäckidi states that there was an interval of *only one year* between each child. (p. 25.) This, if taken with precision, would make the second son to be born when Mahomet was about thirty-one years of age, that is about nine or ten years before his assumption of the prophetic office. But the expression used by Wäckidi is somewhat vague, and tradition says that the second son, or last child, was born *after* the commencement of Islam, that is after Mahomet had declared himself inspired, or forty years of age. (*Wäckidi*, p. 179.) Sprenger does not believe this, but holds that the youngest child must have been born at a much earlier period; *first* on account of the age (fifty-three or fifty-five years,) at which Khadija must have arrived when Mahomet assumed the prophetic office, and, *secondly*, because he considers the name of *Abd Menâf* (the servant of the idol Menâf,) to have an idolatrous significance, which Mahomet would not have admitted at the time referred to. He therefore holds that the Moslems being ashamed of the name, subsequently called the deceased child Abdallah, Tayib, or Tahir, and to take away the very suspicion of its ever having been called by an idolatrous name, assert that it was born *after* the commencement of Islam. (*Sprenger*, p. 83.) We agree with Sprenger as to the original name of the boy, and the cause of the substitution of others for it more palatable to Mahometan ideas. But we are not certain as to the date of its birth. If an interval of about a year and a half elapsed between the birth of each child (the more likely as Khadija herself nursed her children) the last would be born when Mahomet was thirty-four or thirty-five, and Khadija forty-nine or fifty years of age.

All authorities agree that Cāsīm was the eldest of the family, and Zeinab the next, but the succession of the other children is variously reported. That in the text is the one commonly received, and is given by Wäckidi (p. 25.) But Wäckidi in another place (p. 179) makes Abdallah follow Zeinab, and then Rockeya, Fâtima and Omm Kolthûm. Tabari gives another, and Hishâmi a third order of sequence. The latter specifies two sons, besides Cāsīm, *viz.*, Tayib and Tâhir, both of whom, it is added, died before Islam (p. 40.) Tabari also speaks of them as *two* (p. 65.) But this, as Sprenger has shown (p. 83,) is evidently a mistake. The first tradition in Wäckidi is capable of both constructions; لا فى الاسلام عبد الله

الطيب و الطاهر i. e., "afterwards was born, in Islam, Abdallah, called Tayib, and Tâhir." The tradition in this shape, evidently gave rise to the error of supposing that Tâhir, one of the surnames of Abdallah, was a separate son. At page 179, Wäckidi states the true case in unmistakeable language

Many years after, Mahomet used to look back to this period of his life with fond remembrance ; and he dwelt so much upon the mutual love of Khadija and himself, that the envious Ayesha declared herself to be more jealous of this rival, whom she had never seen, than of all his other wives who contested with her the present affection of the prophet.\*

No description of Mahomet at this period has been attempted by the traditionists. But from the copious accounts of his person in later life, we may venture an outline of his appearance in the prime of manhood. He was slightly above the middle size ; his figure, though spare, was handsome and commanding ; the chest broad and open ; the bones and framework of his body large ; and the joints well knit together.† His neck was long and finely moulded.‡ The head was unusually large, and gave space for a broad and noble forehead : the hair thick, jet black, and slightly curling, fell down over his ears. The eyebrows were arched and joined.¶ The countenance thin, but ruddy ; and the large, intensely black, and piercing eyes, received lustre from their long dark eye-lashes. His nose was high and slightly aquiline, but fine and at the end attenuated ; the teeth were far apart ; a long black bushy beard, reaching to his breast, added manliness and presence. The expression was pensive and contemplative ; the face beamed with intelligence, though something of the sensuous could be discerned in it. The skin of his body was clear and soft ; the only hair that met the eye, was a fine thin line which ran down from the neck toward the navel. His broad back leaned slightly forward as he walked ; and his step was hasty, yet sharp and decided, like that of one rapidly descending a declivity.§

وعبد الله و هو الطيب و هو الطاهر سمي بذلك لانه و لا ي الاسلام  
i. e., "and Abdallah, the same is Tayib, the same is Tâhir, so called because he was born after the rise of Islam :—the two words signifying "sweet" and "pure."

M. C. de Perceval and Dr. Weil have both been misled here ; the former (Vol. I., p. 329,) making two sons. Tayib and Tâhir ; the latter no less than six, mistaking *Tayib*, *Tâhir*, *Abd Menâf*, *Abdullah*, *Mutayib*, and *Mutahhir*,—(all appellations of the younger son,) as the names of as many different children ! (p. 39.)

\* *Mishcât*, Vol. II., p. 790.

† The hollows of his hands and feet were more than usually filled and level : which is a feature the Orientals set much by.

‡ "His neck rose like that of an antelope." (*Wâckidi*, p. 814.)

¶ But some say they were apart and not knit together." (*Wâckidi*, p. 814.)

§ *Wâckidi*, p. 79, &c. This at Medina degenerated into a stoop. Some say he walked like a man ascending a hill ; others as if he was wrenching his foot from a stone.



There was something unsettled in his blood-shot eye, which refused to rest upon its object. When he turned towards you, it was never partially, but with the whole body. Taciturn and reserved,\* he was yet in company distinguished by a graceful urbanity, and when it pleased him to unbend, his speech was not only pregnant, but humorous and sometimes pungent. At such seasons he entered with zest into the diversion of the moment, and would now and then laugh immoderately; † but he rather listened to the conversation than joined in it.

He was subject to impulse and passion, but on occasions of necessity, he could, by a strong effort of the will, hold himself under a thorough control. When much excited, the vein between his eyebrows would mantle, and violently swell across his ample forehead. Yet he was cautious, and in action fearful of personal danger.

Mahomet was to his friends generous and considerate, and by his well-timed favor and attention, he knew how to rivet the heart to his service. He regarded his enemies with a vindictive and unrelenting hatred, while they continued their opposition; yet a foe who tendered timely submission, he was rarely known to pursue. His commanding mien inspired the stranger with an undefined awe; but, on closer intimacy, apprehension and fear gave place to confidence and love. ‡

Behind the quiet and unobtrusive exterior of Mahomet, there lay hid a high resolve, a singleness and unity of purpose, a strength and fixedness of will, a sublime determination which was destined to achieve a marvellous work. Khadija was the first to perceive this, and with a childlike confidence she surrendered to him her will and her faith. One after another gave in their allegiance to the master spirit, till in the end he bowed towards himself the heart of all Arabia, as the heart of one man; but we anticipate.

The first incident which interrupted the even tenor of the married life of Mahomet was connected with the rebuilding of the Kaaba, about the year 605, A. D. One of those violent floods

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\* "Mahomet was sorrowful in temperament; continually meditating; he had no rest; he never spoke except from necessity; he used to be long silent; he opened and ended his speech from the corners of his mouth; he expressed himself in pregnant sentences, using neither too few, nor too many words." (*Wackidi*, p. 81.)

† When laughing immoderately, he showed his teeth and gums, and was sometimes so convulsed, that he had to hold his sides. (*Wackidi*.)

‡ The personal description and traits of character are chiefly gathered from *Wackidi*, p. 79, *et seq.*; and *Hishami*, p. 129. Tirmidzi also gives a full account of Mahomet's person.

which sometimes sweep down the valley of Minâ, having shattered the holy house, it was filled with ominous rents, and they feared lest it should fall.\* The treasures it contained were also insecure, from the absence of any roof, and a party of thieves having clambered over had robbed some of the precious relics. These were recovered, but it was resolved that a similar danger should for the future, be avoided by raising the walls, and covering them over. While the Coreish deliberated how this should be done, a Grecian ship was driven by stress of weather upon the shore of the Read Sea, near to Shûeiba (the ancient harbour of Mecca :) and the news of the misfortune reaching the Coreish, Walîd, the son of Moghîra (of the Banî Makhzûm) accompanied by a body of the Coreish, proceeded to the wreck, and having purchased the timber of the broken ship, engaged her captain, a Greek, by name of Bacûm, skilled in architecture, to assist in the reconstruction of the Kaaba. The several tribes of the Coreish were divided into four bodies, and to each was assigned the charge of one side.† With such a mysterious reverence was the Kaaba regarded, that great apprehensions were entertained as to the commencement of the work: at last Walîd seized a pick-axe, and invoking the Deity in a deprecatory prayer, detached and threw down a portion of the wall. All then retired and waited till the following morning, when finding that no mischief had befallen the adventurous chief, they joined in the demolition. They continued to dig till they reached a hard foundation of green stones set close together like teeth, which resisted the stroke of the pick-axe; ‡

\* Such torrents have frequently committed similar ravages. Thus, in 1627, A. D., the flood destroyed three sides of the sacred building (*Burkhardt*, p. 136.) Omar is said to have built a mole across the valley above Mecca, to protect the Kaaba from these floods. The remains of the dyke, *Burkhardt* says, were visible till the fourteenth century, (*Idem*, p. 126.)

† This independent portioning shows how divided and isolated the several branches of the Coreish were at this time. One side was assigned to the Banî Abd Menâf (including descendants of Hâ-him, Abd Shams, Naufal and Abd al Mutalib,) and the Banî Zohara; a second to the Banî Asad and Abd al Dâr; a third to the Banî Taym and Makhzûm; and the fourth to the Banî Sham, Jûm al Adî, and Amr ibn Lowey. There was, in fact, no acknowledged head, as the coming incident proves.

‡ This green bed is called the "foundation of Abraham," and the tradition adds, that when one struck his pick-axe into the stones, the whole of Mecca shook (*Hishâmî*, p. 42; *Tabari*, p. 76.)

It is also stated that an inscription was discovered in one of the corner foundations written in Syriac, which no one could decypher, until a Jew made it out as follows: *I am God, the Lord of Becca* (an ancient name of Mecca;) *I created it on the day on which I created the heavens and the earth, and formed the sun and the moon; and I have surrounded it with seven angles of the true faith; it shall not pass away until the two hills thereof pass away. Blessed be the inhabitants thereof, in water and in milk.* (*Hishâmî*, p. 42.) He adds, "There is a tradition that about

and from thence they began to build upwards. Stones were selected or hewn from the neighbouring hills, and carried by the citizens upon their heads to the sacred enclosure.

Mahomet, with the other Coreish, assisted in the work ; \* and it proceeded harmoniously until the structure rose three or four feet above the surface. At that stage it became necessary to build the Black Stone into the eastern corner, with its surface so exposed as to be readily kissed by the pilgrims upon foot. This mysterious stone, we learn from modern travellers, is semi-circular, and measures about six inches in height, and eight in breadth ; it is of a reddish-black colour, and bears marks in its undulating surface, notwithstanding the polish imparted by a myriad kisses, of a volcanic origin.†

forty years before the mission of Mahomet, a stone was found in the Kaaba, inscribed with these words :—*He that soweth good, shall reap that which is to be envied ; and he that soweth evil, shall reap repentance. Ye do evil, and (expect to) obtain good : Ah ! that would be to gather grapes of thorns.*" (*Ibid.*)

The first of these traditions is very remarkable. It quite accords with our theory, developed in a previous Article, that the Ishmaelites, acquainted with Syriac, should have been concerned at some remote period in the building of the Kaaba, and then left an inscription of the tenor referred to. At all events, the very existence of the tradition, whether true or not, shows the popular opinion on the subject, and the popular opinion was founded on *probable* legend.

\* A miraculous tale is here added. The people loosened their under-garments and cast them over their heads as a protection in carrying the stones. Mahomet did so too, when a voice from heaven was heard warning him not to expose his person : immediately he covered himself, and after that the nakedness of the prophet was never again seen by any human being. (*Wäckidi*, p. 27.) One may conclude of what authority such stories are, when it is added that Hishâmi tells the same tale, in almost identical words, of Mahomet as a *child* playing with other boys. (p. 38.)

† Ali Bey has given a plate with a front view and section of the stone. It possesses so peculiar an interest, that both his description and that of Burkhardt are here inserted :—

"The Black Stone, Hhajera el Assouâd, or heavenly Stone, is raised forty-two inches above the surface" (*i. e.*, the level of the ground,) and is bordered all round with a large plate of silver, about a foot broad. The part of the stone that is not covered by the silver at the angle, is almost a semi-circle, six inches in height, by eight inches six lines in diameter at its base.

"We believe that this miraculous stone was a transparent hyacinth, brought from heaven to Abraham by the angel Gabriel, as a pledge of his divinity ; and being touched by an impure woman, became black and opaque.

"This stone is a fragment of volcanic basalt, which is sprinkled throughout its circumference with small pointed coloured crystals, and varied with red fels-path, upon a dark black ground like coal, except one of its protuberances, which is a little reddish. The continual kisses and touchings of the faithful have worn the surface uneven, so that it now has a muscular appearance. It has nearly fifteen muscles, and one deep hollow.

"Upon comparing the borders of the stone that are covered and secured by the silver, with the uncovered part, I found the latter had lost nearly twelve lines

The virtue of the whole building depended upon this little stone, and each family of the Coreish began to advance pretensions to the exclusive honor of placing it in its future receptacle. The contention became hot, and it was feared that fighting and bloodshed would ensue. The building was for four or five days suspended, when the Coreish again assembled at the Kaaba amicably to decide the difficulty. Then Abu Omeya,\* being the oldest citizen, arose and said: "O Coreish, hearken unto me: my advice is that the man who shall first chance to enter in at this gate of the Bani Sheyba, be chosen to decide amongst you, or himself to place the stone."† The

of its thickness; from whence we may infer, that if the stone was smooth and even in the time of the prophet, (?) it has lost a line during each succeeding age." (i. e., century.) (*Ali Bey*, Vol. II., p. 70.)

"At the north-east corner of the Kaaba, near the door, is the famous 'Black Stone;' it forms a part of the sharp angle of the building, at four or five feet above the ground. It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulated surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly smoothed: it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again. It is very difficult to determine accurately the quality of this stone, which has been worn to its present surface by the millions of touches and kisses it has received. It appears to me like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles, of a whitish and a yellowish substance. Its color is now a deep reddish brown, approaching to black; it is surrounded on all sides by a border, composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel, of a similar but not quite the same brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone. Both the border and the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.

"In the south-east corner of the Kaaba, or as the Arabs call it Roken el Yamâny, there is another stone, about five feet from the ground; it is one foot and a half in length, and two inches in breadth, placed upright, and of the common Mecca stone. This the people walking round the Kaaba touch only with the right hand; they do not kiss it." (*Burkhardt*, pp. 137, 138)

The last mentioned stone, or the *Rukn Yamani*, so called from its south-east position towards Yemen, is frequently mentioned in the annals of Mahomet, but was never regarded with the same reverence as the Black Stone.

The Black Stone was carried off by the sacrilegious Carmata, and retained by them at Hajar, in the east of Arabia, from A. H. 317 to 339, and then restored, (*Wal's Caliphs*, Vol. II., p. 612; *Burkhardt*, p. 167.) It was struck with a club by an emissary of the Egyptian fanatic Hakim, A. H. 413; after which the chips and dust were carefully restored, and the fractures cemented. (*Burkhardt*, *Ibid.*)

On the worship of stones, in addition to the authorities quoted in a former article, see *Gibbon*, chap. L., note c.

\* *Hishâmi*, p. 43; *Tabari*, p. 76. He was of the Bani Makhzûm: and brother of Wâlid, who was the father of the famous Khâlid.

† Wâkidi says "to place the stone;" *Hishâmi* and *Tabari* "to decide the dispute between them." The gate is called "that of the Bani Sheyba" in Wâkidi.

proposal was confirmed by acclamation, and they awaited the issue. Mahomet, who happened to be absent on the occasion, was almost immediately observed approaching, and he was the first to enter the gate. They exclaimed, "Here comes the Faithful arbiter (*al Akrin*;) we are content to abide by whatever he may decide!" Calm and possessed, Mahomet received the commission, and with his usual sagacity at once resolved upon an expedient which should give offence to none. Taking off his mantle, and spreading it upon the ground, he placed the stone thereon, and said, "now let one from each of your four divisions come forward, and raise a corner of the mantle." And they did so, simultaneously lifting the stone, which Mahomet, then, with his own hand, guided to its proper place. \* The judgment raised the character of Mahomet for wisdom and discretion; while the singular and apparently providential call sank deep into his own heart. Religious awe not unfrequently with him degenerated into superstition; and there was here a mysterious singling out of himself to be a judge among his fellows in a sacred act, which might well have wrought upon a less imaginative and enthusiastic spirit than that of Mahomet.

When the stone had been thus deposited in its proper place, the Coreish built on without interruption; and when the wall had risen to a considerable height, they roofed it in, with fifteen rafters resting upon six pillars. The Kaaba thus rebuilt was surrounded by a small enclosure, probably of not more than fifty yards in diameter. To the west stood the Hall of Coun-

(p. 27.) Probably, because it was built by Abd al Muttalib. Burkhart (p. 152.) quotes Azraki and Colobi to the effect that the Bâb al Salam is the modern name of the Bâb bani Sheyba. There are, however, two places called by that name, one a grand entrance in the piazza; the other an isolated archway, about seventy feet on the north-east side of the Kaaba, and a little beyond the Macâm Ibrahim. The latter is most likely the gate intended, as the piazza is entirely modern; and it is not improbable that the ancient limits of the sacred yard extended, with some sort of wall or enclosure, about seventy feet round the Kaaba, so that this would be one of the original gates or entrances.

\* Wäckidi adds a foolish legend, that a man from Najd offered Mahomet a stone to fix the corner stone withal; but that Abûs interfered, and himself presented Mahomet with a stone for that purpose. The man of Najd was incensed, and Mahomet explained to him that only a Coreishite could have any concern whatever in the building of the house. The Najdite then became furious, and abused the Coreishites for choosing so young and insignificant a fellow as Mahomet for the office, and then it turns out that this stranger from Najd was none other than *Iblis*, the devil himself!

We again find this legend of the devil, in the shape of an old man from Najd, appearing at the council of the Coreish, assembled many years afterward, to condemn Mahomet to death.

cil, with its door towards the Kaaba.\* On the opposite side was the gateway of the Bani Sheiba. At a respectful distance around were built the houses of the Coreish. The great idol Hobal was placed in the centre of the holy house; and outside were arranged various other images.† The door for entering the Kaaba was then, as it is now, several feet above the ground, which was attributed by Mahomet to the pride of the Coreish, and a desire to retain in their own hands the power of admission. The building, though now substantial and secure, occupied somewhat less space than its dilapidated and roofless predecessor. The excluded area, called the *Hajer* or *Hatim*, lay to the north-west, and is still without the sacred walls.‡

\* *Sprenger*, p. 24, n. 4. Burkhardt also shows that it stood near the present station of the Hanefries, which lies on the west side. This, and the gate of the Bani Sheiba, were probably the limits of the holy yard, and hence we may assume the enclosure, in the days of Mahomet, to have been of the dimensions given in the text.

† We have no authentic information as to the number of these idols. The popular tradition, (*Burkhardt*, p. 164.) that there were 360, or one for every day in the year, is unfounded. *Ilat* and *Ozza* were no doubt pre-eminent. When Mahomet came as a conqueror to Mecca, all the idols were destroyed, or as legend has it, each fell prostrate as he pointed at it. That the image or picture of Jesus and Mary had a place among the other idols, we believe, to be apocryphal.

‡ The sill of the door is now six or seven feet above the level of the ground, (*Burkhardt*, p. 137; *Ali Bey*, Vol. II, p. 75;) and a moveable wooden staircase is used for ascending. The pavement surrounding the Kaaba is eight inches lower than the rest of the square; (*Burkhardt*, p. 142;) and *Ali Bey* affirms that the square itself is several feet lower than the surrounding streets, as you have to descend by steps into it. Hence, he concludes, that the floor of the Kaaba (i. e., the sill of its door,) is the original level, the earth having been subsequently hollowed out. But this is not consistent with the fact that the door of the Kaaba was, even in Mahomet's time, when there could have been little need for excavation, about as high, probably, as it now is. The following tradition is related from *Ayesha*, in *Wâkidi*. "The Prophet said, verily, the people have drawn back the foundations of the Kaaba from their original limit; and if it were not that the inhabitants are fresh from idolatry, I would have restored to the building that which was excluded from the area thereof. But in case the people may again, after my time, have to renew the structure, come and I will show thee what was left out. So he showed a space in the *Hijr* of about seven yards." Then he proceeded:—"And I would have made in it two doors level with the ground, one towards the east, the other towards the west. Dost thou know why this people raised the door? It was out of haughtiness, that no one might enter thereat, but whom they chose; and any man they desired not to enter, they suffered him to come up to the door, and then thrust him back, so that he fell." It is added, on other authority, that the Coreish used to open the Kaaba on Mondays and Thursdays, and take off their shoes out of reverence for the holy place, when they entered; and that those who were thrust back from the door were sometimes killed by the fall. (*Wâkidi*, p. 273.) When the Kaaba was reconstructed by *Ibn Zobeir*, A. H. 64, two doors are said to have been opened even with the ground. (*Burkhardt*, pp. 137, 165. But if so, the ancient form and proportions must subsequently have been reverted to. *Ali Bey* thought that he perceived marks of a second door opposite, and similar to the present one.

The circumstances in which the decision of Mahomet originated, are strikingly illustrative of the entire absence of any paramount authority in Mecca, and of the number of persons among whom the power of Government was at this time divided. Each main branch of the Coreishite stock was independent of every other; and the offices of state and religion created by Cossai, were unheeded, sub-division among hostile families having neutralized their potency. It was a period in which the commanding abilities of a Cossai might have again dispensed with the prestige of place and birth, and asserted dominion by strength of will and inflexibility of purpose. But no such one appeared, and the divided aristocracy of Mecca advanced with a weak and distracted step.

A curious story is related of an attempt about this period to gain the rule at Mecca. The aspirant was Othmân, son of Huweirith, a first cousin of Khadija's father. He was dissatisfied, as the legend goes, with the idolatrous system of Mecca, and travelled to the Court of the Grecian Emperor, where he was honorably entertained, and admitted to Christian baptism. He returned to Mecca, and on the strength of an imperial grant, real or pretended, laid claim to the government of the city. But his claim was rejected, and he fled to Syria, where he found a refuge with the Ghassânide princes. Othmân revenged his expulsion by using his influence at the Court of Ghassân, for the imprisonment of the Coreishite merchants, who chanced to be on the spot. But emissaries

The present *Hijr* or *Macâm Ismail*, lies to the north-west of the Kaaba, about the distance pointed out by Mahomet as the limit of the old building. It is now marked by a semi-circular parapet five feet high, facing the Kaaba: the intervening space being termed *Al Hafîm*, (*Burkhardt*, p. 139.) When Ibn Zobeir rebuilt the Kaaba on an enlarged scale, this is believed to have been enclosed in it, but it was again excluded by Hîjâb ibn Yusuf. (*Burkhardt*, p. 139.) The space is, however, still regarded as equally holy with the Kaaba itself.

Both Othmân and Ibn Zobeir enlarged the square by purchasing and removing the adjoining houses of the Coreish, and they enclosed it by a wall. Various similar changes and improvements were made by successive Caliphs, till in the third century of the Hegira, the quadrangle with its imposing Colonnade, assumed its present dimensions. (*Burkhardt*, p. 162, *et seq.*)

The Kaaba, as it now stands, is an irregular cube, the sides of which vary from thirty to forty feet in length; the quadrangle corresponding loosely with the direction of its walls. Some say that the name of *Kaaba* was given after its reconstruction by Ibn Zobeir; but it is so constantly referred to by that name in the most ancient traditions, that we cannot believe it to be a modern appellation. It is more probably the ancient idolatrous name, while *Beit-ullah*, or *the house of God*, is the most modern title, and harmonizes with Jewish, or Abrahamic expressions.

from Mecca countermined his authority with the prince by presents, and at last procured his death.\*

Notwithstanding the absence of a strong government, Mecca continued to flourish under the generally harmonious combination of the several independent phylarchies. Commerce was prosecuted towards Syria and Irâc, with greater vigor than ever; and about the year 606, A. D., we read of a mercantile expedition under Abu Sofân; which, for the first time, penetrated to the capital of Persia, and reached even the presence of the Chosroos.†

We proceed to notice some incidents in the domestic life of Mahomet:—

The sister of Khadija was married to Rabi, a descendant of Abd Shams,‡ and had borne him a son called Abul As. The son had by this time grown up, and was respected in Mecca for his uprightness and success in merchandise. Khadija loved her nephew, and looked upon him as her own son; and she prevailed upon Mahomet to celebrate his marriage with their eldest daughter, Zeinab, who had but just reached the age of puberty. The union was one, as is proved by the subsequent history, of real affection, though in the troubled rise of Islam, it was chequered by a temporary severance, and by several romantic passages.§ Somewhat later, the two younger daughters, Ruckeya and Omm Kolthûm, were given in marriage to Otba and Oteiba, both sons of Abu Lahab, the uncle of Mahomet.|| Fâtima, the youngest, was yet a child.

Shortly after the rebuilding of the Kaaba, Mahomet comforted himself for the loss of his son Casim,¶ by adopting Ali, the little son of his guardian and friend, Abu Tâlib. The circumstance is thus described;

It chanced that a season of severe scarcity fell upon the Coreish; and Abu Tâlib, still poor, was put to great shifts for

\* He died by poison. The story is not strongly attested, considering the lateness of the incidents related. (See *Sprenger*, p. 34; *M. C. de Perceval*, p. 335; *Hishâmi*, p. 56.)

† *M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I, p. 242.

‡ He was not, however, of the Omeiad line, but descended through Abd al Ozra. (*M. C. de Perceval*, Vol. III, p. 76.)

§ *Hishâmi*, p. 234.

|| *Hishâmi*, as above; *Sprenger*, p. 83; *Weil*, p. 39.

¶ Possibly for that of his second son, Abd Menâf or Abdallah also; for we have seen above that the dates of his birth and death are uncertain, and may have happened earlier than we are disposed to place them.



the support of his numerous family. This was not unperceived by Mahomet, who, prompted by his usual kindness and consideration, repaired to his rich uncle Abbâs, and said :—"Oh Abbâs! thy brother Abu Tâlib has a large family, and thou "seest what straits all men are brought to. Let us go to him, "and lighten him somewhat of the burden of his family. I "will take one son. Do thou take another. And we shall "support them." So Abbâs consenting, they proposed the thing to Abu Tâlib; and he replied,—“Leave me Ackil and Tâlib; \* and do ye with the others as it pleaseth you.” Thus Mahomet took Ali, and Abbâs took Jâfar. And Ali, who was at this time probably not above five or six years of age, remained ever after with Mahomet, and they treated each other with the attachment of parent and child.†

The heart of Mahomet was inclined to ardent and lasting friendships. About the same period he received into his close intimacy another person unconnected by family ties, but of less unequal age. This was Zeid, the son of Hâritha; and as he is frequently alluded to in the after history, and must, by his constant society, have influenced to some extent the course of Mahomet, it is important to trace his previous life. The father of Zeid was of the Bani Odzra, a branch of the Bani Kalb, occupying the region to the south of Syria. His mother belonged to the Bani Mân, a division of the Great Tai family. While journeying on a visit to her home, whither she was carrying the youthful Zeid, her company was waylaid by a band of Arab marauders, and her son made captive, and sold into slavery. Zeid afterwards fell into the hands of Hakîm, the grandson of Khuweilid, who presented him to his aunt Khadija, shortly after her marriage with Mahomet. He was then above twenty years of age; he is described as small of stature, in complexion dark, his nose short and depressed; but an active and useful attendant.‡ Mahomet soon conceived a strong affection for him; and Khadija gratified her husband by presenting him with her slave as a gift.

A party of the Bani Kalb, on a pilgrimage to Mecca, recog-

\* Some traditions say only Ackil. The subsequent history of Tâlib is not clear or satisfactory. It is said, that he was obliged against his will to fight on the side of the idolatrous Meccans at Badr, and that he was never heard of after.

† Ali was born about the beginning of the seventh century. M. C. de Perceval fixes the year as 602, A. D., which would make him fifty-nine or sixty when he died, in 661; but tradition says he died aged 63. That, however, is the pattern age, which having been Mahomet's tradition is inclined to give, where possible, to its heroes. Supposing that to have been his real age, and making allowance for the lunar year, his birth would date in 600 or 601, A. D.

‡ *Wâkidi*, p. 126; *Sprenger*, p. 160.

nized the youth, and communicated the tidings of his welfare to his disconsolate father,\* who immediately set out to fetch him home. Arrived at Mecca, Hâritha offered a large sum for the ransom of his son; but Mahomet summoning Zeid, left it in his option to go or to stay. He chose to stay:—"I will not leave thee," he said, "thou art in the place to me of both father and mother." Charmed by his faithfulness, Mahomet took him straightway to the Black Stone of the Kaaba, and said;—"Bear testimony all ye that are present! Zeid is my son: I shall be his heir, and he shall be mine." His father, contented with the declaration, returned rejoicing home; and the freed-man was thenceforward called "Zeid ibn Mohanimad," or *Zeid, the son of Mahomet*. At Mahomet's desire, he married his old attendant, Omm Ayman. Though nearly double his age, she bore him a son called Usâma, the leader in the expedition to Syria, at the time of Mahomet's death.†

Christianity prevailed in the tribes from which, both on the father's and the mother's side, Zeid sprang;‡ and though ravished from his home at probably too early an age for any extensive or thorough knowledge of its doctrines, yet he would, no doubt, carry with him some impression of the teaching, and some fragments of the facts and legends of Christianity. These would form subjects of conversation between the youth and his adoptive father and friend, whose mind was now feeling in all directions after religious truth. Among the

\* See the affecting verses his father is said to have recited when wandering in search of him. (*Wâkidi*, p. 186, *Wal*, p. 325).

† There is difficulty and discrepancy about the age of Zeid. Some say he was a mere child when received by Mahomet; but this is incompatible with his having shortly after married Omm Ayman. Sprenger, on insufficient grounds, attributes this to a fear on the part of the traditionists that Mahomet might have been suspected of gaining Christian knowledge from Zeid, and therefore represented him as too young for that purpose (p. 161.) Others say he was ten years younger than Mahomet. (*Wâkidi*, p. 186.) Another tradition represents him as fifty five, when killed at the battle of Mûta, A. H. 8, or 629 A. D. This would make him six years younger than Mahomet, or somewhat above twenty, when he came into his possession. The difference of age between him and Mahomet's nurse was great, as tradition says that the prophet promised him *paradise* for marrying her! (*Wâkidi*, p. 187.)

The likelihood is that he was of a tender age when carried off by the Arabs, for his mother would not probably have taken one above the years of a child with her on a visit to her family:—a period intervened in which the slave changed owners, and in which his father, after long wandering after him, gave up the search: so that he may well have fallen into Khadîja's hands about twenty years old.

Some accounts say that Hakim brought him with a company of slaves from Syria, and that having offered the choice amongst them to his aunt, she selected Zeid. Others, that he bought him at the fair of Ocâtz, expressly for his aunt. But the discrepancy is immaterial.

‡ In a former article (*Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia*,) we have shown that oth among the Bani Kelb and Bani Tai, Cristianity had made progress.

relatives, too, of Khadjja, there were persons who possessed a knowledge of Christianity, and perhaps something of its practice. We have already instanced her cousin Othmân, who, after an unsuccessful attempt to gain the rule at Mecca, retired a Christian to the Court at Constantinople. Waraca, another cousin, is said also to have been a convert to Christianity, to have been well acquainted with the religious tenets and sacred Scriptures, both of Jews and Christians, and even to have copied or translated some portions of the Gospels in Hebrew or Arabic.\* We shall see hereafter that this person had an acknowledged share in satisfying the mind of Mahomet that his mission was divine.

It was a fond fancy of the traditionists (the origin of which we have traced elsewhere, †) that shortly before the appearance of Mahomet, some enquirers were not only seeking after the true faith,—or as they style it, *the religion of Abraham*,—but, warned by the prophecies of the Jews and Christians, were on the tiptoe of expectation for a coming prophet. Of such enquirers among the Coreish, it is the fashion of Mahometan biographers to specify *four*. Two of these, *Othmân* and *Waraca*, we have already mentioned. The third was *Obeidallah* (by his mother, a grandson of Abd al Muttalib,) who em-

\* Hishâmi says of him : *استبحر في النصرانية واتبع المكتب من أهلها* (p. 56.) So Tabari, who, however, adds the Mahometan conceit, that he was on the look out for a prophet about to rise among the race of Ishmael : *وقد كان تنصروا اتباع الكتب حتى ادرك في ما طلب* :—“He (p. 11.) من ذلك انه كان لهذه الأمة نبي من بني اسماعيل

had embraced Christianity, and studied their books until he had reached (a knowledge of the faith,) and he was one of those who deduced from thence that there was a prophet about to arise for this nation from the children of Ishmael.”

So also as to his knowledge of the Old Testament. (*Ibid.* p. 91.) *وقرا الكتب و*

*سمع من أهل التوراة والانجيل* There is no good authority for believing him to have previously adopted the Jewish religion. Other traditions make him to have copied from the Gospels in Hebrew, or (according to various readings) in Arabic : —

*فيكتب من الانجيل بالعبراني ماشاء ان يكتب* Sprenger satisfactorily shows that the expression here used signifies simply *transcription*, not translation, (p. 40, note i).

The traditional tendency would be to magnify Waraca's knowledge of the Scriptures, in order to give more weight to his testimony in favor of Mahomet, and to bear out the fiction that he was *expecting* a prophet. Waraca seems to have died before Mahomet *publicly* assumed the prophetic office, and hence we should not trust too much to the accounts of him. (*Conf. Canon. B.; See M. C. de Perceval. Vol. I., p. 322.*)

† See *Canons II. c. and h., pp. 52, 53.* of article on the *Original Sources of*

braced Islam, but afterwards, in Abyssinia, went over to Christianity. \* The fourth was Zeid, the grandson of Nofail, and cousin of Omar. † Of him tradition says that he condemned the idolatrous sacrifices of the Kaaba, reprobated the burying alive of infant daughters, and "followed the religion of Abraham." But not content with such asseptions, the traditionists add, that Zeid possessed distinct knowledge of the coming prophet, and left his salutation to be delivered when he should arise; nay, he described his very appearance, stated that he would be of the family of Abd al Muttalib, and even foretold that he would emigrate to Medina! He died while the Kaaba was rebuilding, and was buried at the foot of Mount Hirâ.<sup>‡</sup>

Though we reject, as puerile and unfounded legends, these

\* He emigrated to Abyssinia with those who fled from the persecution at Mecca. After embracing Christianity, he met a party of the Moslems, and said to them, "now we see, but ye are feeling after sight, and see not." (*Hishâmi*, p. 56.) He died in Abyssinia, and Mahomet sent for his widow, Omm Habîba, daughter of Abu Sofîân and married her at Medina.

† Owing to a debasing Arab custom, which allowed the son to marry, (if it did not give him the right to *inherit*.) his father's widows, Zeid was at the same time the cousin and the uncle of Omar. Nofail's widow, Jelia, who had already borne to him Khattâb (Omar's father,) was married by his son Amir, and bore to him Zeid, who was thus the uterine brother of Khattâb, and likewise his nephew.

‡ Wâkidi, Tabari and Hishâmi have all copious accounts of Zeid. Hishâmi is the least marvellous, though even he says that after travelling through Mesopotamia and Syria, enquiring of the Rabbis and clergy for "the Faith of Abraham," he came to a monk in Balcâ, who told him the usual story that a prophet would shortly arise in Arabia, so he hastened back, but was killed on the way. He also states that Zeid was persecuted by his uncle Khattâb, who stationed him at Hirâ, and would not allow him to enter Mecca, lest any should follow his heresy. (pp. 56-59.) Wâkidi has several traditions attributing many purely Mahometan speeches and practices to him: (pp. 255, 255½) see some of these quoted by Sprenger. (pp. 41-43.) He has also the absurd story of his leaving his salutation for the coming prophet, which, when delivered by Amir Mahomet was returned by the latter, who said he had seen Zeid in Paradise, joyfully drawing along his skirts: ("i. e., walking with joyous step.") He used the Kaaba as his *Kebîa*. His place of burial is given by the same authority.

Tabari's traditions so improve upon the narrations, that we cannot resist translating the following, to show their utter worthlessness. "Amir ibn Rabia said, I heard Zeid speak as follows:—*Verily, I look for a prophet from among the sons of Ismael, and from among the Children of Abd al Muttalib; and I think that I shall not reach to his day, but verily, I believe on him, and I attest his truth, and I bear witness that he is a true prophet. But if thou survivest to see him, then report to him a salutation from me. Now shall I describe to thee his appearance, that he may not remain hid from thee? I said "do so!" Then follows Zeid's description of Mahomet's person, rejection by the Meccans, emigration to Yathreb and final victory. "Take heed," proceeded the prophetic sage "that thou art not deceived in him, for I have visited every city in search of the Faith of Abraham, and every one of the Jews and Christians and Magians say that his religion is about to follow, and they seek for the same signs as I have given unto thee, and they say there will no more be any prophet after him."* "So" continued Amir, "when I was converted, I told the prophet the saying of Zeid, and I recited his salutation: and the prophet returned his salutation, and prayed for mercy upon him; and said, *I have seen him in Paradise, &c.*" (p. 83.) We see how the tradition has grown in its fabricated elements between the times of Wâkidi and Tabari.

anticipations of the prophet, and though the patent tendency to invent them makes it difficult to sever the real from the fictitious in the matter of the four enquirers, yet we cannot hesitate to admit that, not only in their case, but probably in that of many others also, a spirit of enquiry into true religion, the rejection of idolatry, and a perception of the superiority of Judaism and Christianity, did exist. With such enquirers, Mahomet deeply sympathized, and held, no doubt, frequent converse on the dark and gross idolatry of Mecca, and the need of a more spiritual faith.

Mahomet was now approaching his fortieth year. He had gradually become more and more pensive: contemplation and reflection now engaged his whole mind. The debasement of his people, his own uncertainty as to the true religion, the dim and imperfect shadows of Judaism and Christianity exciting doubts, without satisfying them, pressed heavily upon his soul, and he frequently retired to seek relief from meditation in the solitary glens and rocks near Mecca. His favorite spot was a cave among the declivities at the foot of Mount Hirâ, a lofty conical hill to the north of Mecca.\* He would retire thither for days at a time, and his faithful wife is said sometimes to have accompanied him.† The continued solitude, instead of

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\* Since called Jebel Nûr, or Mountain of Light, because Mahomet is said to have received his first revelation there. Ali Bey gives a drawing of it. (Vol. II., p. 64; *Burkharat*, p. 175.) A cleft among the rocks about six feet square, is still shown in the vicinity as the cave in which Mahomet meditated. Others make it four yards long and one to three broad. (*Sprenger*, p. 95, n. iv.)

† The traditionists say that Mahomet used to spend the month of Ramadhân yearly in the cave at Hirâ. Thus Hishâmi:—"Mahomet used to visit Hirâ for a month every year. Now that was a religious practice which the Coreish used to perform in the days of their heathenism. And so it was that Mahomet was wont to spend this month at Hirâ and he used to feed all the poor that resorted to him: and when the period of his visitation at Hirâ was fulfilled, he would return and encompass the Kaaba seven times: and that was in the month of Ranzân." (pp. 60, 61; *so Tabari*, pp. 86-90.) Others add that Abd al Muttalib commenced the practice:—"That it was the worship of God, which that patriarch used to begin with the new moon of Ramadhân, and continue during the whole of that month" (*Sprenger*, p. 94, n. v.) Tabari goes still further:—"It was the habit of those Coreishites who aspired to being thought very pious, to spend the month of R. jab at mount Hirâ, in seclusion and silence. This habit was more particularly observed by the Hâ-hinites. Every family had its separate place on the Mount for this purpose, and some had buildings in which they resided during their seclusion." (As quoted by Dr. Sprenger from the Persian version of Tabari; but we do not find the passage in the original Arabic copy.)

We doubt the whole of these traditions, and do not believe that the inhabitants of Mecca had any such practice as is attributed to them. It is the tendency of the traditionists to foreshadow the customs and precepts of Islam, as if some of them had existed prior to Mahomet as a part of "the religion of Abraham." (*vide Canon II. h*.) It is very evident that the idea of a fast was *first* borrowed from the Jews, and that *after* Mahomet had emigrated to Medina. It was originally kept like that of the Jews, on the 10th of Moharram, and afterwards when Maho-

stilling his anxiety, magnified into sterner and more impressive shapes the solemn realities which perplexed and agitated his soul. Close by was the grave of the aged Zeid, who having spent a life-time in the same enquiries, had now passed into the state of certainty: and might he himself not reach the same assurance without crossing the gate of death?

All around was bleak and rugged. To the east and south, the vision from the cave of Hirâ is bounded by lofty mountain ranges, but to the north and west, there is an extensive prospect thus described by the traveller:—"The country before us had a dreary aspect, not a single green spot being visible; barren black, and grey hills, and white sandy valleys, were the only objects in sight."\* There was harmony between these wild scenes of external nature, and the troubled chaotic elements at that time forming his view of the spiritual world. By degrees his impulsive and susceptible mind was wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement; and he would give vent to his agitation in wild and rhapsodical language, the counterpart of his mind struggling aft the truth. The following fragments, which found their way into the Coran, may perhaps belong to this period:

SURA CIII.

By the declining day, I swear!  
Verily, man is in the way of ruin;  
Excepting such as possess faith,  
And do those things which be right,  
And stir up one another to truth and steadfastness.

And again:—

SURA C.

I swear by the rushing (horses) that pant!  
By those that strike fire (with their hoofs) flashing!  
By those that scour (the enemy's land),  
And darken it with dust,  
And penetrate thereby the host!

met receded from them, he established a fast of his own in the month of Ramathân (See *Tuhari*, p. 243: *Cnf* also p. 37 of the "*Wasat Mohammed aus dem Juventhum aufgenommen*" of *Abraham Giger*.)

The truth seems to be that Mahomet retired frequently (not periodically.) to Mount Hirâ, for several days at a time, and stayed so long as his provisions lasted. Then he returned home, and either remained there for a while, or furnishing himself with a fresh supply, retired again to the cave. (*Tuhari*, p. 86.)

His wife, anxious and surprised at this strange demennour, may have sometimes accompanied him to watch his movements, and see that no ill befel him.

\* *Bukharat's Travels*, p. 176; *Cnf*. *Sura XXXV*, v. 28. "Dost thou not see that \* \* \* in the mountains, there are strata white and red, of various hues, and others are of a deep black; and of men and beasts and cattle there are whose colours are various in like manner," &c.

Verily, man is to his Lord ungrateful;  
And he is himself a witness thereof;  
And, verily, he is keen in the love of (this world's) good.  
Ah! wotteth he not, when that which is in the graves shall be  
scattered abroad,  
And that which is in (men's) hearts shall be brought forth;  
Verily, their Lord shall in that day be informed as to them.

And perhaps :—

SURA XCIX.

When the earth shall tremble with her quaking;  
And the earth shall cast forth her burthens;  
And man shall say, *What aileth her?*  
In that day shall she unfold her tidings,  
Because the Lord shall have inspired her.  
In that day shall mankind advance in ranks, that they may be-  
hold their works.  
And whoever shall have wrought good of the weight of a grain,  
shall behold it.  
And whoever shall have wrought evil of the weight of a grain,  
shall behold it.

Nor was he wanting in prayer for guidance, to the great  
Being who, he felt, alone could give it. The following petitions,  
though probably adapted subsequently for public worship, con-  
tain perhaps the germ of his daily prayer at this early period.

SURA I.

Praise be to God, the Lord of Creation;  
The All-merciful, the All-compassionate!  
Ruler of the day of reckoning!  
Thee we worship, and Thee we invoke for help.  
Lead us in the straight path;—  
The path of those upon whom thou hast been gracious,  
Not of those that are the objects of wrath, or that are in error.†

How such aspirations developed themselves into the belief  
that the subject of them was inspired from heaven, is a dark  
and painful theme, to which in some future paper we may  
possibly recur.

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\* Of the four Suras above quoted, which we believe to be the earliest extant  
composition of Mahomet the *cii* and *c*, are generally placed by the Mahometan  
traditionists early, *i. e.*, about the 10th or 12th in order. But the *xcix* is reckoned  
about 90th, and is generally represented as a Sura revealed at Medina, though  
some are critical enough to dispute this. The reader will hence perceive how entire-  
ly dependent we are on *internal* evidence as fixing the chronological order of the  
Koran.

† The first Sura is said to have been more than once revealed, which, if it has any  
finite meaning, may signify, that although one of the earliest pieces, it was  
afterwards recast to suit the requirements of public worship.

## SURGEONS IN INDIA—PAST AND PRESENT.

BY DR. N. CHEVERS.

*Alphabetical List of the Medical Officers of the Indian Army; with the dates of their respective Appointments, Promotion, Retirement, Resignation, or Death, whether in India or in Europe; from the year 1764, to the year 1838. Compiled by Messrs. Dodwell and Miles.*

“SEND for the Apothecary!” was the last utterance of the mightiest voice that ever urged on the storm of England’s battle. Mirabeau’s latest hopes clung desperately to Cabanis, his Physician and friend—and to him only. “Now that Paré is with us, we shall not perish of our wounds,” was the shout which re-animated Guise’s dispirited soldiers in their memorable defence of Metz. “Your attention to me”—wrote Johnson towards the close of his life, to Brookesby—“has never failed. If the virtue of medicines could be enforced by the benevolence of the prescriber, how soon should I be well!” To this way of thinking, in that pass, we shall nearly all, doubtless, come at last; still there are some, we dare say, who would be ready enough to cry out with old Sarah Jennings, “I hate a doctor—I won’t be blistered—I won’t die—and I won’t have a doctor!” For the dulcification of these acid spirits, and in justice to a respectable body of men, who have always stood among the most prominent maintainers of science and literature in this country, we propose to devote a brief article to the “Physiology” of the Indian Surgeon—past and present.

We shall say nothing of Vydyā or ancient Physician of the Hindus, except to declare that if he knew and practised all that his Shastras inculcated, he must have been a person of no mean learning, and a gentleman in every sense of the term; nor shall we pause to enquire how large a portion of knowledge the Mussulman Hukims imported from Arabia, that first alembic of scientific medicine.

• It is to be feared, that the mists of nearly three hundred years, devoted to hard-fighting and close bargaining, with small leisure for the cultivation of science, or the encouragement of her votaries, conceal in hopeless obscurity the progress of the long ranks of Chirurgions who left their bones under the walls of the Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danish factories of Goa, Surat, Hughly, Serampore, Chandernagore, Pondicherry and Barnagore. Here and there, it is true, some chance record, by a passing traveller, affords us a glimpse of their doings: and, it is but just to declare that whenever we thus behold them, we find them manfully at their work, in high repute



for skill and fidelity among the native rulers of the country, and apparently regarded by them as a kind of priesthood, whose craft was practised without danger of those two greatest bug-bears of native courts—empoisonment and intrigue.

We are told that late in the sixteenth century, Akbar applied to the English, at Surat, for gunners, and found his goldsmiths and his Physicians among the Portuguese of Goa. Nearly a hundred years later, in 1665, we find Monsieur Tavernier paying a visit to a young Dutch Chirurgion, "belonging to the King" (of Golconda), whom the Sieur Che-teur, Envoy from Batavia, had left at Golconda upon the King's earnest entreaty. The following affords us a curious insight into the position of an European physician in one of the native courts :—"The King was always very much troubled with "the head-ache : for which reason the Physicians had ordered "that he should let blood in four places under the tongue ; "but there was no person that would undertake to do it : for "the natives of the country understand nothing of chirurgery. "Now, before that, Peter de Lan, for that was the Dutch Chi-rurgion's name, was entertained in the King's service, he was "asked whether he could let blood? to which he answered, ~~that~~ "there was nothing so easy in chirurgery. Some few days "after, the King sent for him and gave him to understand that "he was resolved to let blood next day in four parts under "the tongue, as the Physicians had ordered, but he should take "care of not drawing away above eight ounces. De Lan return-ing the next day to court, was led into a chamber by three "eunuchs, and four old women, who carried him to a bath, and "after they had undrest him, and washed him, especially his hands "they anointed him with aromatic drugs, and instead of his own "European cloths, they brought him a robe according to the "fashion of the country. After that they brought him before the "King, where he found four little porringers of gold, which the "Physicians, who were present, had weighed ; in short, he let the "King blood under the tongue in four parts, and performed his "business so well, that when the blood came to be weighed, it "weighed but bare eight ounces. The King was so satisfied with "the operation, that he gave the Chirurgion three hundred "pagods, which comes to almost seven hundred crowns.

"The young Queen, and the Queen-mother, understanding "what he had done, resolved to be let blood too. But I believe "it was rather out of curiosity to see the Chirurgion, than out "of any necessity that they had to be let blood. For he was a "handsome young man ; and perhaps they had never seen a

"stranger near at hand, for at a distance, it is no improbable thing, "in regard the women are shut up in such places as they may see, but not be seen. Upon this De Lan was carried into "a chamber, when the same old woman that had waited on him before he let the King bleed, stript up his arm, and washed it, "but more especially his hands, which, when they were dry, they "rubbed again with sweet-oils as before. That being done, a curtain was drawn, and the Queen stretching out her arm through "a hole, was let bleed; as was the Queen-mother afterwards, in "the same manner; the Queen gave him fifty pagods, and the "Queen-mother thirty, with some pieces of cloth of gold." De Lan appears to have stood well with the King's first "Physician," (a native) who was also of the King's council, and who had testified a great affection for him.

About ten years previous to this, in 1655, FRANCIS BERNIER was, as he himself tells us, obliged by "fortune "and the small stock of money left him (after divers encounters with robbers, and the expenses of a voyage "of six and forty days from Surat to Agra and Delhi, the "capital towns of that Empire)—to take a salary from the "Grand Mogul in the quality of a Physician." Bernier was assuredly one of the most highly educated men that ever visited India. He studied and graduated in medicine at Montpellier, and was the pupil and intimate associate of the Philosopher Gassendi; an abridgment of whose works he published. Arriving in the country with a mind as free from superstitious fancies, and as little prone to unquestioning credulity as any mind in those times could well be, he viewed India and her tyrants by the clear light of educated common sense; and has left—in his *Histoire de la Dernière Revolution des Etats du Grand Mogul*,—the best, although the most cautiously delineated picture ever drawn of Mussulman pageantry, intrigue and misrule. Bernier's servants were probably scarcely so veracious as their master, when they made friends for him among "those robbers, the Koullis," into whose clutches he had unluckily fallen, by swearing that he was the greatest Physician of the world. He was an admirable oriental scholar, a dignified courtier of gallant bearing, who could use his sword at the right time, and a true philosopher; but,—although he appears to have considered it as a matter of duty, to give his readers a scrap of medical lore occasionally, and to explain to his patron Daneschmendkan, those late discoveries of Harvey and Pecquet in anatomy, he evidently had not his own profession much at heart, but loved rather to cogitate and discourse on the philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes, which he translated to the

said Agah into Persian—his chief employment during five or six of his years of exile. This patron and pupil of Bernier's, "the most knowing man of Asia," appears to have been an unusually favourable specimen of the Mogul warrior, equally devoted to arts and arms. His physician writes of him:—"He can no more be without philosophizing in the afternoon upon the books of Gassendi and Descartes, upon the globe and the sphere, or upon anatomy, than he can be without bestowing the whole morning upon the weighty affairs of the kingdom, in the quality of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and of great master of the cavalry." Although the protégé of an Emperor and a Foreign Secretary, Bernier did not find the pagoda tree very abundantly fruitful in the court of Delhi. He could shake down from it only one hundred and fifty crowns, which he had by the month; and, on one occasion, in speaking of the ill fare procurable in Delhi, and his consequent necessity of bribing the King's caterers to sell him dinners which cost them nothing, "made his Agah smile when he told him that he had, he knew not how many years, lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the hundred and fifty crowns pay they monthly allowed him, he was ready to be starved." And thence it was, he repeated,—that at Delhi there is no mean; there you must either be a great lord, or live miserably, for I have experienced it myself in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay." And so, at the end of twelve years, the yearnings for his beautiful home, and for undisturbed philosophic communion with the shades of Gassendi and Descartes—to say little of the reflection that, "in France, for half a rupee, he could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King"—determined his steps towards Paris, where he resided in high esteem nearly a quarter of a century; and where he, doubtless, retained to the last a firm conviction that Aurung Zebe, his affable patron, was, despite his venial leaning towards fratricide, usurpation, and empoisonment, by no means a barbarian, "but a great and rare genius, a great statesman, and a great King."

The Kings of Delhi appear to have been rarely, if ever, without an European Physician. Bernier speaks of a Frenchman named Bernard who was at that court about the latter years of King Jehanjire, and who must needs have been a good physician, and withal excellent in chirurgery. He was welcome to Jehanjire, and became very familiar with him, to that degree, that they drank and debauched together. Nor did this Jehanjire even think on anything but a good cup and merri-ment, leaving the management of the State to his wife, the renowned Nour Mehale, "which," he used to say, "had wit

" enough to govern the empire, without his giving himself any "trouble about it." Besides, that this countryman of Bernier's had of the King ten crowns daily pay (cut down to five in sober Bernier's time), he gained yet more by treating those great ladies of the seraglio, and the great Omrahs, these all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his cures and extraordinarily favored by the King; but he was a man that could keep nothing; what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other; so that he was known and loved by all. Those who would be interested in learning how this indiscreet practitioner got deservedly laughed at by the courtiers of the oriental King Cole, may find the whole story in Bernier's narrative.

John Fryer, himself an accomplished Cambridge Physician and Fellow of the Royal Society, who visited Goa about the year 1672, says, that "the fore part of their vespers to the *Natal* he "spent at the King's hospital; where their care for the sick is commendable, an handsome apothecary's shop furnishing them "with medicines: the Physicians here," he adds, "are great "Bleeders, that they exceed often Galen's advice *ad deliquium* in "fevers; hardly leaving enough to feed the currents for circulation; of which cruelty some complain invidiously after recovery." The early predecessors of these Salgados must have had abundant experience, as we find that, nearly a hundred years previous to this, over five hundred soldiers died annually in Goa hospital from syphilis and the effects of profligacy.

Some years after Fryer's visit, Captain Hamilton found the Goa hospital a large stately building, well endowed and well kept. This voyager tells us that, in Surat, the French had then a little church which maintained a few Capuchins, who practised surgery gratis to the poor natives, of what persuasion whatever. In old times, the only famous hospital at Surat was that for cows, apes and vermin.

• Hamilton also makes known a beautiful trait in the religious practice of the *native* priests of Pegu. "If any" (stranger) "be sick or maimed, the priests, who are the Peguer's chief "Physicians, keep them in their convent till they are cured, and "then furnish them with letters, for *they never enquire which way "a stranger worships God, but if he is human, he is the object of "their charity."*

The Dutch have always been judiciously liberal in their employment of medical men in their eastern colonies. In 1776-77, the establishment of their Company at Bantam, although consisting, in all, of only 282 Europeans, had five Surgeons.

and Assistants, not a larger number, however, than was doubtless needed, as Stavorinus tells us that the air there is generally very unhealthy, and the mortality pretty considerable. In the year 1768, out of the complete number of the Company's servants, including pennists, mariners, and military—being 317—the deaths amounted to 60 or about one in five. The whole establishment of the Dutch on the west coast of Sumatra, consisted of only 175 Europeans and ninety-seven natives, they also had five Surgeons and Assistants, two belonging to the artillery. Captain Stavorinus found the hospital at Amboyna one of the best and fittest for the purpose, belonging to their country, which he had seen in India; the building was a very good one. The sick were well treated in it, and by the excellent attention of Mr. Hengeneld, they were kept extremely neat and clean.

Much as we had previously heard, in a general way, of the unhealthiness of Batavia, we felt the utmost astonishment in going over the statistics given by Stavorinus. It appears that Batavia was never a healthy city, its muddy shore, the marshy tracts to its westward, and the imperfect circulation of water in the filthy canals with which it is intersected, had always tended to render it a place where intermittent and remittent fevers were the chief rulers. An unusual degree of mortality first made its appearance in the year 1733, when canals were begun to be dug around the city, by which the water was diverted from taking its course through the city. Stavorinus gives tables of the deaths in the Batavia hospitals, from the year 1714 up to 1776, from which it appears that, up to 1732, the numbers of those who died annually, rose gradually from about 450 to 800 or 900. In 1733, however, they were 1,116; and, from that time, they increased in number nearly every year, until, in 1776, they amounted to 2,877. In the year 1769 alone, there died, both in the hospitals and out of them, altogether 6,446, of whom 2,434 were Company's servants, and 164 burghers. In the preceding year, the entire population of the city numbered 91,089. There were then two hospitals in the city. The second was erected in 1744, and, in order to defray the expenses, a regulation was introduced, in both hospitals, that the wages of all sick who were admitted into them, should be withheld from them, while they were under cure, and applied to the benefit of the institutions, whence it was said that many more patients died from the chagrin this regulation caused them. The extent of the above mortality is shewn by the statement that, in June 1768, there were in Batavia 5,490 Europeans (1,338 of whom were in hospital);—

no less than *two thousand four hundred and thirty-four* of these unfortunates died in the ensuing twelve months. At the same time, the number of the Dutch Company's servants, in all the out-stations, amounted to 14,470 Europeans—of whom 1,637 died in the year following. Well might a resident in those times use what Stavorinus calls the "strong expression,"—that the air of Batavia was pestilential and the water poisonous; well also might a new comer, viewing the country, "every where so verdant, gay and fertile, interspersed with "such magnificent houses, gardens, canals, and draw-bridges, "and so formed in every way to please the eye, could health "be preserved in it"—exclaim—"What an excellent habitation it would be for immortals!" The number of the Company's medical officers of Batavia, in 1778, was according to Huysens, ninety-nine Surgeons and Assistants. How many of these lived (or attempted to live) in the city of Batavia, we do not learn with certainty, but it would appear, from the context, that the duty of these consisted in attendance upon 4,221 Europeans and 703 natives in the Company's service, stationed in the town—whereas, as we have already seen, the Company had nearly 14,500 Europeans in the out-stations, who must have had other medical attendants. From the account of a traveller cited by Stavorinus's translator, it would appear that some at least of the ninety-nine Dutch practitioners, at about this time, were not professors of the very highest caste, as he speaks of their "not having had the advantage of a medical education."

All the practitioners of surgery in Batavia, were subordinate to a chief, who had the control over all the Surgeons and Surgeons' Mates, as well on board the ships, as in the hospital; and who had the rank of senior merchant. In 1776-77 the whole establishment of the Dutch in Bengal was reduced to 200 Europeans, of whom seven were Surgeons and Assistants. We cannot discover what provision the French made in old times for the health of those employed in their Indian Colonies. Not many years ago, however, their medical staff in the East consisted only of three persons, one at Pondicherry, one at Chandernagore, and one at Karrical. The appointment of three additional Surgeons appeared to be contemplated.

Our notes of English medical men in India, during the sixteenth century, are few and scattered. When Fryer visited Surat, only one Chirurgeon was attached to the English factory. The consideration in which this science was held is questionable, as it is mentioned elsewhere that a Brahmin came every day, and felt every man's pulse in the factory, and was often made use of for a

powder for agues which "worked as infallibly as the Peruvian Bark," it was a preparation of native cinnabar. When disease occurred with such terrific and uncontrollable severity, it was not surprising that native practitioners, who would promise every thing, should be often preferred even by Europeans to their own practitioners, with their reserved prognoses and their palliative measures. We are therefore told that, at Batavia, they had both male and female native Physicians, who had been known to effect many surprising cures by means of their knowledge of the medicinal and vulnerary herbs produced in their country, and who had sometimes greater practice among the European residents than those Physicians who had been regularly bred and had come over from Europe. Even in Hamilton's narrative, we find a man, himself bred a Surgeon,—attacked with a bilious disorder, as he believed, from the operation of poison,—consulting a Dutch doctor of physic in Malacca, who forthwith told him that he was poisoned, and advised him to send at once for a Malayan doctor, by whose cantrips his cure was, of course, effected with marvellous dispatch,—or the story would never have been told. Nevertheless, all society owes a large debt of gratitude to the Dutch doctors, since we learn from Sprengel that tea was brought into use by the Dutch merchants and physicians aiding each other.

When Dr. Fryer visited Bombay, he found the English President living with all the state of a Viceroy, having a Council, a body guard of cavalry, chaplains, linguist, mint-master, physician, surgeons and domestics. Silver staves to wait on him whenever he moved out of his chamber, trumpets to usher in his courses, soft music at his table, large milk-white oxen for his coach, standards borne before him, and a sumbrero of state always carried over him ;—still,—“for all this gallantry,” adds Fryer, “I reckon, they walk but in charnel houses.” “In five hundred, one hundred survive not ; of that one hundred, one-quarter get not estates ; of those that do, it has not been recorded above one in ten years has seen his country.”

At the risk of being thought to borrow too much from the ancients, we must quote another haram consultation scene, in Dr. Fryer's own words :—“A good day coming, the Governor sent for me to visit his lady in the haram, which was opposite to a chamber he sat in, accompanied only by one pretty wanton boy, his only son by this woman ; upon which account, he had the greater kindness for him ; an old gentlewoman, with a tiffany veil, made many trips, being, I suppose, the Governant of the women's quarters ; at last, I was called and admitted with my

"linguist. At our being ready to enter, she clapped with her hands to give notice ; when we were led through a long dark entry, with dormitories on both sides, the doors of which creeked in our passage. (but I was cautious of being too conspicuous) till we came to an airy choultry ; where was placed a bed hung with silk curtains ; to which being brought, I was commanded to place myself close by it, from whence I might conveniently discourse and feel her pulse, putting my hand under the curtains. It was agreed among them to impose upon me ; wherefore, at first, they gave me a slave's hand, whom I declared to be sound and free from any disease, nothing contradicting the true tenor and rhythm of pulsation ; when they began to be more ingenuous, telling me it was done to try me. Then was given me another hand, which demonstrated a weak languid constitution ; and collecting the signs and symptoms, I feared not to give sentence ; which met with their approbation, and so I was sent back the way I came. The Caun had been acquainted with what had passed, and seemed pleased ; whereupon I must visit the haram again, the next day to bleed another (had Doctor John been able to find it in his conscience to bleed the one with the 'weak and languid constitution'?) of his wives, he being tolerated four, though he keeps more than three hundred concubines. And now the curtain was extended across the choultry, and an arm held forth at an hole ; but this was a slight fence for such animals, who leaning too hard as they peeped, pulled it down and discovered the whole bevy, fluttering like so many birds, when a net is cast over them : yet none of them sought to escape, but feigning a shame-facedness, continued looking through the wide lattice of their fingers. The lady I had by the arm was a plump russet dame, summoning the remainder of her blood to enliven her cheeks (for among the darkest blacks, the passions of fear, anger, or joy, are discernible enough in the face), and she bearing a command, caused it to be hung up again ; pouring upon her extravasated blood a golden shower of pagods, which I made my man fish for."

We must now abandon details of personal adventure, and select two leading chapters from the history of India, shewing how absolutely and entirely the "United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies," were indebted to the generosity of two of their Surgeons for the first footing which they obtained in Bengal, and for the most valid of the advantages which they subsequently gained by consent of the Mogul sovereigns.

In the year 1614, Sir Thomas Roe,—a wise and dignified



personage, who had studied law at the time when Coke and Bacon dealt in it; and who, probably disliking the trade as they carried it on, had devoted a few years to those piratical expeditions in the direction of Virginia and the Spanish Main, which were then humorously termed voyages of discovery,—was chosen as ambassador to the Great Mogul. After having, doubtless, been nobly feasted by the Company at Merchant Tailor's Hall (for the Company had not, at that time a house of their own,—Craven House, or even the "great room of the Nag's Head" by Bishop's-gate Church, which they afterwards rented), or at old Fishmonger's Hall, where he fared as abundantly as the whiffs from the crop of Jesuits' and traitors' heads on Southwark Gate would let him, on grand boiled meat, sturgeon's jowle, rabbit suckers, grand sallet, almond leach, march paine, and orringadoc pie,\*—was despatched for Surat with complimentary letters to the Mogul, a set of articles for securing our trade in India, which it was to be his duty to persuade the Mogul to subscribe to, and a State coach, a case of strong waters, "a couple of fine knives and six glasses," "two embroidered sweet bags," "two glass cabinets," some mastiff dogs, "a case for combs and razors," a chest of pictures, among which was one of Venus leading a satyr by the nose, a "saddle and other trifles," by presenting which, in due season, it was trusted that he would succeed in working upon the cupidity or gratitude of that outside barbarian. Sir Thomas Roe, however, found to his disappointment that, before he had fully completed his first interview with the Emperor Jehanjire, His Majesty "made himself drunk out of the case of bottles," (aforesaid) "and so the visit ended." Still, in many after interviews, the Emperor (whose unbounded magnificence in the way of strings of pearls, great balass rubies, services of solid gold, silver thrones, elephants, and horses of Arabia, quite discountenanced the poor ambassador, and threw his scanty and ill-furnished retinue altogether into the shade) proved himself to Sir Thomas as a very clear-headed man of business, (that is, always previous to supper time) and laid down for his information, with a degree of candour not unusual among Orientals in those times, certain plain facts and broad principles, which he was left at liberty to repeat when writing home to his friends. A few of these were,—that in Delhi, presents of embroidered gloves are to be considered as rather complimentary than useful; that, with reference to the above-mentioned painting of a fair lady conducting a

\* At least these are a few of some hundred dishes with which the Company entertained their guests at Merchant Tailors, eight years later, on the 20th of January 1622.

brown skinned gentleman by the nose, the allegory appeared to offer an ill-chosen allusion to the predominance of female influence in Eastern Courts; that carving-knives, sweet bags, comb cases, and leashes of mastiff dogs, although things of a rather agreeable and acceptable kind than otherwise, did not altogether come up to the standard of gifts which should be sent by the King of England to the Great Mogul; that he owned Sir Thomas Roe as our Ambassador, his behaviour speaking him a man of quality: and yet he could not understand why he was kept there with so little grandeur; that he was satisfied that this was not his, nor his Prince's fault: that he would make him sensible he valued him more than those that sent him, and that, finally, he would send him home with honour, and give him a present for his master, without regarding those which he had received;—but “that there was no *artieling* at all, it was “enough to have an order from the Prince, who was lord of “Surat, to trade there; *but for Bengala, or Synda, it should “never be granted.*” And so, after three years of unsuccessful negotiation, the wise and respectable, but unpliant and ill-supported Ambassador returned crest-fallen home.

In the earlier pages of Sir Thomas Roe's narrative, allusion is made to one of his suite, MR. BOUGHTON who, evidently, must have been the Surgeon to the embassy (he was certainly not the Chaplain) as, upon their touching at Tamara, on the coast of Arabia, on their passage out, it appears that he alone was allowed to visit the house of the Mussalman King, when he was treated with “*cahu*,” a black liquor, drank as hot as could be endured, and which is supposed to have been coffee. No further allusion is made to Boughton in Sir Thomas' narrative; but the name not being a common one, and it being difficult to believe that two Surgeons of high repute of that name were attached to the Company's service, nearly at the same period, it may be not unfair to guess that this was the Gabriel Boughton who, some say in the year 1636, others in 1644, when Surgeon of the Company's ship *Hopewell*, was chosen by the Council at Surat as the person best qualified to attend the daughter of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who had been frightfully burnt by the accidental ignition of her clothes, and for whose relief, all native skill having failed, her royal father had, by the recommendation of Vizier Assad Khan, (probably “*Asaph Chan*,” the Minister who is so frequently alluded to by Sir Thomas Roe, and who must have been well acquainted with the Surgeon to the embassy), sent an express, requesting the aid of an English Surgeon. Repairing to the Emperor's camp in the Deccan, he cured the Princess,

and was desired by the grateful Emperor to name his reward. Standing, probably, alone in the world, but with a heart overflowing with generous and patriotic feeling, this noble gentleman requested that his masters, the Company, might be granted the long sought for and often denied privilege of establishing factories in Bengal, and of trading there free from all taxation. This boon, which Jehanjire had distinctly, nay, almost rudely, refused to King James the First and to the Company, through their Ambassador, Shah Jehan at once conceded to the humble Surgeon of one of the Company's vessels. Repairing to Bengal, with a view to secure and carry out the privileges thus granted, Boughton visited Rajmahal (this was nearly about the time at which Gour was deserted), where he was honorably entertained by Sultan Sujah, Subadar of Bengal, the Emperor's third son, and where he gained additional credit and good will, by curing one of the ladies of the Prince's haram, of a disease in the side—and, consequently, obtained the fullest aid in establishing the Company's trade in Bengal. Upon Boughton's information, persons were sent out by the Company to occupy the new ports. The Prince desired Mr. Boughton to send for these gentlemen, and, on their arrival, received permission to establish factories at Hughly and Balasore, in addition to that at Pipley, which had already been thrown open by the Emperor's firman. We wish, we could add, that Boughton received the full reward of his generosity, in living to see his masters' power firmly grounded in Bengal, as the foundation of the mightiest colony that the world has ever known, and in dying under his father's roof-tree, with tall sons and fair daughters around his bed. This, however, was not to be: he died in India, not long after the opening of the ports. Do the ruins of Rajmahal still enshrine that honorable dust, or have the waves of the invading river swept it down to that ocean, which was the only fitting sepulchre for so large and pure a heart?

Boughton was probably of good lineage. A baronetcy was conferred, by Charles the First, upon one of his name, in 1641, within a few months of the time of Boughton's death. We should be glad to learn whether this was a mere coincidence, or a compliment paid to his family in recognition of his merits. The unfortunate Sir Theodosius Boughton, for whose murder by laurel water, Captain Donellan, (who had served in the Company's army in 1758) was executed in 1781, was the seventh baronet. In 1842, the family was represented by Sir Edward Rouse Boughton, F. R. S., President of the Horticultural Society.

It was by no means necessary to Boughton's reputation that the generosity of his act should have any thing original in its character. The example had been set, a few years previously, by De Cruz, an Augustinian, who was taken to Agra after the destruction of Hughly in 1632; and who, upon receiving a promise from Shah Jehan, to grant whatever request he might prefer, craved permission to return with his fellow-captives to Bengal, and received a grant of 777 acres of land, which still appertain to the Church of Bandel, near Hughly.

By a singular coincidence of events, it fell within the power of another of the Company's Surgeons, eighty years after the passage of the above events, to confirm the Company's power in Bengal, by a perfectly similar act of patriotic generosity.

In 1715, the Company began evidently to give way under the exactions and oppressions of Moorshed Kuli Khan, the Nawab of Bengal. It was therefore determined to send an embassy to the Emperor Furrukshere at Delhi, with a view to obtaining recognition of their old firmans and immunities. Against the fulfilment of this project, all the craft and energy of Moorshed were directed, with every prospect of success, when, happily, the intervention of MR. WILLIAM HAMILTON, who had accompanied the embassy as their Surgeon, rescued the Company from their difficulties.

The marriage of the Emperor Furrukshere, with the daughter of Raja Ajit Sing, one of the Rajput princes, had been for some months delayed in consequence of the Monarch's illness, under a disease which his own Physicians were unable to cure. The princess had arrived at Delhi, and matters were assuming a very serious aspect when, by the advice of the Khan Dowrah, who had become the patron of the embassy, Mr. Hamilton was consulted, and was so fortunate as to restore the Emperor to health by a skilful operation. Delighted at his recovery, the Emperor heaped gifts and promises upon the Surgeon, who is known to have accepted, among other presents,\* *models of all his surgical instruments in pure gold*, and to have entreated the Emperor to grant the requests of the Ambassadors. Consent was freely and immediately conceded to the objects of this generous mediation and—although after considerable delay attendant upon the marriage festivities, and prolonged by the active machinations of the Nawab's agents,—a firman was granted, confirming all the original privileges of the Company, permitting their President to grant

\* A vest, a culgi set with precious stones, two diamond rings, an elephant, horse, gold buttons for coat, waistcoat and breeches set in jewels, and 500 Rupees. These were presented to Mr. Hamilton in the presence of the whole Court.

passports exempting goods from search throughout Bengal, allowing them the use of the mint at Murshedabad, and permitting them to purchase thirty-eight additional towns (villages) near Calcutta, at a rent of 8,121½ Rupees. The Company did not receive this firman until 1717,—in the unhealthy autumn of which year good William Hamilton was carried to his grave, in the old cemetery by the fort green.

His tombstone is still preserved, and we have had a representation of it carefully engraved, considering it to be one of the most important historical memorials of the rise of the East India Company existing in Calcutta. It would appear, from Stewart's History of Bengal, that Hamilton's tomb was only discovered on clearing a space for the foundation of Saint John's Cathedral, in 1787; it is evident, however, that this slab was originally fixed in front of a lofty pile of brick-work. Many tombs remained around the New Cathedral until fifteen years after that building was consecrated when,—(early in 1802) the masses of brick-work having fallen into a state of such irreparable decay as to endanger the safety of those who approached them,—it was deemed necessary to pull most of them down. Charnock's mausoleum and Watson's and Speke's tombs appear to have been spared—like respect would, doubtless, have been paid to the resting-place of Calcutta's greatest benefactor, but it must have stood upon the space required for the building. The house of prayer could not have been placed better than on the dust of the patriot who, under Divine Providence, secured peace to the land. The stone is fixed upright in a niche within the Charnock monument. Three tablets to Charnock and his daughters are the only other stones beneath the dome. A wide step surrounding the circular building is paved with inscriptions to the memory of other early residents in the settlement. The slab from Hamilton's tomb is six feet high, and three in width. Like Charnock's and his daughters, and most of the other older slabs, it is a solid block of granite, the colour of which is so deep a green as to appear perfectly black, except upon close inspection. We were surprised to find that the inscriptions and ornaments upon the whole of these stones are cut in relief. The surfaces of the stones have first been highly polished and, the outlines of the letters, &c., having been marked out, the intervening spaces have been cut away to the depth of the eighth of an inch. The cut surface remains slightly rough, and the polished letters stand out from it as conspicuous and as sharply defined as if cast in bronze. We are confident that any stone-mason would declare the execution to be perfect. The slabs are not very clean, but the edge

of every letter remains without a flaw, indeed, the stone is as nearly as possible indestructible. These beautiful slabs are said to have been brought from St. Thomas's. Stewart gives the following translation, by Mr Gladwin, of the Persian inscription :—" William Hamilton, Physician in the service of the " English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous in four quarters of the earth, by the cure of the " Emperor, the Asylum of the world, Mohammed Furrukshere " the Victorious ; and, with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the " universe, to return to his country ; by the Divine decree, on " the fourth of December, 1717, died in Calcutta, and is buried " here." The discrepancy in the date is easily accounted for.

We cannot quite discover what rates of pay Boughton and Hamilton received from the Company. Charles Lockyer, however, tells us, that in 1711, the Company retained one Surgeon at Madras on a pay of £36 per annum. If Walpole judged rightly, that every man has his price, we wonder at what rate those two poor gentlemen would have forfeited their integrity.

Few particulars, worthy of note, can be gathered with regard to other medical officers who served the Company, early in last century. In India, a good Surgeon's reputation scarcely has the durability attributed by Hamlet's professional acquaintance to a tanner's hide. We believe that the only medical man who suffered in the Black Hole was Holwell himself, who had been an Apothecary. The presence of a medical man seems to have been long viewed as a valid means towards success in difficult negotiations with native powers. Upon the advance of the implacable Nuwab Suraj-oo-Dowlah, upon Kossimbazar, Mr. Watts, the chief of the factory, being threatened with an attack, unless he should immediately present himself ; at first hesitated but, upon receiving a letter with assurances of safety, proceeded to the camp, accompanied by the Surgeon, Mr. Forth. Mr. Fullarton, a Surgeon, was the only person who was suffered to escape the massacre at Patna, in October 1763 ; he having endeared himself to most of the grandees of the Court by attending them professionally. He even had Mir Cassim himself for an acquaintance and friend.

The maritime service of the Company appears not to have been very attractive to medical men in those times. We find that Mr. Archibald Kier, Surgeon of the *Delaware*, in which ship Major Kilpatrick's detachment was embarked from Madras, on information of the surrender of Kossimbazar, in 1756, not only afforded very acceptable services as a medical

man, but acted as Secretary to the Council of those who assembled at Fultah. When the *Delaware* was ordered home, he accepted a Lieutenant's Commission, was shortly afterwards appointed quarter-master of the forces, and finally obtained his Company.

That must have been the time in which the economical Governor of Bombay declared that the figures in the Surgeon's monthly pay-bill for forty-two Rupees had certainly been transposed, and wrote twenty-four in the order for payment. It would be a great error, however, to conclude that, because ill remunerated, the Company's Surgeons in those days were inferior or illiterate men.

Mr. Ives, who was Surgeon of H. M.'s ship *Kent* at the capture of Fort Orleans, has supplied us\* with a very important history of the great events which immediately followed the fall of Calcutta and the catastrophe of the Black Hole, in 1756. Mr. Ives's character as a Surgeon and an author is, perhaps, best illustrated by the following affecting episode in his account of the attack on Chandernagore, in March 1757. The gallant Captain Speke, commanding the *Kent*, and his son, a Midshipman, had been severely wounded by the same shot. "The behaviour of Captain Speke and his son, a youth of sixteen [eighteen] years of age, was so truly great and exemplary on this glorious but melancholy occasion, that I must beg leave to describe it with some of its most interesting circumstances. When Admiral Watson had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant, he immediately went up to them, and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The Captain, who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the Admiral, 'indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both the father and the son!' Mr. Watson's heart was too full to make the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the Surgeon. The Captain was first brought down to me in the after-hold, where a platform had been made; and then told me how dangerously his poor Billy was wounded. Presently after, the brave youth himself appeared, but had another narrow escape, the quarter-master, who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball: his eyes overflowing with tears, not for his own, but for his father's fate. I laboured to assure him, that his father's wound was not dangerous, and this assertion was confirmed by the Captain himself. He seemed not to believe either of us,

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\* Voyage and Historical Narrative.

"until he asked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to him my first assurance in the most positive manner. He then immediately became calm ; but on my attempting to enquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me if I had dressed his father, for he could not think of my touching him before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him that the Captain had been already properly attended to. '*Then*' (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow sufferer,) '*pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man, who is groaning so sadly beside me!*'"

"I told him that he already had been taken care of, and begged of him, with some importunity, that I now might have liberty to examine his wound ; he submitted to it, and calmly observed, '*Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint!*' "I replied, 'my dear, I must!' Upon which he clasped both his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following short, but earnest petition :—'Good God, do thou enable me to behave, in my present circumstances, worthy my father's son!' When he had ended this ejaculatory prayer, he told me that he was all submission. I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee ; but during the whole time, the intrepid youth never spake a word, or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard's distance. The reader may easily imagine what, in this dreadful interval, the brave but unhappy Captain suffered, who lay just by his unfortunate and darling son. But whatever were his feelings, we discovered no other expression of them, than what the silent trickling tears declared, though the bare recollection of the scene, even at this distant time, is too painful for me. Both father and son, the day after the action, were sent with the rest of the wounded back to Calcutta." The father was lodged in the house of William Mackett, Esq., his brother-in-law ; and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort, by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy ; and in the same manner, I gratified the son in regard to the father. But, alas ! from that time, all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalled youth, began to disappear. The Captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in ; nor did he ever ask me more than two questions concerning him ; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first was, on the 10th day, in these words : "How long, my friend, do you think my Billy will remain in this state of uncertainty?" I replied that, "If he lived to the 15th day



from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery." On the 13th, however, he died; and on the 16th, the brave man looking me steadfastly in the face, said, "Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?" I could make him no reply; and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. He cried bitterly, squeezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for one half hour, when he wished to see me again: and assured me, that I should find him with a different countenance, from that he troubled me with at present. These were his obliging expressions. I punctually complied with his desire; and when I returned to him, he appeared, as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.\* The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died; and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note written by himself, with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy. "If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in, when he is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If Mr. Ives is not too busy to honour this chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me. The boy waits an answer." Immediately upon the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me. "And, is he dead?" "Who, my dear?" "My father, sir." "No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I assure you; he is almost well." "Thank God! Then why did they tell me so? I am now satisfied, and ready to die." At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress, but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered; he begged my pardon for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself,) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended, surrendered up a valuable life.

Poor little Speke's tomb, with its inscription, may still be seen in the Old Cathedral yard. Ives tells us that his father afterwards captured a vessel of force superior to his own in the action off Belleisle. He died soon afterwards at Lisbon, in the 45th year of his age.†

\* His wound, which was dangerous, and from which he never perfectly recovered, was in the leg. Consequently, it would, doubtless, have been impossible to remove him to his son.

† Mr. Ives must have been as able in his profession as he was gentle and compassionate. His detail of the fatal illness of his friend Admiral Watson, — a quotidian fever becoming remittent, with symptoms of cerebral congestion, — is minute, and his treatment was evidently orthodox, according to the practice of those days. Ives and his Assistant, Mr. Bevis, must have found their hands full after the action at Chandernagore. Thirty-seven men were killed on board the *Kent* and twenty-four wounded. The *Tiger* lost nearly as many men as the *Kent*, and forty-one of

Dr. Anderson, of the infantry, was one of those who fell in the Patna massacre in October 1763. The following is an extract from a letter which he wrote, on the day of his murder, to his friend Dr. Davidson :—" Since my last, his Excellency " has been completely defeated, and in consequence, obliged to " retreat to Zaffier Khan's gardens yesterday, and purposes " coming into the city, this day, (5th October 1763). Sumroo, " with the sepoys, arrived here last night, and I suppose to " effect his wicked designs ; for last night Mr. Kelly and forty- " three gentlemen with him were massacred, and as about an " equal number of soldiers, and us yet remain, I expect, my " fate this night. Dear D., this is no surprise to me, for I " expected it all along. I must, therefore, as a dying man, re- " quest of you to collect and remit my estate home as soon as " possible, and write a comforting letter to my father and " mother ; let them know I die bravely, as a Christian ought, " for I fear not him who can kill the body, and no more, " but I rejoice in hope of a future existence through the merits " of my Saviour." We are told, that the inhuman Sumroo marched up to the house where these ill-fated people were confined and, without the least hesitation or remorse, ordered them to be shot. Utterly desperate, but without losing courage, they advanced towards their murderers and, with empty bottles, and stones, and brick-bats, fought them to the last man. The very sepahis urged Sumroo to place arms in the hands of these brave men, whom they would then destroy—but they were not executioners to butcher men in cold blood. Sumroo goaded them on, however, and every man was slaughtered.

In 1766, the pay of a Surgeon on the Bengal establishment was fixed at Sonaut Rupees 124, in garrison, and 372 in the field ; the corresponding allowances of an Assistant Surgeon were Rupees 62 and 248. In November of this year, with a view to reduce the charges of the Medical Department, the Surgeons received a contract for the supply of medicines, at the rate of eighteen shillings for each European, including every thing, except clothing, bedding, cots and lodging.

Captain Hamilton found a " pretty good hospital at Cal-

her wounded were sent to hospital. In July of the year 1757, which proved fatal to their Admiral, upwards of 600 of the men were sent to the hospital. Their chief diseases were putrid fevers, fluxes, &c. In August 1754, one of the ships of this fleet, the *Cumberland*, when in St. Augustine's Bay, Madagascar, had 200 sick, and buried 67. In October 1757 died Major Kilpatrick—of the 250 soldiers who accompanied him from Madras, in August of the preceding year, only five survived him, and even those were then, by repeated sickness, emaciated to the greatest degree.

cutta, where many went in to undergo the penance of physic, "but few came out to give account of its operation."

It has already been shewn, in an article on "*Calcutta in the Olden Time*," published in our thirty-sixth Number, that towards the end of last century (1780) "physic, as well as law, "was a gold-mine to its professors. The medical gentlemen in "Calcutta made their visits in palanquins, and received a Gold-mohur from every patient, for every common attendance—"extras were enormous."

Entertaining considerable doubts as to whether this now exhausted gold-mine ever existed, except in the imagination of an ingenious traveller, we have still abundant proof that Calcutta then contained several medical men of the highest eminence, whose labours were, however, for the most part, caviare to the general. In 1784, Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society. The names of several distinguished Surgeons were enrolled among those of its first Members. As a dry detail of the scientific labours of each of those gentlemen might be somewhat tedious, we shall quote a few poetical descriptions of their characters, from a pamphlet of the time. We, who live in prosaic times, and upon whom classical allusions are generally wasted, may be excused in suspecting that portions of the poem verge upon the pathetic. Still we can assure all questioners that this is known to have been a "very ingenious" poem in its day, and had an extensive run. The third edition now lies before us \* :—

Flora and her attendant handmaids mourn  
Still o'er lamented *Kænig's* early urn.

We are told, in the notes, that "Dr. Kænig was a disciple "of the great Linnæus. He died shortly after the institution of "the Society, in consequence of the hill fever, caught when he "was in pursuit of Botanical Researches on the Coast of Coro-mandel."

*Fleming* ! acknowledged scholar, tell us why  
Are your remarks hid from the public eye ?  
What in your life of science gain'd, impart  
With such compliance as you favour art :  
Come, let your modesty be now subdu'd,  
And mental measures ope for general good.

"Dr. John Fleming was first Vice-President of the Society " (Thus encouraged, Dr. Fleming published a valuable cata-

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\* Poems in three parts—Literary Characteristics of the most distinguished members of the Asiatic Society, 1799.

logue of Indian medicinal plants and drugs in the eleventh volume of the *Asiatic Researches*.)

"Come forward ye, whom rosy Flora loves,  
Whose labours all that blooming Queen approves :  
See *Roxburgh* first the high assembly grace,  
To him just judgment gives a prior place.  
*Roxburgh* ! for you the long hair'd *Copia* spread,  
*Ind*'s odorous *Nard* to deck your honour'd head,  
Go, favour'd man, the blue-eyed goddess greet,  
Go, lay *Jonesia* sprigs before her feet '  
At her command bright *Butea* buds unfold,  
Whose vivid pigment vies with burnish'd gold.  
Go, studiously explore the flowery fields,  
And taste the bliss the pleasing study yields !"

(*Roxburgh* died February 18, 1815.)

In zealous *Anderson* we see conjoin'd  
To skill profound, a persevering mind.  
Son of the Swede ! The powers of verse present  
So you all luscious fruit of fragrant scent,  
Or aught in Nature pleasing to your sight,  
Say, will *Alphonso* mangoes give delight ?  
On you the gaudy garden nymphs have smil'd,  
And *Flora* ranks you as a durling child.

"Dr. James Anderson, of Madras." (He became a Member of the Medical Board in 1800, and died August 5, 1809, at Madras.)

Next comes a votary of equal powers,  
Adorn'd with *D'hawry* and *Morinda* flowers !  
*Flora* emits on him her musky breath,  
And bids *Malavian* shepherds twine his wreath !  
But not the garden only claims his care,  
Each muse for *Hunter* myrtle wreaths prepare,  
He pleases when he treads their laurel bower,  
Or when we join him in the instructive tour.  
Behold him *Learning*'s every path pursue  
He shew'd the force of the *Mechanic's* screw ;  
Explain'd by him, we see its power increas'd,  
It makes elastic bodies more compress'd.  
*Labour's* rough sons may now with manual ease,  
A mighty mass of ponderous matter raise,  
Which in a dark unletter'd age would fail  
The common impetus of human toil.  
Th' ingenious man in this refin'd pursuit,  
The nice *micrometer* made more minute.  
The *Index* turn'd to cause its fall or rise,  
Will make the smallest measurement precise.  
His hours are now to heighten commerce given,  
And now to trace th' expanse of starry Heaven.

(*William Hunter*, a Bengal Surgeon, Secretary to the Asiatic Society, died December 1812, at Java) "See his tender and

very affecting poem of the Spanish husband." Narrative of a journey from Agra to Oujein, in the 6th vol. of the *A. R.* His Essay "On a new mode of applying the Screw," was presented to the Royal Society of London by Lieut-General Melville, in the year 1780, and published in the LXXI. vol. of the *Philosophical Transactions*. See his account of Pegu, chapter the 8th. Three papers of Astronomical Observations, in the *A. R.*, and one on the Astronomical labours of Jaysingha :—

" He who endeavours well deserves applause,  
More, if he labours in the public cause ;  
*Balfour!* Observer nice, then come, receive  
The just encomiums which the muses give.  
Early you learn'd and op'd the precious store  
Of knowledge chronicled in Persian lore.  
Whenever Fever in his baneful chase,  
Shall dull the bloom on beauty's lovely face,  
Be yours the bliss, O scientific sage !  
To check the progress of his savage rage—  
To sooth the fair—alleviate her pain—  
And bring her smiles and dimples back again.  
Pleasure refin'd the feeling man must know,  
Who eases mortals on the bed of woe."

" Dr. Francis Balfour was one of the first in this country, " who endeavoured to facilitate the study of the Persian language, " by the publication of the *Insha-y-Herkern*, with an English " translation. He is also the author of a paper in the *A. R.*, on " the introduction of Arabic into Persian, and has laboured in " the improvement of his own profession by several treatises, " wherein he illustrates the influence of the moon in fevers." (Dr. Balfour retired in September 1807.)

Hear *Scott* in modest words the power impart,  
Of Nitric Acid in the healing art.  
Ye giddy youths, who spend nocturnal hours  
In sensual pleasure's fascinating bowers,  
Whose limbs enfeebled, scarcely can sustain  
Your bodies, half consum'd with rooted pain,  
Hear Scott a milder remedy proclaim,  
Than the strong metal which impairs the frame !  
Rejoice, ye youths, who tread in folly's round ;  
Ye men of riot, hear the silver sound !  
The Nitric Acid will your strength restore,  
And kill *that* subtle poison's direful power.

" Dr. Helenus Scott's paper on the use of the Nitric Acid, " with an account of the success attendant on it, is to be found " in the 2nd vol. of Dr. Beddoes's Collection of Medical Cases, " and Observations on Factitious Air, published at Bristol, in the " year 1796." (Dr. Scott became a Member of the Medical

" Board of Bombay, in 1802, and retired in March, 1810, in  
" (England.)

" In yonder Empire, where the Burmas reign,  
Lies an extensive populous domain,  
On which inquiry's dawn has seldom shone,  
Their learning, language, and their ways scarce known ;  
Return *Buchanan* ! to their regions go,  
Explore whatever Burma sages know !  
Remark what minerals their country yields,  
And, lovely study, read their flowery fields !  
This page of nature viewed with learning's eye,  
Exhibits treasures—shall their hidden lie ?"

" ' Botany,' says the great Father of the Society, is the  
" loveliest and most copious diversion in the History of Nature.  
" For the study Dr. Francis Buchanan is peculiarly adapted, as  
" well for ability as from inclination."

(Dr. Buchanan retired in August, 1816)

Is there no other spends inquiring hours  
In sacred Cusi's consecrated bowers ?  
Yes—*Williams* ! you your praise is surely great,  
*Williams* ! men snatched from death your name repeat,  
You check the progress of envenomed pain,  
And made the poison of the adder vain !

" His remarks on the use of Caustic Alkali, against the bite  
of snakes, are published in the 2nd volume of *A. R.*" (John Wil-  
liams died at Cawnpore, in July 1808.)

Oppressively flowery as the above stanzas assuredly are, they  
are interesting, as shewing forth, within a moderate compass,  
the merits of a body of medical men, whose characters and  
scientific labours went far in obtaining for Surgeons in India  
the respectable position which they at present hold.

Our notes of eminent medical writers in India, previous to  
the year 1800, are but scanty. In addition to the above, we  
can only name John Woodall (1612-28.) Burt Adam, James  
Bryce, James Clark, John Clark, J. P. Wade, J. Shearman, and  
Alexander Stewart.

It would be work for a biographical dictionary, rather than  
for a Review, to repeat even the names of those medical officers  
in the three Presidencies who have gained high literary reputa-  
tions since the beginning of the present century. A few only  
can be mentioned here. It may be considered scarcely proper  
to include the names of John Leyden, the Poet and Orienta-  
list, who, entering the Madras Service as a Surgeon's Assistant,  
in 1802, when in his twenty-seventh year, (after having *qua-  
lified* himself by five or six months' incredible labour) passed  
a considerable time in Prince of Wales' Island, engaged in  
amassing information relative to the Indo-Chinese tribes, and was

appointed a Professor in the College of Bengal, but is stated by his English biographers to have soon exchanged this for the more lucrative appointment of a Judge in Calcutta! devoting every leisure however to the study of Oriental manuscripts and antiquities, upon the resolve which he thus expresses in a letter to a friend :—" If I die without surpassing Sir William Jones a hundred-fold in oriental learning, let never a tear for me profane the eye of a borderer." In 1811, Leyden accompanied the Governor-General to Java, where, searching eagerly for Oriental manuscripts in an ill-ventilated library, in the pestilential month of August, he was attacked with fever, and died in three days, at the age of thirty-six, adding another to the countless hecatombs of lives which have been cast away by Indian adventurers, in vain efforts to compel the failing body to obey the unfair behests of the never-tiring mind. Nor is Mr. Assistant Surgeon Joseph Hume, the Statesman and Oriental scholar, altogether within our province, although he served and served well, in the Bengal Presidency, from 1799, until February 1808. Neither can we fairly deal with the Right Honorable Sir James Mackintosh, Recorder of Bombay and Doctor of Physic, who, at one period of his early career, narrowly escaped the prospect of becoming Physician to the Emperor of Russia, upon Dugald Stewart's recommendation, that " he was a man eminently qualified in the line of his profession."

The following are but a sprinkling of the names of those who have given by their writings a scientific character to the medical profession in India.\*

*In Medicine and Surgery.*—Malcolmson, John Milne, Colin Rogers, William Scott, John Adam, R. Cole, A. Thomas, H. Goodeve, James Anderson, Brett G. H. Bell, Searle, W. Raleigh, Sir James Annesley, Twining, Kenneth Mackinnon, McCosh, Mosgrove, Ambrose Blacklock, John Macpherson, Sir W. Ainslie, Hutchinson, Richard O'Shaughnessy, Allan Webb, Hare, Parkes, Goddes, Wise, Maxwell, Finch, Thomas Moore, Charles Morehead, Conwell, F. Corbyn, Frederic Forbes, Dr. Honigberger, J. Cole, W. Hunter, R. H. Kennedy, N. Jameson and Jas. Kennedy.

*In Botany, Natural History and Chemistry.*—Wallich, Royle, Faulkener, W. O'Shaughnessy, R. Wight, Thomas Thomson, Arnott, W. Gilchrist Theodore Cantor, Jerdon, McCelland,

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\* It is told of the late Lord Rolle that, when a Colonel of Yeomanry, he was wont to dismiss his regiment from parade, with the question,—" Now my lads, how will ye go home, rank and file, or higglee pigglee?" The answer invariably was—" Higglee pigglee. My Lord! Higglee pigglee!" We beg that we may be understood to have placed the following names—not rank and file, " but higglee pigglee."

W. Montgomerie, J. Stevenson, Helfer, Herbert, and Hugh Cleghorn.

*Public Health.*—Ranald Martin, F. Pemble Strong, Dr. Norman Chevers, and Joseph Bedford.

*General Literature and Science.*—Tytler, John Grant, Corbyn, Hutchinson and Hunter.

*Oriental Literature History and Antiquities.*—Horace Hayman Wilson, James Bird, Sherwood, Wise, E. G. Balfour, Nicholson, Lush, Stevenson, Macgregor, and Aloys Sprenger.

*Medical Topography, Meteorology and Geology.*—A. Campbell, Donald Butter, Fayrer, J. P. Malcolmson, Spry, Baikie, Carter, J. Adams, Birch, Ives, W. H. Bradley, Bruce, Carter, Kinloch, Kirke, R. Colc, C. F. Collier, Dollard, Irvine, J. McCosh, John Murray, J. Clark, Taylor, Sir J. Burnes, Spilsbury, Turnbull, Christie, Ward, Grant, Malcolmson, Arnott, Benjamin Babington, Baddely, Hutton, A Duncan, Gibson, Benjamin Heyne, P. B. Lord, Forbes, Benza, J. Clark, Marshall, J. Stevenson, Murray (of Bombay) Walker, Voysey.

Considering the many drawbacks which attend the pursuit of Medical Research and Literature in the East, India may boast of very fair success in the number and value of her Medical Journals.

*The Transactions of the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta* were commenced in 1825.

*The Transactions of the Bombay Medical and Physical Society* were first issued in 1838. They have continued to appear up to the present time.

In 1834 the *Indian Journal of Medical and Physical Science* was commenced by Messrs. Grant and Pearson who published two volumes; it subsequently appeared regularly every month under the successive auspices of Dr. Corbyn, Dr. Eveleigh and Dr. C. Finch, until the end of 1845, when its publication ceased.

The *Quarterly Medical and Surgical Journal of the North-West Provinces* first appeared in 1848.

*Dr. Edlin's India Register of Medical Science* was issued monthly during the year 1848.

*The Indian Annals of Medical Science* are published half yearly in Calcutta. The first part was issued in October, 1853.

We will venture to say that the whole of these Periodicals will bear comparison, as regards the value and originality of their matter, with any serials of like pretensions in Europe.

It would be difficult to point to any peculiar and distinctive characteristics in the Indian Surgeon, with the exception of his pallid countenance and his empty pockets. Many of his



friends, whose forte is witty anecdote, regale him frequently with certain ornamented facts, regarding his venerable predecessors, which are, questionless, deemed valuable, as conveying instruction and warning to himself.—Such as the veracious histories—of the *Philosophic Surgeon*, who, on his way to his indigo factory, would enquire of the native doctor—"Any thing to-day"—and, upon receiving the ready answer, "All's well, Lord of the world ! only five men dead," would exclaim cheerfully—"good, very good"—and canter gaily about his business ;—again of the *Ambitious Surgeon* who, having gone through every grade in His Majesty's army, from Assistant Surgeon to retired Inspector-General of Hospitals, entered the Company's service with an eye to a seat in the Medical Board :—and, still again, of the *Experimental Surgeon* who, in every case requiring a brisk emetic, compelled the patient to swallow two live blue-bottle flies of the splendid Indian species, which were no sooner bolted, then they operated vitally and returned to light.\* All men have their peculiarities, but the greatest peculiarity of the Indian Surgeon probably is, that he is rarely, if ever, permitted the luxury of exercising his. Forming one of the centres of a series of very small circles, he is kept too conscious of being an object of criticism to venture upon singularity.

We have now before us a valuable pamphlet entitled "*Notes on the condition of the Indian Medical Services*," by J. Macpherson, M. D., which contains the most recent account that we have of the official position of Medical Officers in the three Presidencies :—

The Medical Service of Bombay consists of 35 surgeons and 105 assistant surgeons, making a total of 158, with usually a certain number of supernumeraries, never exceeding 20 in number, and generally falling short of that number. It may be said, in a general way, that about 70 officers are employed with the Army or in the Indian Navy, about 50 are on Staff or Civil employment, and the large number of 32 on leave or furlough, almost all of them on sick certificate.

The zillah or civil stations appear to be about 16 in number, and their pay seems to be much the same as that of similar appointments in Bengal, Rupees 360 a month, sometimes with an additional hundred for the charge of civil or insane hospitals, or the same sum for a duty which is never assigned to them in Bengal—that of assistant magistrates ; and which, since commencing this article, we find has been withdrawn from all

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\* This philosopher merely prescribed *auctoritate ant- quorum* since we are told that the best and most effectual way of taking *Wood Lice*, (once considered of potency in asthma) "is the swallowing them alive, which is very easily and conveniently done, for they naturally roll themselves upon being touched, and thus form a sort of "smooth pill, which slips down the throat without being tasted. This is the securest "way of having all their virtues." Every one is aware with what sovereign effect John Abernethy recommended a live spider to the lady who had swallowed a fly.

assistant surgeons : they appear to be scarcely ever post-masters or registrars of deeds. There are also in civil or district employ, 4 superintending vaccinators, each receiving Rupees 350 a month, besides their military pay. Of the civil stations, we believe Poona is the favourite one, and that a little is made by private practice, but there is reason to suppose that in the absence of any great number of Europeans, they must be inferior to the better class of Bengal stations as respects income from private practice ; and can have little advantage over ordinary Military appointments, beyond the convenience of their being more fixed.

Other appointments held by them at present are, the surgeoncies in the Persian Gulf, at Baroda, Catch, Kuttwar, Indore, Sattara, &c., the charge of the ex-ameers, and the private secretaryship to the Governor of Madras, and one appointment in the Nizam's Service. The station of Mahabaleshwar is one of the best appointments, and a popular man may make something by practice, although fees are rarely given by Government servants in Bombay. We see the pay of the surgeon in the Persian Gulf (whether at Bagdad or Bushire, is not very clear,) set down at Rupees 515-0-4. Three officers are detached in the Assay Department, and we observe that there are four staff surgeons.

The proportion of staff appointments at the Presidency itself, is, as compared with the other Presidencies, large ; including the Members of the Medical Board, they amount to about 20, or almost as many as in the much larger Presidency of Bengal. There are three Members of the Board, and its secretary, a superintending surgeon, five professors of the Medical College, a store-keeper, a surgeon to the General Hospital, and an assistant, a garrison surgeon and assistant, a surgeon of the Marine battalion, a civil surgeon and assistant, a police surgeon and assistant, port surgeon, &c., surgeon to the Jamsetjee Jeejeeboy hospital, an oculist : generally one officer holds two or more of these appointments.

The pay of the officers at the Presidency appears to be much the same as that of Calcutta ; for instance, the professors in the Government College receive Rupees 450, while they only have Rupees 400 at Calcutta ; but perhaps this difference depends merely on house-rent ; and may be only apparent. The Members of the Board, however, and their secretary, the superintending surgeons, the store-keeper, and the surgeon to the Governor, are not so well paid as the corresponding officers in Bengal.

Most assistant surgeons, in the earlier part of their career, are made to serve for two years in the Indian Navy. If their stay be not too long protracted in it, there is very little hardship in this, as they have the opportunity of seeing, in fine vessels, a good deal of the coasts of India, Persia, Arabia, &c ; the pay is small, somewhat larger we believe than that for doing duty with a regiment ; but as the temptations to extravagance, and even the opportunities of spending money, are few, it may be considered ample.

The number of Bombay Medical officers always absent on sick leave is remarkable, and this is usually ascribed to the effects of the unhealthy climate of Scinde. Something, perhaps, may also be attributed to the greater facility and cheapness of getting home from Bombay than from the other Presidencies.

Staff appointments at the Presidency are as much sought after at Bombay as in Calcutta, and several of the officers at the Presidency enjoy pretty good incomes from practice, as also do one or two private practitioners. A good deal of the practice lies among the Parsees, who are, after the Europeans, the leading class, and certainly the most intelligent

and enterprising of Orientals. They are, however, much in the habit of employing private practitioners. The best medical practice is not nearly so remunerative as in the larger city of Calcutta, nor even equal to Madras.

On the whole, Bombay has a greater number of staff appointments at the Presidency, in proportion to the number of the members of its Medical Service, than Bengal; it also enjoys a larger proportion of the appointments that fall to the lot of the seniors of the Service than Bengal, though it is inferior in this respect to Madras, which has certainly got the lion's share.

The Madras Medical Service consists of about 72 surgeons and 154 assistant surgeons, making a total of 226. Of these some 80 are on staff employ, 90 in regimental employ, and some 50 absent on sick or other leave.

Of those on staff employ, about 28 are zillah surgeons, 10 employed in Residencies. The pay of zillah surgeons is, we believe, the same as in Bengal and Bombay. We should suppose that civil surgeoncies, generally speaking, cannot be very remunerative. We have heard of Salem as a good civil station. The Neilgherries must yield a considerable income, and of the surgeoncies, Hyderabad is of course the best, rivalling Lucknow; the surgeoncy to the Mysore commission and some other Residency surgeoncies, as that of Cochin, are comfortable appointments. There are 10 officers in the Nizam's service, all well paid, 5 garrison Surgeons, no fewer than 10 superintending Surgeons, 3 members of the Medical Board, and a secretary, the latter at present being an assistant surgeon.

There are at the Presidency 15 medical officers, including the Medical Board, being 8 surgeons and 7 assistant surgeons. Their duties are those of garrison surgeon, medical store keeper, four district surgeons, superintendent Eye Infirmary, surgeon General Hospital, one permanent assistant, and one assistant surgeon to it, and six chairs in the Medical College. We observe, as differing from the routine of Bengal, that one of the assistants at the General Hospital retains his appointment on promotion, also that an assistant at the General Hospital is officiating as surgeon to it during the absence on sick certificate of the surgeon. A principle somewhat similar to this was acted on recently in the North-West Provinces of Bengal, when the Lieutenant-Governor, anxious to secure the station of Agra, which is a surgeon's appointment, for an assistant surgeon on his promotion, appointed him while an assistant surgeon to the civil station.

Assistant surgeons in Madras are, on their first arrival, made to do duty at the General Hospital, and keep case books, until they are reported duly qualified for the general duties of the army.

We confess our very imperfect knowledge of Madras, but from all that we have heard, the private practice at the Presidency is not so remunerative as at Calcutta, though more so than at Bombay. The best practice is chiefly in the hands of two men. We have also heard of surgeons in the Madras Presidency making a point of never receiving fees, even from those who are well able to pay, in which respect they differ from 9-10ths of their Bombay and Bengal brethren.

The great superiority of the Madras service over the two others lies in the unusually large proportion of superintending surgeons which it possesses, no fewer than 10, or but one short of the Bengal Army, and if Burmah should be finally assigned to the Madras Army, they will get one

more superintending surgeon, and thus have just as many superintending surgeons as the much larger Presidency of Bengal. We have been told that there is a much more efficient Board at Madras than there has been in Bengal for many years, and, as the men are younger, this is very probable, but that there, as elsewhere, their influence, for good or bad, is, from the want of all independent power, very trifling; they have, however, published some useful Topographies and statistical Returns, and have never been guilty of giving to the world any documents so feeble as the late Report of the Bengal Board on Fever and Dysentery, which has been so generally laughed at. We think that the Service continues to support a Medical journal.

We have reason to believe that the Madras Subordinate Medical Department is better organized than that of Bengal, and they have apothecaries instead of Native doctors to their regiments; a certain number of the Medical officers are made to give gratuitous lectures to the Subordinate Department, but gratuitous services cannot be expected to be zealously rendered.

The Bengal Medical Service consists of 129 surgeons and 230 assistant surgeons, making a total of 359. There are supposed to be a certain number of supernumeraries attached, but this is by no means always the case. The service may be said generally to be divided into 200, employed in purely regimental duty, (including irregular cavalry and local corps,) about 120 on civil or staff employ and 40 on furlough or leave, the proportion of the latter being much smaller than in Madras, and little more than 1-3rd that of Bombay,—a very remarkable fact! We may here remark that it is a subject of some just complaint in Bengal, where promotion is so slow, that a Surgeon of 30 years' service, when on furlough, draws no higher pay than one just promoted, but this is also the case with the Captain who is unlucky in his promotion.

Some of the chief civil and staff appointments, besides the 11 superintending surgeons and the members of the Board, are the following: viz., upwards of 50 civil stations in Bengal and the North-west: of these only 6 are assigned to full Surgeons, namely, Delhi, Agra, Benares, Patna, Dacca, Berhampore, and are all more or less sought after. Of the appointments in the North-West, the most lucrative for assistant surgeons are Bareilly, and the civil surgeoncies of Simla and Mussoorie: the two last only held for a period of two years. In Bengal there are many very excellent civil appointments, supposed to vary in value from 700 to 1,100 a year, as Kishnaghur, Howrah, Jessore, Tinhoot, Bhaugulpore, Chuprah, Hooghly, Ghazeeport, &c. The registry of deeds is in some of the cases the most valuable addition to the appointment, while in Kishnaghur the ferry gives a handsome return, but in all these cases, the value of the appointment depends much on the popularity of the civil surgeon with the station and the neighbouring planters and land-holders. In Bengal and the North-West, the civil surgeons very generally hold the post-office, and are also often Registers of Deeds. But under the new changes they are to be deprived of the Post Offices, and the civilians always endeavour to get hold of the Registries for themselves.

Of political appointments, strictly speaking, only two are now held by Members of the Medical Service, namely, the charge of Darjeeling, and the custody of the young Maharaja. The two chief residency surgeoncies are excellent appointments, Lucknow being worth Rupees 1,500 a month to any one of common judgment, and Nagpore about Rupees 1,200. The superintending surgeoncy at Gwalior is a desirable appointment, as,

Indeed, must the charges in the Gwalior Contingent generally be considered. The opium examinations at Ghazepore and Patna are excellent appointments; that at Indore is now held by a Bombay Assistant Surgeon. Two mint appointments, one in Bombay and one in Calcutta, are held by Bengal Surgeons, as well as the charge of the Botanical Gardens in Calcutta and Saharunpore; one of the examinations of the College of Fort William is also held by a Medical man.

Including the Medical Board, there are 25 Members of the Medical Service performing Medical duties at the Presidency, and this is including the Surgeon to the Governor-General and to the Body Guard, who cannot be looked on as fixtures. In the last 10 years the offices of second garrison assistant, deputy apothecary, and marine assistant Surgeon, have been abolished, and one Presidency surgeoncy absorbed in the marine surgeoncy. Some of the appointments at the Presidency are the Medical store-keeper or apothecary, the garrison surgeon and assistant, the surgeon to the General Hospital and his two assistants, the Marine Surgeon, the oculist, 6 or 7 professorships in the Medical College, and 5 Presidency surgeoncies.

Of these the best paid are the apothecary, and the Secretary of the Medical College and Council of Education, (two professors of the Medical College, by holding several appointments, also have about Rupees 1,200,) and the worst paid, is the Garrison Assistant Surgeon. The Presidency surgeons are not much better paid than the last, their whole Government pay being Rupees 490; but there is only one who does not now hold some additional employment; the district Surgeons in Madras have Rupees 800, we are told.

People, at a distance, attach an imaginary value to appointments in Calcutta, and suppose them all to be well paid. Many a man who has looked to coming to the Presidency, has been staggered on finding a Presidency surgeoncy offered to him, and then hearing that it is not worth Rupees 500 a month. The fact is, that the value of Calcutta appointments depends on what can be made of them;—when a man has to look to mere Government pay, he would probably be much better off out of Calcutta. The receipts of the Calcutta practitioners are now considerably smaller than in former days. One of the most highly-respected men that has ever visited India—and the oldest resident practitioner in this city—once told us that his largest receipt were Rupees 87,000 in fees, in one year. What may be counted the best practice in Calcutta is divided among three or four men, two of them being supposed to be far ahead of their compeers. There are several private practitioners, some of them, as the Police Surgeon, holding Government appointments, and several of the others having some public employment, as the charge of dispensaries, most of them enjoying the privilege of prescribing on the Company's dispensary, a privilege now become valueless.

Careful sifting of Messrs. Dodwell and Miles' List of the Medical officers of the Indian Army, from the year 1764, to the year 1838, has given us some very curious statistics. We find that, out of 2,019 Surgeons who ate the Company's salt during that period, there are reported—to have been killed in action 7, to have been drowned 13, and to have died on this side of the Cape of Good Hope, 743. In all, seven hundred and sixty-three deaths in India, out of a list of two thousand and nineteen, which included of all the medical men serv-

ing in the three Presidencies when that list was taken! Farther, we find that, of the above number, 63 obtained seats in the Medical Board, and that the number of those Superintending Surgeons who had not risen to the Board (including those serving when the list was drawn out,) was 88. Under the disagreeable heading of "struck off," we find 39: these were, for the most part, gentlemen who exceeded their terms of leave or furlough. The number of those "cashiered," was 6.

We had intended to dwell somewhat at length upon the "Physiology" of the Surgeon in India; but must hasten to a close. It is to be remarked, however, that his constitution appears to lay him open to a peculiar species of affliction immediately upon his receiving his warning, at the India House, that he must sail within three months, and proceeding to conclude his bargain with the owner of some vessel for a passage round the Cape. We would not willingly brand any class of men with a charge of flagrant dishonesty; but we do not hesitate to declare that, in conducting this transaction, he is, in several cases out of every ten, in imminent danger of being egregiously cheated. Every passenger vessel of a certain class must, according to law, carry a surgeon. The owners of certain ships trading to the East Indies, however, display an almost unconquerable aversion to pay the Surgeon who is to attend their crew, and whose "experience" is advertised to attract their passengers. We could relate many instances of the grossest fraud thus practised by ship-owners, upon inexperienced Medical Officers; we will only quote two, for the accuracy of which we can vouch. An Assistant Surgeon takes his berth in a first-class vessel, with a large crew, and crowded with passengers. He suggests that his medicinal attendance upon these persons should be considered in the arrangement, and is told that—"the Captain doctors his crew." Near the Cape, scurvy or typhus appears among the ship's company, and nearly every man in the vessel passes through his hands. It is then only upon the strongest remonstrance, that he receives a promise of a trifling fee from the Captain, "on his own responsibility." Again,—a married officer has received the charge of troops. He meets the owner of the vessel by appointment at the Jerusalem. He bargains for his wife's passage, the price of his own has been fixed by Government. With some difficulty, a stated sum is agreed to; he then proposes that the amount of this should be reduced, if he is to afford medical aid to the crew and passengers. The reply is—"We are not accustomed to have these demands made by Company's Officers, the Captain has his

own medicine chest.—But the passengers?—If we have any, out of the service, they must make their own arrangements.” The Doctor then points to a card on the wall which announces that the ship carries an “Experienced Surgeon.” “Oh” (with some perturbation) “that is the agent’s doing.” “However,” adds the man of capital, with a defiant air, “If you do not choose to attend as other medical men do, I shall add to the price of Mrs.——’s passage.” The doctor, feeling himself entrapped, lodges a complaint at the India House. The city gentleman requests another interview, apologising for “hastiness.” The Doctor, having his eye upon a larger cabin, determines to meet his extortioner half way. The last words of the man of tens of thousands, the owner of a fleet, the merchant prince, in this dirty transaction are, “*Another five pound note will make all right between us.*” The note is, then and there, handed across the table, and the chaffering is at an end.

In cases of this kind, medical officers would do well, having paid down their passage money, and having obtained a receipt, to desire that the proper arrangement should be made; any decided evasion should be met thus:—“You have evidently calculated upon receiving gratuitously services to which you have no claim, and for which you are bound to pay; as you have refused to engage my services, I distinctly refuse to render them; you will, however, receive an intimation from my attorney of the fact, that you are compelled by law to carry a surgeon, and that extreme measures will be taken against you, if you venture to sail without one.” A few such lessons would, doubtless, put an end to this nefarious system.

Arrived in India, and settled down in a regimental charge, or in a civil station, the medical officer, like every other man, has his trials and his difficulties; but, so long as he retains his health and likes his profession, these are, for the most part, irritations rather than griefs. With the Military Assistant Surgeon, the chief vexations arise from frequent marchings and counter-marchings; the innumerable harassments of detachment duty; the inactivity and ennui attendant upon small charges; the toils and exposure of service in the field; the labour and anxiety which pestilential visitations carry in their train.

The position of the Civil Surgeon more closely resembles that of his professional brother, the country general practitioner at home, than any other. Still it presents a few striking distinctive characters. The Mofussil Doctor, who is probably the only European practitioner in a district as large and nearly as populous as Surrey—is, essentially, a doctor

of all work. He has his Jail Hospital, his Military Hospital and his Government Dispensary to attend to. He is probably Secretary to the Government school, and a Member of the Ferry Fund Committee. If fortunate, he is also Post-Master, Registrar of Deeds, and Registrar of Marriages: beyond this he has his private practice, this last, probably, brings him from 0 to two-thirds of his income,—and most of his anxieties and vexations. There is a very singular *lex non scripta* governing the relation between a medical man and his patients in India, from which we must be allowed to cite some few specimen passages.

Upon his arrival at a new station, whatever may be the reputation which has preceded him, and which all might learn upon enquiry, for every man's character can be ascertained in India—his opinions and practice are treated, by the generality of his patients, with the greatest and most undisguised distrust. This is bad law, and should be abrogated entirely. When one's coachman drives us along the edge of a declivity, with a somewhat unsteady grasp upon the reins, it is difficult to repress an exclamation of caution. Still, it may be safe to bear in mind the axiom,—that evident want of confidence can only have the effects of insulting a good Surgeon and of unnerving a bad one.

The unwritten law holds that all pecuniary arrangements shall be settled by the patient, the Doctor not being allowed a word in the matter. If he be paid adequately (which it is but just to say, is generally the case)—well; if he be egregiously defrauded, as happens by no means very rarely,—he must hold his peace, a word of remonstrance would place his reputation in the sharper's power. This should be cried down by the profession themselves.

Although it is generally considered, at home, that death comes in India as a matter of course, it has been decided here, that all deaths are irregular, and that the medical man not only ought not to permit them to occur, but is to be subjected to punishment for their occurrence. We seriously believe that no medical man has ever lost a private patient in India without suffering,—over and above the toil, the anxiety and the disappointment which, in a ten-fold degree, attend such casualties here,—a certain amount of injury, either to his feelings or to his character. This may be dispensed in all degrees, from the averted eye, and thanks for unceasing attention uttered with the intonation of a reproof, to a formal declaration of opinion that a valuable life has been sacrificed by the physician's ignorance. It is easy enough to account for all this. It is a peculiar fault among Surgeons in India that they are



often careless of those guards over demeanour and expression, which are necessary to gain them confidence in their patients' minds. Again, in small Indian communities, a death is an event of such rarity and importance, that every member of the society naturally establishes a rigorous enquiry into the matter ; and, as naturally, condemns a failure which might, not improbably, occur to-morrow in his own case. Beyond this, it generally happens, at home, that the largest number of deaths occurs in the practice of the most eminent physicians and surgeons. The humble apothecary is, therefore, permitted to lose his patient or two annually, in the course of nature, without being subjected to question or blame.

Although often unable to maintain a character for knowledge in his own line, he is expected to be thoroughly acquainted with all those lines which diverge from it. He must be skilled as a meteorologist, a geologist, a chemist, a botanist, a mineralogist, and an ichthyologist ; he should be practised as a dog-doctor and a horse-doctor ; cunning in the manufacture of ginger-beer, and in the preparation of cold cream, and hair oil ; an examiner of boys in mathematics and history, a classical and oriental scholar, an antiquarian, a sanitary reformer, a horseman, and a buggy-driver, a retailer, (if he can possibly be brought to it,) of the morning's news ; and, it may be even—in stations where the march of intellect has rapidly advanced,—a homœopath, a hydro-pathist, a table-turner, and a believer in the universal merits of cod-liver oil, and sarsaparilla. True, most of these qualifications may, perhaps, be fairly expected in a good officer and a civil neighbour ; still it is palpably unfair to seek for them, either in aggregate or in extensive detail, within a head-piece of any but the best quality and largest dimensions.

Notwithstanding all this rigour, professional merit is judged in India by very carelessly fixed standards. There is the "clever man" and the "horse-doctor ;" the "Joe Manton" (sure to kill), and the good children's doctor : but, beyond this, there never was a country in which strivings to approach eminence of any kind were so little appreciated and encouraged, by society generally, as they are with us. This may also be readily accounted for. In India, nearly every member of the society whose good opinion the scientific aspirant is solicitous to gain, is a person who not only possesses considerable acquirements and celebrity of his own, but maintains a vivid consciousness of the fact. Here, then, the *omne ignotum pro magnifico* principle goes for nothing, and no men of intellect can be fairly expected to think highly of that which they do not understand. As regards medical fame, the principle holds

universally, that, *It can only be legitimately dispensed by the voices of the profession.* In a country, therefore, where it often happens that a medical man is not brought into contact for many years with any one of his professional brethren, it is not surprising that many fair reputations should remain at a standstill. Not very long since, we met with a sufficiently clear illustration of the mode in which scientific labours are viewed in India. Conversing with a friend who's, in most respects, a man of great sense and discernment, we placed in his hand the———, a Treatise by a medical man in this country,—observing that it was an admirable work. Our friend turned over the leaves of the bulky volume; and, returning it with an air of some uncertainty, remarked, that “he should have thought that doctors did enough of that sort of writing at the hospitals.” The work of European celebrity, the labour of half a life-time, was placed upon the footing of a mere school essay. This was the style of encouragement afforded by the non-professional circles in which he moved to another friend of ours who, not being overburthened with practice, devoted all the spare hours of his days, for many years, to the study of pathology, in the school where his education had been received. He gained some little reputation, with the profession; but, to the last, his aunts and cousins could never be brought to understand why “it took John so many years to walk the hospitals!”

An attempt to set forth the state of the Military and Retiring Funds upon which the Surgeons of our three presidencies depend as means of providing for their families towards, or after, the termination of their own careers, would be greatly out of place at the end of an article. The question is, unhappily, one which, involving the deepest interests of every officer in the service, will hereafter demand folios for its elucidation. It will be sufficient to say that the Medical Officers of each Presidency have their Retiring Fund. That at Madras is of the oldest standing, that of Bombay is, or at all events, was a few years since, in a position of exceeding difficulty, while the Medical Retiring Fund of Bengal, established not many years ago at the instance of Dr. John Henderson, can now only grant, in twenty-two years, the annuities which were to have been ready at the expiration of seventeen. One and all, the various Joint Stock Funds of India appear to have been constructed upon no principles more valid or determinate than those upon which an ingenious child builds up a dirt pie of unusual dimensions; and to be conducted in a manner which, although sufficiently characterised by zeal

and conscientiousness, has ever displayed an absolute unacquaintance, on the part of the managers, with the first principles of joint stock union. Two instances, out of many, will sufficiently illustrate the truth of these assertions. A few years since, it was discovered by one of the managers of the Military Fund that, in all cases where subscribers had died indebted to the Fund in any portion of a month's subscription, the sum thus due was never claimed for the benefit of the Fund. Thus, supposing the deaths of A. and B. to have occurred respectively on the 1st and the 28th of January, deductions were made from their pay only up to the end of December, and thus twenty-nine days' subscriptions were lost to the Fund. It was found that some thousand Rupees, thus due, were still available and, when claimed, were paid into the Fund. Many thousands, with the interest which should have accrued from them were, however, irrevocably lost. Again, whenever any question involving unusual expenditure of monies belonging to either Fund is brought upon the tapis, the custom is to leave its decision to the votes of the subscribers at large! True, every man should be permitted to do what he will with his own; but, to do this wisely, it is, of course, essential that he should know precisely what means he possesses, and we unhesitatingly declare our conviction that neither of those associations can select one of their member from every hundred who could give even an approximative guess at the actual condition of the Funds to which he subscribes, or justify the outlays for which he votes. The various propositions to relax the rules of the Funds in favor of this pitiable case or that, are—considering that fixed principles of organization are essential to the existence of every Joint Stock Concern—palpably ridiculous. There is not a little truth mixed with the sarcasm of the axiom that "Joint Stock Companies should have neither mercy, conscience, nor compassion." At all events, any Company of the kind, wishing to exercise either of these virtues, should assuredly provide themselves with a distinct fund whence they may meet its demands. Ill-constructed and ill-understood, it is to be feared, that many years must elapse and many severe pulls upon the pockets of the subscribers must be endured, before these Funds can be freed from their original defects and subsequent shortcomings.

Like the Members of all other services, the Medical Officers of the Company have their grievances. Year by year, however, these have diminished in weight and number under calm remonstrance, addressed to a Government who have rarely

turned a deaf ear to the just claims of their servants. The chief of the remaining sources of dissatisfaction are :—The low rates of pay and allowances. The slowness of promotion among those who have reached the grade of Surgeon. The limitation of the powers of the Medical Board, and the hesitation which Government displays in granting pensions by rank to their Medical Officers. The latter subject, being at present in agitation, we shall quote a passage from an application by Dr. Burness, to the late Court of Proprietors, as setting forth the wishes of the service.

In 1796, when the Indian army was assuming the important character it now possesses, the Medical Department was officially declared by the Court of Directors to be an integral portion of it. Liable to the same dangers, and to more than the same fatigues and exposures, the right of its members to rank, quarters, pay, and pension, relatively with military officers, was freely and fairly conceded. The same just principle was again enunciated in the Court's despatch of the 5th February 1823, wherein it was unequivocally expressed that no distinction should exist betwixt the military and medical branches, but that the one should enjoy proportionate advantages in common with the other. And so, for forty years, the united departments proceeded *pari passu*, the officers of each retiring on the pension of the grade which they had respectively attained. In 1838, however, the Home Government granted to the military officers pensions by length of service, as well as by rank, giving them an option to choose between the two, but without including their medical brethren in the boon and when the latter prayed for a similar favour, they, strange to say, granted the pension by service, but withdrew that by rank; thus drawing a marked distinction between the departments, rendered more galling by the fact that the avowed object, as respected the military, was a gracious intention to raise, so far as pension could, the unfortunate in promotion, to a level with the fortunate, while the manifest design, in regard to the medical service, was to bring down the lucky to the standard of the unlucky; or in other words, because one branch of it had been slow and supine in its rise, another, which had mounted the ladder with an active step, was also to be brought down to, and retained at, zero. Could any legislation be more mistaken, or disheartening? But the singular anomaly did not end here. In every other case, where innovations, injurious to individuals, had been introduced, they were only to affect new comers, and not those in the service. Take, for instance, the new rules as to the pensions for chaplains, dated August 31, 1836, those for veterinary surgeons, dated May 2, 1851, by both of which it was clearly defined that present members were not to suffer: and again, those promulgated in the present year for chaplains, prolonging their pension period from fifteen to seventeen years, but guarding religiously the interests of actual incumbents. While strict justice was thus being administered to other departments, the medical service was told that, for ten years, from July 1842, its Members might retire either under the old or new rules; but that in July 1852, the latter were to become absolute. This narrow concession might satisfy the seniors to the change, but its practical effort was, by a stroke of power, to alter arbitrarily the conditions on which several hundreds of valuable public servants had accepted the employ of Government, men who, without any disparage-

ment to the ecclesiastical and veterinary departments, had done their duty as well as they, and were as much entitled to the consideration of their masters.

Doubtless, most of these drawbacks will undergo mitigation in due process of time. Long ago, even when laboring under many serious disadvantages from which they are now entirely freed, the generality of Surgeons in India never failed to regard and to boast of their service, as by many degrees the best and the most liberal that has ever been open to the members of the profession. The Medical Officer of the East India Company is exempt from many of the greatest ills that beset the career of his professional brethren at home. While he lives, fair competency is assured to him in return for a fair amount of daily toil; and his thoughts of the future are not embittered by a prospect of over-wrought or necessitous old age, or by the reflection that those who are dearest to him will lose all support at his death.

Well-esteemed and attentively listened to by the profession at home, with a countless number of hitherto almost untrodden tracks of scientific enquiry open before them, in the scene of their labours, with the certainty of full encouragement from Government in the pursuit of their investigations, and with a fair probability that any success which they may achieve will be duly appreciated,—for we could not point to a single Medical Officer in the service who can justly complain that, in his case, unusual talent, industry or merit has been long and entirely neglected—we cannot but believe that, with increased activity in working out the hidden treasures of Eastern pathology and therapeutics, and in the encouragement of closer professional union among themselves, by the establishment of Medical Societies in correspondence with the learned bodies of Europe and America, the profession in India might readily achieve a degree of appreciation and influence, which would render them the most fortunate class of physicians ever known, since the good old times of scarlet roquelaures and gold-headed canes.

## PRATT, WEITBRECHT, AND THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BY REV. G. C. CUTHBERT.

1. *Memoir of the Rev. John James Weitbrecht, late Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Burdwan, comprehending a History of the Burdwan Mission.* Compiled from his Letters and Papers by his Widow. With recommendatory notice by the Rev. H. Venn, B.D., Hon. Sec. of the C. M. S., and an Introduction by the Editor, the Rev. A. M. W. Christopher, M.A., Curate of St. John's, Richmond, &c. London. 1854.
2. *Memoirs of the Rev. Josiah Pratt, B. D., late Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and for twenty-one years Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.* By his Sons, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, M. A., Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, and the Rev. John Henry Pratt, M. A., Fellow of Grenville and Caius' College, Cambridge, and Domestic Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Calcutta. London. 1849.
3. *The Reports and other Publications of the C. M. S.*

CHRISTIAN missions to the Heathen have now assumed a position of that magnitude and importance among the powerful agencies of this age of earnest activity, and more especially here in India, that more than justifies, that demands, a respectful notice in these pages one of the objects of which is to chronicle the chief movements and principles which affect the minds and the interests of men, and exert an influence, direct or indirect, in producing great moral results in the condition of Indian Society, under its main division of Native and European.

A notice of the class of motive agencies here referred to is demanded also by the astonishing ignorance which prevails concerning them, even among persons who might well be expected to be familiar with the whole matter. What Henry Martyn said near fifty years ago, might be repeated still by nineteen-twentieths of those most strongly bound to know every thing that makes either for, or against, the interests of this our Indian Empire :—"We know nothing about Christianity in India ; take it in its most extensive sense, as the religion of all who are baptized, and we can do no more than guess at the extent to which it has spread."\* We suppose, for instance, that if five out of every six of our Governors, or Governors-General, were, on returning to England, to be called before a Parliamentary Committee, or the Hon'ble Court of Directors itself, in some

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\* Letter quoted in Pratt's Memoir, p. 63.

rare moment of interest about a subject so despised, and asked to give some information respecting the state and prospects of Christianity among the "peoples, nations and languages" they had been governing—about the Missionaries and their work among these widespread millions—how many they (the Missionaries) are,—what they are doing,—what subsidiary agency they employ,—what have been the results of their proceedings in converting natives to Christianity; with what feelings they inspire the people generally towards their European masters, whether, as used to be so vehemently and solemnly predicted as the certain effect of missionary interference, they are really exciting the superstitious fears of the population, and stimulating them to rise *en masse* inflamed with religious fury, and drive us from the land;—or any other of the multitudinous questions which would occur to a mind of ordinary intelligence enquiring on the subject,—our worthy rulers, though "Christians" themselves, of course, and though perhaps pensioned and titled and G. C. B'd., for their able and enlightened administration, would have to confess that they knew nothing whatever of all these things, that except when some forward lady collector or officious Secretary of a missionary society intruded upon them a subscription list or a Report, or when they happened to see in a newspaper an account of a missionary meeting—which they *skipped* of course,—they never heard or saw anything whatever of the missionaries or their doings. \*

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\* Perhaps we ought to except Lord Dalhousie from this imputation. He has certainly seen with his own eyes something that had resulted from Missionary labour. It is recorded of him, on the best authority that, in company with the late hon-oured Mr. Thomason of Agra, he actually visited the Church.

He has not been left without precedent, however; not only did his Lordship's father-in-law Lord Tweeddale, when Governor of Madras, manifest a lively interest in Missionary affairs; but previous Governors-General, *e.g.*, the Marquis of Hastings and Lord W. Bentinck went as far, probably, as they were allowed in their day, in forwarding this *the great work of England in India*.

Nor ought we to omit acknowledging that a better spirit seems to be getting place amongst our men in authority. Without referring at any length to the late Mr. Thomason's steady and cordial countenancing of missionary labour: it gives us pleasure to state that his successor in the Lieut Governorship of Agra, the Hon. J. Colvin, has manifested a ready and intelligent interest in the same, both by visiting and subscribing liberally to Missionary institutions and objects: and our new Lieut.-Governor of Bengal, the Hon'ble F. J. Halliday, on his first official tour, astonished every one, and delighted the friends of missions, by his kind notice of missionary schools and missionary plans, and the careful attention and minute enquiries they elicited from him. The honourable testimony to missionary efforts delivered by Sir Charles Wood, when introducing the new India Bill to the British Parliament, may have tended to produce this altered tone but, at all events, we sincerely rejoice in it.

And no one would be more surprised than these same enlightened ex-Governors, if some one who perhaps had never seen "the East," but took some thought for the great and best interests of the people of India, as well as for the petty ones of the *Honourable Company*, were to inform them that in the country they had governed with so much enlightenment, there were some 400, more or less educated, intelligent, active and zealous European missionaries, engaged night and day in doing their work of evil or of good; that they are establishing themselves in the land, having formed no fewer than 300 stations, where they generally erect permanent buildings, and set their varied machinery at work, including no fewer than 2,000 schools, which contain above 64,000 pupils of almost all classes of the native community; that they have gathered round them in their several spheres altogether some thousands of fellow-agents, natives of the country, and in various degrees educated, trained, obedient men, fully prepared to carry out the designs of their employers in acting on the minds of the people, and actually engaged in doing so, teaching in the schools, preaching and distributing books innumerable in the bazars, and at the immense periodical gatherings of the people, called *Melas*, in various noted places, as well as journeying about through the villages, and there also pursuing their work of propagandism; and moreover, that they were expending on this work not far short of £200,000 sterling per annum. And if it were further stated, that the ready evasion, that the whole agency is powerless and insignificant, is set aside by the undeniable fact, that *tens of thousands* of the people have, from whatever motives, actually declared their adhesion to them, abandoning their ancestral habits of life and worship, so dear to Orientals, and adopting others of a new and foreign stamp; that of these there are actually known to be above 112,000—though the number is probably much greater)—who have been formed into about 400 little communities or congregations. We say, that at all this information, the be-starred and be-lauded ex-Governor would open his bewildered eyes in utter amazement, only to be equalled, we hope, by his honest shame at having to learn it only *then*.

Nor is this ignorance peculiar to our Governors; it is but too common amongst the inferior members of "the Services," and amongst Europeans in India generally. We well remember when voyaging to this country not many years ago, having as shipmates amidst a very large company, for we came by what is facetiously termed the "Overland Route," an old Company's officer, who had served his masters bravely and well, no doubt, during some five and twenty years, and was then returning



to India, after a visit home, "bearing his blushing honours thick upon him," having been specially complimented on his services by Royalty itself. Now there were with us in the ship two or three gentlemen connected with one of the great missionary societies, who were making their first voyage to India. They seemed very full of the great work to which their lives were devoted, and often spoke of it, with a view apparently of both gaining information themselves, and of enlisting in it the interest of their fellow-passengers. Our veteran Indian friend, however, gave them very little encouragement. His testimony, most confidently given, was to the effect that missionary work in India was all a delusion, if not an imposture;—that there was no such thing in existence as a true convert, and could not be,—to convert the Hindus being an *utter impossibility*—(and, indeed, he seemed to think, if he did not say, that the attempt was as unnecessary as its success was impossible, the religion of the Hindus being a better one, at least *for them*, than Christianity)—that the few pretended converts that one hears of, were induced to profess Christianity merely from interested motives, and were all of the very lowest and most despicable of the people. And then as to missionary schools, there were either none at all, or if there were, they were just got up by the missionaries, that they might have something to write reports of, and the pupils who attended them were bribed to do so, for that the Hindus were too learned a people to want any of our teaching. As for the missionaries themselves, this man of Indian experience, seemed to think them about equally divided between weak fanatical men who deluded themselves into thinking they were doing good, and artful men, who knowingly deluded others for their own purposes;—in fact knaves and fools.

Such statements as these, delivered with great confidence and a somewhat oracular air, backed too by some quarter of a century's experience of Indian life, appeared at first somewhat to puzzle and daunt our zealous young missionaries. At length, however one of them happened to ask the witness what *personal knowledge* he possessed of the matter to which he testified so authoritatively. It then came out, after some little fencing with the query, and no little wincing on the part of the deponent, that he had *none whatever*;—that he had no personal acquaintance with any missionary in India, that he had never spoken to, or if we recollect rightly, even seen any native convert, never examined or visited a missionary school, nor entered a missionary station in his life, and in point of fact, knew nothing whatever of the affairs upon which he had so freely and confidently spoken! It was instructive, and to some

amusing, to see the veteran's hardy cheek crimson with shame before the numerous company, when he had to confess to his own utter ignorance of what he had so often delivered himself upon with all the air of a man of thorough information.

We give this little fact at length, and vouch for its correctness, because it presents a fair illustration of the entire ignorance of missionary subjects prevalent throughout the mass of the Indian community.\* People, unhappily, caring nothing about a subject so serious, take no trouble to ascertain the facts connected with it; never make an enquiry of any one qualified to furnish correct information, never spend so much as an hour, during a life of years, perhaps, in a missionary country, in personal examination of Missionary proceedings that may be going on at their very doors. And then, they take up notions upon the subject, quite contrary to the truth, and violently unfavourable to missions, from some of the irreligious newspapers or other periodicals of the day, which with safe valour, delight in having a fling at the religionists and their doings, of which writers and readers are alike supremely ignorant—the blind leading the blind.

There is indeed old and classical authority for this igno-

\* If the simple English reader should enquire how it is possible for intelligent persons, living so long in India, to continue unacquainted with what has been going on among them and around them, we refer him to a story of Dr. Aikin's, in *Evenings at Home*, called (if we remember rightly the reading of our childhood) "*Eyes and no Eyes, or the Art of seeing.*" And for his further information we cite the following anecdote, which we have on good authority:—In a certain town (which as well as one of the parties in question we could name) in Britain, was held not long ago, a missionary meeting; whereat appeared a missionary from India (we forget what part), and told the people assembled of the work going forward in the country and the station where he had been employed; and amongst other things, of his schools, well attended by native youths, all learning Scripture Truth, and of his preaching to chapels filled with attentive hearers, &c. Something of what the Missionary had said was related in the hearing of an officer of a Regiment then lately returned from India; and this officer began immediately to denounce the whole as a delusion and an imposture, alleging as a proof, that he had himself been quartered for many months in the very station where the missionary had laid his schools and his chapels, and had never seen or heard anything whatever of him or of them. In fact, there was nothing of the kind; the whole was a story, just got up to draw money from the pockets of the fanatics, &c., &c. This "eye-witness" testimony would doubtless have had great weight; but that unfortunately for the witness's credit, a senior and graver officer who was by, quietly asked him whether he had ever enquired as to the existence of these missionary doings when he had been on the spot in India. "Not I," replied the Sub. "Well," rejoined the major, "I did. I take an interest in these things. I very soon found out the missionary and his work; and was frequently in the school, the very existence of which you deny, and saw it and the chapels too, repeatedly, filled with native learners and hearers." The young man was silent. The fact will serve to answer the supposed enquiry. We suppose there are hundreds, if not thousands, of persons who live years in Calcutta itself seeing and knowing nothing whatever of the existence of a missionary or a mission within it.

rance and these erroneous notions. The accomplished Tacitus, with profound philosophic unacquaintance with the Christian missions of his day, which he deemed too insignificant for a dignified historian's examination, branded the whole of the religion of the Gospel as a *Malefica superstitio*." Pliny, though forced to know something of the habits of the Christians, and to testify to their innocence and virtue, yet speaks of them and their faith and their martyr devotion to it, in terms almost equally contemptuous, and the profligate Lucian could find in the Christianity and the Christians of the second century,—and Christianity, be it remembered, was almost wholly missionary then,—only subjects for his loose lampoonery. Alas, that so many of the nominal Christian writers of the nineteenth century, should in this respect so discreditably resemble the avowed Heathen ones of the first and second !

In fact, an acquaintance with the subject in question is seriously inconvenient to human selfishness. To know and acknowledge that a great and all-important work is going on amongst us, and is dependent for its progress in great degree on the generosity of men ; and yet to withhold the hand that could administer to that progress, and to devote to selfish and sinful objects the means which, if rightly applied, would aid materially in securing the ends of a sublime benevolence to mankind, all this supposes a littleness, if not a moral obliquity of soul, from the imputation of which men instinctively shrink ; and almost unconsciously perhaps set about transferring the criminality of the neglect to the object neglected. "A man," says Johnson, "would rather be thought angry than poor," and still more, than poor-spirited ; and hence it may be, springs much of the ignorance and contempt of missionary operations here in India, and the oft-paraded objections against them.

But deeply persuaded of the truth of the Bible, and believing Christianity to be from God, and to be designed by Him for men of all countries and all times, we cannot but believe missions to the Heathen to be the great and first work of Christians among the still unconverted nations of the earth ; a work which had its type from the Divine Founder of Christianity, Himself the first Missionary, which derives its authority and even its rules from his last majestic command,—a command never yet repealed or abrogated,—“Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature ;” (St. Mark xvi.—15) or as more fully stated by St. Matthew (xxviii 19. 20), “Go ye therefore and teach (or make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost ; teaching them to observe all

"things whatsoever I have commanded you;"—a work which, commenced under what would seem the most unfavourable auspices, and by the least apparently suitable persons, low and ignorant men, advanced with almost silent but steady and resistless march, overturning as it advanced, the classical as well as the barbarian mythologies which it found among the natives of the Roman world, prostrating and grinding into powder beneath its sublime and colossal truths, the subtlest philosophic systems of the mightiest minds of antiquity, and the ablest devices of a powerful and interested priesthood, yea, and the authorities, the edicts, the very thrones of empires arrayed in determined hostility against its progress.

We cannot but feel, too, that it is the only work or agency by which the elevating, civilizing, saving principles of Christianity, which it is its object to propagate, can be disseminated amongst the numerous tribes and families of mankind still ignorant of them. We know of no other. Those who cavil and inveigh most vehemently against Christian missions have never pointed out any thing to take their place. Such persons often say, indeed, that they are not enemies of missions in the abstract, as it were; that they believe them to belong to the genius and the *organism* of Christianity, as a system of benevolence to mankind. But somehow it appears to be only some theory of the thing that meets their approval: every actual, existing, working mission is attacked or sneered at. We wish these men would give to the world their ideal of a Christian mission; or still better, would establish and maintain one after their own heart, and then people might have an opportunity of judging whether they had hit upon something better than the means, majestic in their simplicity, ordained by the Divine Founder of our faith.

Colonization might perhaps be mentioned by some; and America might be pointed to as thus in great part covered with Christianity. But, alas! colonization, at least as hitherto conducted propagates Christianity, not by converting the denizens of the soil, but by exterminating them, and presents the Christian in the odious character, not of the friend and the benefactor, but the dispossessor and destroyer of his ruder and more ignorant fellow.

If education, and the various appliances of a social civilization, be put forward as the true means of eventually bringing on enlightened men to receive the pure and exalting principles of the Gospel, we say that there are no historic evidences of the soundness of the allegation. There is, we believe, no

instance on record, of a people educated into Christianity by teaching which was not essentially Christian. We do not find that Paul and the first preachers of the Gospel had as much success amongst the polished and well informed people of Athens, as among the ruder population of Thessalonica or Galatia. Nor do we find at the present day, that the grand and holy Truths of our religion have more sway with the educated people of India or of China (unless the present movement in the latter Empire, still uncertain in its character, proves something opposed to former experience) than with the untaught, but yet acute and vigorous minds of the Negro or the New Zealand races. We have even heard it stated by Missionaries in India, that so far from the highly intellectual, though non-Christian education imparted to native youths in the Government Colleges of India, disposing the minds of any considerable number of those young men to receive or even to favour the Gospel,—the Missionary's bitterest and most violent opponents are very frequently found amongst that highly cultivated class; and though some individuals of it we must allow to have become converts, regarding whose sincerity the most sceptical can entertain no reasonable doubt, still they are as yet but exceptions, and leave the question altogether unreplyed to, what other means or mode can be devised of manifesting and setting to work the self-diffusing, all-embracing genius of Christianity, what other means of carrying out the last command of its august Founder, save the ordinary, simple, obvious one of Missionary labour of some such sort as is now adopted by Protestant Missionary Societies?

Feeling thus and feeling strongly, we rejoice to have an opportunity of drawing our readers' attention to the subject, and at the same time of discharging a long deferred debt of duty, by a brief notice of the work whose title stands second (though in date it should come first) at the head of this article; the *Memoir of the Rev. Josiah Pratt*, a debt incurred at the time of its publication in 1849, but which various circumstances prevented our discharging till now, when it must be done in the most succinct manner. It is to us a work particularly interesting, as it opens to our view the earliest history of the movement in behalf of Christian Missions, which originated above half a century since in the evangelical section of the Church of England, as it traces that movement through its first struggles with infidelity, irreligion, supineness, formalism, bigotry and a short-sighted worldly policy,—those evil influences which still though "with bated breath" continue to resist and malign it—and takes us out with it, as it were, in its earliest exploratory

expeditions into the wide wastes of heathenism, to behold the Tree of Life planted in the desolate wild, to watch its progress to vigour, to maturity, to fruitfulness, and see it extending the benign shadow of its widespread branches into almost every land "from Indus to the pole." This, Mr. Pratt's Memoir does; and does it, not in the cold tone of a mere chronicle of incidents, nor with the generalizing stateliness of history, which grasps salient points and groups of kindred events and holds them up to view, whilst the minute and personal incidents, the feelings and motives, the difficulties, anxieties and encouragements which swayed the chief actors in the work, are overlooked,—but with all the lively, individualizing, almost sacred interest which attaches to the progress of a grand and enduring enterprise, in which a principal agent is a friend, a father whom we revere.

The execution of the work (the Memoir we mean) is, on the whole, creditable to the filial biographers. Often as it has been attempted, it is no easy task to compile well the Memoir of a father; and we doubt not that the sons of the Rev. Josiah Pratt felt the difficulty as well as the delicacy of the work they had taken in hand. It has been executed, however, with an industry, a judgment, a chastened filial tenderness, and withal a Christian fidelity, such as (whether common or not in biographers of a parent) might have been looked for from the sons of such a father. If they have not cast into the treasury of our national religious literature a shining offering, they have presented at least a solid and a valuable one. If the book is not a brilliant book, neither was the character it portrays a brilliant character in the ordinary sense of the term. But if the reader shall miss here the flash and sparkle which characterize and vitiate a large bulk of the productions of a too prolific press, and the misty terseness of style, serving so well to mask many a supercilious sneer against what Englishmen have been taught by their fathers, their Reformers, and their Bibles to revere as sacred, which is the main strength of a certain modern school of writers, he will find,—what from our hearts we wish he could find much oftener,—viz., sound, sober and *tried* principles, accurate historic statements, the decisions and the actings, too, of a judgment calm, vigorous and directed by the Word of God, together with the occasional utterances of a heart full at once of practical wisdom, of manly piety, and of the most tender yet chastened domestic affection.

The memoir of Josiah Pratt, like the history of Howard or of Oberlin, teaches us how much man may do for his fellows, and how little of that much he commonly attempts. It teaches

us, too, that great and shining endowments are not indispensable to a distinguished and most useful career, a career compared with which the meteor course of many whose exploits have dazzled mankind, will be viewed only with abhorrence when men become enlightened enough to understand what is true nobility of character and of soul, and are able correctly to distinguish a blessing from a curse.

But we have generalized—the reader will perhaps call it rhapsodized,—too long : we can only plead earnest sincerity in our excuse, and shall now come to matters of history and of fact.

Josiah Pratt was born of reputable parents, in the town of Birmingham, in December 1768. His father was a manufacturer in that busy place, but was eminent for his piety and active zeal in religion, at a time when such were by no means common within the pale of the Church of England, to which he belonged. His father wished him to follow his own business, and placed him at twelve years of age, in his own manufactory, and subsequently in another, to give him every advantage. His own tastes, however, were much more studious than mechanical or commercial ; he secretly spent all his spare money and time on books, which he enjoyed in the privacy of his own chamber.

The first awakenings of strong religious feeling in his mind are traced to circumstances somewhat remarkable, on account of their unlikelihood to produce such an effect. The solemn manner of the afterwards distinguished Charles Simeon's reading of the *Venite Exultemus* in Church, first strongly impressed him ; and about his seventeenth year, the eminent Rev. Thomas Robinson of Leicester, officiating once in St. Mary's Church, Birmingham, pronounced the words, "Let us pray," with such solemnity and pathos, that they fastened the attention and were brought home to the heart of the thoughtful youth ; they

"Occupied his mind so entirely, that he had no recollection of any thing else connected with the occasion, not even the subject of the sermon. He thought what a solemn act prayer was ! He doubted whether he had ever prayed in his life. His mind was filled with awe and contrition for his passed neglect. These, and many other considerations, took such possession of him, that his religious views and feelings might be said to have assumed a definite character from that period and from this circumstance." page 5.

An excellent hint this to those clergymen who seem to think it little or no matter whether they go through the public services of devotion with any appearance of solemnity or impressiveness.

He soon became desirous of entering the sacred ministry ;

and his father cheerfully consenting, he set to work in good earnest to prepare for the University, often presenting himself in the cold mornings of winter, at the door of his tutor, before the latter was out of bed, and entered at St. Edmond's Hall, Oxford, in 1789. He does not appear to have distinguished himself at college for any thing more than remarkable diligence, and habits so regular and orderly, that on his non-appearance at chapel one day, a number of his friends went together to his room, expecting, as they said, to find him "dead or dying."

Mr. Pratt was ordained in 1792, by the Bishop of Hereford, and, in 1795, became Curate to the talented and original Richard Cecil, at St. John's, Bedford Row. His converse with that acute minded, judicious and faithful minister, as well as his previous training to business, assisted materially, no doubt, to form his eminently useful public character.

In 1797 he married the elder daughter of Mr. John Jowett, of Newington, Surrey, and used to receive pupils into his house. Amongst whom was the present Bishop of Calcutta, who still often speaks of him as "his tutor."

His first work of extensive usefulness was the projection and commencement of the *Christian Observer*, the design of which seems without question attributable to him: and he was its first Editor. It commenced in 1802, and has ever since been a most widely influential organ of the Evangelical body in the Church of England.

In 1808, he published the first complete edition of Bishop Hall's works, in ten volumes 8vo., and the year following, those of Bishop Hopkins, in four volumes 8vo.

A long cherished project for the publication of a compendious Polyglott Bible, much simpler and more compact than Walton's immense work, in six ponderous volumes, published about 1657, though it cost him almost as much trouble as the publication itself would have done, eventually failed of being actually attempted.

Mr. Cecil's death, in 1810, led to his undertaking to publish his works, which appeared in four volumes, in 1811; also a valuable Memoir of the same eminent character, published under the title of *Cecil's Remains*, well known, no doubt, to most of our readers, and deservedly held in high esteem. It has gone through many editions.

The period of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, was seized upon, and laboriously used by Mr. Pratt, to forward the views of the friends of missions in India. He thought the occasion favourable, too, for the commencement



of that comprehensive digest of detailed information about all the missions in the world, called the *Missionary Register*, the plan of which had been in his mind for two or three years. This useful periodical still flourishes.

The last work that we are aware of as having proceeded from the pen of our author, was one entitled *Propaganda*; it was a compilation from the published documents of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, intended to shew forth the best missionary features of that society, and to obtain for it public support. This appeared in 1819, on occasion of a Royal letter being issued, authorizing collections in all the churches in aid of the above society; and ran through two editions in the course of a few months. It affords a notable instance of Mr. Pratt's large and catholic spirit, thus to tax his time and come forward publicly in aid of a society, some of the leaders of which had just been making the most bitter attacks on a kindred body to which he was devotedly attached.

The above literary productions were not the fruits of learned leisure, but the result of the extraordinary industry of a man engaged in incessant and most laborious occupations, both official and ministerial. This brings us to speak of the great work which employed so many of the best years of Mr. Pratt's life, with which he is inseparably identified, and his most efficient and useful labour in connexion with which, constitutes his best and noblest distinction as a public man.

On the 12th of April 1799, twenty-five persons, sixteen of them being clergymen and nine laymen, met at the Castle and Falcon, Aldersgate Street, London, and there, after solemn prayer to God for his direction and blessing, instituted THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.\*

The measure, however, was not a sudden or hasty one. Above three years previously, in February, 1796, the subject was brought before a religious body consisting chiefly of clergymen, called the Eclectic Society, by the eminent Rev. Charles Simeon; and though at that time most of the members were not prepared to take any active steps, it was not allowed to sleep. In February 1799, it was again brought forward in the same society by the Rev. John Venn,† Rector of Clapham, and was gone into seriously and at length. The

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\* Its first designation was a "Society for Missions to Africa and the East, instituted by members of the Established Church;" but in 1812 it was altered to that it still retains,—"The Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East."

† Son of the Rev. Henry Venn, of Yelling, one of the fathers of evangelical religion in England; and father of the Rev. Henry Venn, B. D., the present Honorary Clerical Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

result was a determination that a society ought to be formed ; and this determination was carried into effect, at the meeting of April 12th, above described, of the honoured founders of the society.

Amongst these first fathers of the society, was Josiah Pratt. Others of them bore names which are now names of renown in the evangelical world, as for instance, Thomas Scott the Commentator, John Newton, and . others. Why William Wilberforce was not amongst the nine lay founders present at the meeting, we cannot say ; he was certainly from the first thoroughly friendly to the design, and was the new Society's first President.

It is not necessary to inform the reader, that this was not the first Protestant missionary society formed, and still less was it the first missionary effort put forth with a view to evangelize the heathen. Very soon after the establishment of the principles of the Reformation, missionary zeal began to animate the followers of the Bible. As far as we know, the honour of the first effort of a missionary kind amongst the Protestants belongs to the Swiss. In 1556, thirteen individuals left Geneva, to proceed to Brazil, on a Missionary expedition. The design was patronized by the distinguished but unfortunate Admiral De Coligni of France, and approved of by John Calvin. They proposed to proceed by forming a colony and gradually propagating Christianity amongst the barbarous natives, and they were accordingly joined by a considerable number of fellow Protestants, as they passed through France on their way. Popish perfidy and cruelty, however, frustrated the object of the expedition, and contrived so, that some of the leaders of it were sent back as traitors to France in 1558.

The Swedes come next in order. In 1559 the celebrated Gustavus Vasa sent a mission into Lapland. His successors followed up his design. In 1648 a manual was printed in the language of the Laplanders, containing portions of the Scriptures, with Catechism, Hymns and Prayers ; and in 1755, the whole New Testament, by means of a most liberal subscription, raised for the maintenance of the mission.

Early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch having wrested Java, Ceylon, and other Eastern possessions from the Portuguese, justly thought it part of their duty to promote the diffusion of Christianity in their acquisitions, as we shall afterwards advert to more fully. Some of the means they employed, however, were far from the best. They encouraged, indeed, they almost compelled, a merely nominal profession of Christianity, and in

this way, in 1688, they could boast in one district of the Island of above 180,000 nominal converts; and a few years later the number baptized is said to have amounted to 300,000.

The name of John Eliot is embalmed in the reverential remembrance of every friend of Christian missions as that of the "Apostle of the Indians." A minister amongst those pilgrims of religious liberty, who under the capricious rule of the Stuarts, left their native England to seek freedom for conscience on the shores of the Western world, he acquired there the language of the Indian tribes which frequented the neighbourhood of Roxbury, near Boston: and in 1646 made his first essay, in company with two or three friends, in addressing the Indians. The trial was sufficiently encouraging to induce him to persevere, and after some time, to devote himself in good earnest to the most toilsome and self-denying labours for these children of the forest. It is with difficulty we refrain from dwelling upon his noble Christian devotion and wonderful success. But as we are merely noticing the main Protestant efforts of a Missionary kind previous to the end of the eighteenth century, any thing more than a bare mention of them would carry us far beyond our limits. Eliot died in 1690.\*

Those who shared in this Christian effort for the salvation of the red men of the West, were sons of the soil of England. In the mother country itself zeal for the conversion of the heathen soon afterwards began to manifest itself. In 1701 a charter was granted by William III. to the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts*.† It is true, the peculiar object

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\* Besides reducing the language of those Indian tribes to a written form, and publishing a grammar of it, he translated the whole Bible into that tongue. It was printed about 1664, and is said to have been the first Bible ever printed in America. He also produced several other works; the concluding words of his Grammar are well known, and ought to be remembered by all—"Prayer and pains, through faith in Jesus Christ, will do anything."

† We should be culpable were we to omit mentioning that two of the most distinguished men of their respective times for talents, learning, piety and every elegant accomplishment were warm advocates of Protestant Missionary enterprise. They were both Irishmen. One of these eminent individuals was the Hon'ble Robert Boyle, born in 1626-27. Besides the bequest mentioned in the text, he was for thirty years governor of the corporation for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and contributed largely to it; he endeavoured to induce the East India Company to attempt the Propagation of the Gospel in the east, and sent £100 to begin with, promising further aid when the work had begun. He had the Gospels and Acts translated into the Malay language at his own cost, and published at Oxford, in 1677; and also undertook the charge of translating into Arabic, Grotius's Treatise on Christian Evidences, and of putting it into extensive circulation. He intended further to assist in translating the Bible into Turkish, as he had done previously in publishing the Scriptures in Irish and Welch; an early illustration of the fact, that those who are most zealous and liberal in promoting missions abroad, are usually the leaders also in doing good at home.

of the institution of this society (which, as is well known, consists exclusively of members of the Church of England) was to supply the lack of ministerial services so grievously felt amongst the plantations, colonies and factories "of British subjects beyond the seas;" but it very early attempted proper missionary labour. It directed its missionaries to instruct the Negro slaves in the Gospel, and a school was opened for that race in New York in 1704; the Rev. T. Moore having been at the recommendation of Queen Anne, sent in 1704 to labour among the Mohawk Indians. He was favoured with little success, and was lost at sea in returning to England: but Mr. Andrews who took up the work and arrived at Albany in 1712, was for some time much more favoured.

The Danes began to put forth missionary efforts about the same time, encouraged by Frederick IV. and in 1706 the first two missionaries, Bartholomew Ziegenbalg and Henry Plutschow landed at Tranquebar. In 1709 the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge\* began to assist these missionaries, and in 1728 undertook the whole support of a mission to Madras.

The Moravians followed in 1731; when two noble spirited young men, John Leonard Dohr and Tobias Leupold, offered themselves, even if need were, to be sold into slavery in the Island of St. Thomas in order to gain access to the Negro slaves. A

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The other was George Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, Ireland, born in 1684, and so eminent for ability, learning, piety, zeal, and all that can adorn the man, that even Pope, cynic as he was, ascribes

"To Berkeley every virtue under heaven."

This distinguished scholar cherished for many years the design of commencing Missionary operations amongst unconverted men, by establishing a Missionary College in the Bermudas, of which he was himself to be the first head, on an allowance fixed by himself of £100 per annum. For this he was willing to give up a lucrative Irish Deanery which he held, and a sure prospect of the highest preferment in the Church. The Queen endeavouring to dissuade him from his Missionary design, offered her interest to procure him an English Bishopric-- His reply was that "He would prefer the headship of St. Paul's College at Bermuda to the Primacy of England." Encouraged by decent promises of public support from Sir Robert Walpole the good Peau sailed for America in 1728, accompanied by a few noble spirits like himself, and taking with him his fortune and his books. He had depended too much on the promises of statesman, however, and they failed him. The public funds on which he had reckoned never came; and he returned to Europe in 1734 after dividing his books between Yale College and the Clergy of Rhode Island, where he appears to have sojourned during his stay, and transferring to Yale College a tract of near 100 acres of land which he had acquired in America. His scheme proved a failure indeed; but, as remarked by one of his biographers, "it flows more honor on his memory than all his philosophical labours can ever confer."

\* To this Society belongs the honor of encouraging and maintaining the Apostolic Swartz, Gericke, and many other devoted servants of God in South India. They all were Lutheran ministers.

poor and persecuted flock the Moravians were, having but just found a refuge under Count Zinzendorf on his estate in Upper Lusatia, from the persevering and relentless persecutions of Rome, and built their now celebrated village of Hernhutt. They were but some 600 in number and mostly indigent exiles, when they commenced their missionary enterprises, and in some nine years they sent missionaries to Greenland, St. Thomas, St. Croix, Surinam, Berbice, to the Indians of North America and the Negroes of South Carolina, to Lapland, Tartary, Guinea, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Ceylon.

Although the general Wesleyan Missionary Society was not formed till 1817, missionary operations may be said to have been commenced by the English Wesleyans in 1786 or 87, in consequence of the casual circumstance of the Rev. Dr. Coke, with six other methodist preachers destined for Nova Scotia, having been driven by stress of weather to the Island of Antigua; where, meeting an encouraging reception, they decided on setting on foot a mission to the Negroes; and Mr. Warrenner, one of the original seven that were thus driven to the Island, was nominated the first missionary.

The Missionary spirit was by this time fast rising in Great Britain. In 1792 the Baptist Missionary Society was formed by a few ministers of the Baptist denomination, assembled at Kettering in Northamptonshire. Its attention was first drawn to Bengal; and its first missionaries were Mr. John Thomas, and the afterwards celebrated William Carey, then a minister in Leicester.

In 1793 Dr. Porteous, Bishop of London, having obtained, by a suit in Chancery, certain funds left by the celebrated Robert Boyle for the conversion of the Negroes, formed a Society for that object.

The London Missionary Society was instituted in London in 1796. It was composed of English Christians of various denominations: including evangelical clergymen, and laity of the Church of England, and set to work with remarkable energy at the very first. The Islands of the Southern Pacific first attracted their attention,\* and in August 1796, a vessel called the *Duff* having been purchased by the Society, twenty-nine missionaries set forth in her for those beautiful islands. Most of them settled at Otaheite, where they arrived in March 1796, and where the chiefs and people gave them a most encouraging reception.

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\* It was a paper laid before the new Society by the Rev. D. Haweis, Rector of Alderwick, Northamptonshire, that presented the south Sea Islands in so engaging an aspect, as to enlist general sympathy in their behalf. Many zealous clergymen, as well as lay members of the Church of England, were at first active promoters of this Society.

The Scottish (or, as it was first designated, the Edinburgh) Missionary Society was almost contemporaneous in its formation with that just mentioned. It consisted chiefly of members of the Church of Scotland, and having been commenced early in 1796, it sent out its first missionaries to the Susoo country in Western Africa the following year.\*

Thus it will be seen that Missionary interest, and the institution of a Missionary Society, were not new things at the time when the Church Missionary Society was called into existence. Indeed, considering the extent to which the missionary spirit had already begun to awaken throughout Protestant Christendom, it must cause some surprise that the evangelical portion of the Church of England had not, at an earlier date, manifested their participation in it by some such step as they took in 1799. Two reasons may be assigned :—many zealous members of the English church, filled with missionary ardor, and regardless of minor differences, had been for some time operating through the Moravian, the Baptist, or the London Missionary Society, and, what, no doubt, had a still greater share in the matter,—there was already in the church of England a Society for the Propagation of the Gospel abroad—the very first missionary society formed in England, as stated above ; and though the body in the English church, who were most alive to the claims of the heathen, were far from satisfied with that society, and did not see their way either to co-operate with, or seek to reanimate and extend it, they yet hesitated to form another, independent of it, whose sole object would be to evangelize the nations. This the former had almost ceased to attempt, if it had ever attempted it, confining itself to its primary object, viz., the supplying of regular ministrations to the Colonists of Great Britain, throughout the rapidly widening dependencies of the British crown.

In fact, the old Society was moved to send Missionaries to the heathen *as such* ; but declined, not seeing such a Mission to be in its province. In sending ministers to British Colonists in the dependencies of England, it sent them to such heathen only as this might bring them into contact with. This being the case, there was a clear and distinct line of action to be taken up by the new Society ; and one which need never have clashed with that followed by the former one. Since then, however, the elder has diverged from her first course, having derived fresh life and impulses, we believe,

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\* The above very bare outline of the commencement of the Protestant efforts made towards the conversion of the heathen before the close of the eighteenth century has been taken chiefly from the Rev. W. Brown's History of Missions ; a generally accurate work. Reference has been made also to the Rev. J Hough's excellent "History of Christianity in India," to the Proceedings of the Church

from her younger sister's nobler, bolder, and more Christian example, and has taken up Missions to the heathen, as such, as a substantive part of her work. This historic fact seems to be forgotten by many.

But it is not for us here to enter into a justification of the line pursued by the party in question, nor even to state the reasons which they urged in vindication of their course in instituting the new society. One thing we may feel assured of, that amongst the founders were men of that mature and solid judgment, of that weight of character and of experience, and of that full and thorough acquaintance with the principles involved in their procedure, as well as of that sagacity to foresee the consequence which their procedure would entail upon themselves, that must evidence, sufficiently, their strong and solemn conviction, not only that the step they took was right, but also it was *necessary*, if any earnest and effective efforts were to be made by the Church of England for the conversion of the heathen.

Influenced by this conviction they decided on the attempt to constitute the Church Missionary Society, and the spirit in which the attempt was made, appears from the following passage of the very first paper they put forth:—\*

"Let not this society be considered as opposing any<sup>c</sup> that are engaged in the same excellent purpose. The world is an extensive field, and in the Church of Christ, there is no competition of interests. From the very constitution of the human mind, slighter differences of opinion will prevail, and diversities in external forms; but in the grand design of promoting Christianity, all these should disappear. Let there be cordial union amongst all Christians, in promoting the common salvation of their Lord and Saviour."

Difficulties and disappointments early awaited them. For some time neither bishop nor peer was found to bestow upon the design one glance of favour. One of the very early steps taken, was to send a respectful application to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of London and Durham, to regard their attempt favourably. They asked no more: but even to this they could obtain no answer or notice whatever for above a twelve-month; when Mr. Wilberforce having been requested personally to sound the Primate, drew from him a cautious and guarded verbal expres-

\* "Account of a Society for missions to Africa and the East, instituted by members of the Established Church," by Rev. John Venn.—*Proceedings of the Society*, vol. I.

sion of his interest in the design. Slight and questionable as was this encouragement, the earnestness of Thomas Scott, the first Secretary of the society, and the judgment of Mr. Venn, induced the founders to act upon it. To this they were in great part led, too, by the firmness of the lay members of the committee, which had been formed. Mr. Scott contended, "that it was their duty to go forward, expecting that the difficulties would be removed in proportion as it was necessary that they should." The wisdom of their course is sufficiently apparent. With all due respect for bishops, we must still recollect that they are usually old men, past the period of life when measures of a novel aspect are likely to engage their regard. They naturally rather lean to maintain the state of things in which they rose to eminence—of position at least; and having gained the summit of their ambition, they naturally, and often no doubt, unconsciously, feel rather disposed to enjoy and to preserve, than to entertain projects, however weightily urged, which would tend to disquiet them, and to unsettle the relations which they are accustomed to and are able to control,—projects, too, to sanction which would involve themselves in a certain amount of responsibility, and which must, of course, be attended with a certain amount of uncertainty as to their eventual tendency and results. Hence it is scarcely fair, perhaps, either to expect bishops (under the existing constitution of the Episcopal Bench) to come forward at once to promote such projects, until actual experiment has shewn something of their practical character and effects; nor is it, on the other hand, reasonable to hold back from prosecuting a design of good, which has been thoroughly weighed and sifted by men of sound, vigorous and active minds, impelled from within by zealous and God-fearing souls,—merely because the aged and dignified incumbents of the Episcopate cannot at first see their way to take the lead. So thought Venn and Pratt and their noble spirited lay associates in the case of the Church Missionary Society; and so have thought and acted many faithful and fervent men since, in commencing sundry noble designs, such as the Bible Society, the Jews' Society, and many others, which, though at first distrusted, and in some cases vainly opposed by the authorities of the Church of England, have gradually lived down and worked down the distrust and opposition of all the really estimable amongst those authorities, by the force of their own intrinsic excellence and the results of their practical working; so that we find bishops, with other good and eminent men, at the head of these institutions, and standing forth in their public advocacy. Let the lesson not be thrown away either upon the active and fervent spirits of the



age, or upon the episcopate itself. It is not well to be always last in a good work : more than one signification may be assigned to "*nil sine Episcopo*."

But it was not by the great alone that the new Society was coldly and distrustfully regarded ; many of the good also held aloof, thinking the design too bold, or too vast, or too visionary. Small as was the number of its originators, some even of them soon lost heart, or yielded to other influences, and withdrew from the undertaking. Infidelity and irreligion plied it with the keenest shafts in their envenomed quiver ; and bigotry, in and out of the Church of England, stormed hotly against it, and sharpened its ablest pens to write it down. The time too, seemed to many, peculiarly inauspicious to a new movement of a peaceful missionary nature. Europe—the world was palpitating in the midst of wars and commotions, the most terrible, among the nations. The French Revolution seemed to have maddened half mankind. Bonaparte was just taking his gigantic strides to despotism. England was threatened by armed and excited Europe from without, and was far from being at unity with herself within. This was not the time, many thought, to begin to talk of organizing a new religious society, or of sending missionaries abroad into a world every where travelling in expectation of the immediate bursting forth of war and revolution.

Yet the noble spirited men who had been inspired with the desire to propagate the Gospel of Salvation in the world's darkest parts, went on with their design in faith, in patience, and in prayer. "It was a wondrous time" (as has been remarked in a previous number of this *Review* \*) "all through the world" "that close of the 18th century—a time of great events,—a time "to require and call forth the energies of great men." And though not, perhaps, what the world would do, we do not hesitate to place such men as John Venn and Josiah Pratt amongst the great men of that notable epoch.

If it is indicative of greatness to see clearly what is far beyond the ken of others—to conceive or to lay hold of a design, so grand, so far-stretching, so beset with difficulties and uncertainties as to appal ordinary minds and make them shrink from taking it up ;—to pursue that design with firm, earnest, unblenching purpose, amidst the cautions of the prudent, the alarms of the timorous, the solemn forebodings of the prophets of evil, amidst the cool repulsive indifference of superiors, the objections and defection of half-hearted friends, and the violence and misrepresentations of bitter

and bigoted opponents: if to meet all with calm but unshaken confidence in the rectitude of the principles on which a stand has been taken,—to proceed with steady, patient energy to carry the design into practice, upon a basis so well constructed at the outset, that the strains and trials of half a century have not produced in it a single rent;—if to *succeed* in the face of all but universal discouragement and opposition,—to establish a society which has gone forward in extent, in stability, in usefulness, from year to year, winning friends and champions on almost every side, until it has become one of the mightiest religious agencies of this day of great religious activity,—if these things indicate superior and great men, then to those who planned, commenced, and matured this society, belongs, we think, without dispute, the distinction of *greatness*.

Amongst these men Josiah Pratt stood prominent. From the first the design had his cordial support, and when its first Secretary, the eminent Thomas Scott, withdrew from the charge after about two years, it was with one consent assigned to Mr. Pratt, who accepted it in 1802, whilst yet the Society was struggling with its first difficulties. And his firm though gentle and well directed hand,—directed from above,—guided it, for one and twenty years, to its maturity and greatness, and to that firm and deep hold which it has attained on the affections of the vast body of the evangelical members of the Church of England.

But these remarks are already beginning to extend to so great a length as to admonish us to compress, within the narrowest limits, our further notice of the rise and progress of the Church Missionary Society. The first difficulties of its institution were not its only ones. It was some time before any one appeared willing to set out under its auspices as a Missionary to the heathen.\* Its Committee might well have shrunk from looking for Clergymen, owing to the coldness of the Bishops, and difficulties about the power to license clergymen so engaged: nor could they at first hope to procure ordination for any missionaries who might present themselves; so that they only aimed in the first instance, at procuring a few young men suitable to the work of catechists and teachers amongst unenlightened tribes. In this they were, for some time, utterly disappointed; not a single individual in Great Britain could then be induced to go. It seems to have been a severe trial to the faith of Mr. Pratt and others. But that faith was maintained by prayer; and worthy of all

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\* "I have endeavoured," (says the Rev. Chas. Simeon, in a letter, dated August 1800) "in a prudent way to sound the disposition of the serious young men (at Cambridge) respecting Missions, and I am sorry to say that not one of them says, 'Here am I, send me,'"

honor is the memory of that man of God—the Rev. Wm. Goode, Rector of St. Ann's, Blackfriars, one of the twenty-five fathers of the Society, who was wont to cheer on more active spirits to persevere in faith and prayer, that the Lord would not suffer the work begun in His name to have been begun in vain. Week after week they met in his house to pray : they could do little else. And *in due time* their prayers were answered.

Was it not a token for good, that the first Englishman who offered himself to the new Society as a Missionary, was the devoted and Christ-like Henry Martyn? He did so in 1802, while yet in the full flush of his university honours, the year before his ordination. The loss in 1804, of his little patrimonial property, in which his younger sister shared, seemed to put a bar in the way of his design being accomplished ; as he felt doubts as to whether he ought to go and leave her unprovided for. On consulting his friends, they decided on endeavouring to procure him an East India Chaplaincy, and when they succeeded, the Society expressed its full approval of his going out to India, in a capacity which opened to him so wide a sphere of Missionary usefulness, rather than maintaining his engagement with them. Surely the hand of God was in this event. The Society was still both poor, and inexperienced in its work ; so that it could but very inadequately have maintained Martyn in his course : but it was arranged that he should go to India with the spirit of a Missionary, and yet with the influential position of a Chaplain of the Company, and the ample income which at that time every Chaplain enjoyed. He left England on August 10th, 1805.

Nothing is more remarkable, perhaps, in the dealings of God with His servants, than the mode in which He is pleased frequently to disappoint the expectations, whilst at the same time He honours the faith, of those that trust and serve Him. The new Society believed that God would send forth labourers into His harvest, and they expected them, as was natural, from England : the Most High and most Wise did call forth labourers, but the first were called, not from England, but from Prussia. A seminary had then recently been established at Berlin, for the purpose of training pious young men for missionaries.\* This

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\* It was through the assistance of Mr. Steinkopff, the venerable Secretary of the Bible Society, that the committee opened communications with zealous men in Germany, and first heard of this school for Missionaries. It had its rise a few years before from the benevolence of Baron Von Shirnding, of Dobraluk in Saxony, who had been full of zeal for the diffusion of Christianity amongst Heathen nations. It was at this time dependent on voluntary contributions, which were small, and had six students under training. Two of these were transferred to the English Society, and subsequently the Society engaged to pay the whole charge of maintaining and educating four students for the Mission in Africa.—“*The founders and first five years of the Church Missionary Society.*”—pp. 22-23.

institution (presided over at the time by the Rev. J. Jænike) supplied our society with its first missionaries. Two young men named Renner and Hartwig, joined the Society from that institution in November 1802,\* and in March 1804, they sailed, to commence the society's first Mission on the deadly soil of Sierra Leone, on the West coast of Africa.† They were in Lutheran orders (having proceeded from England, after their first visit back to Germany for ordination) and the employment of such, under a church of England society, was but following the steps of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who had for some years previously been maintaining continental Protestant ministers as missionaries in South India. If any blame is attachable to any one on this account, surely it must rather rest on those who might have admitted them to the ministry of the Church of England, and yet did not, than on those who, ardently desiring for them this additional authorization, were nevertheless compelled to send them forth without it.

It was not till 1807, that the first English candidate for Missionary employment was received by the Society. The first Church of England Clergyman, whose services were actually engaged for the work, was the Rev. William Jowett, M. A., brother-in-law of Mr. Pratt. This was six years later, in 1813. Mr. Jowett was sent to the Mediterranean.

We cannot here enter into further details, interesting as they would prove, of the progressive steps by which the new society advanced to its present position, as to numbers and strength and widespread organization and influence. It is instructive, however, as a lesson on the effects of a simple faithful adherence to right principle, just to notice that the society whose beginnings were thus "small and despised," and beset with difficulties, has now amongst its friends and supporters, both the Primates and in all about thirty bishops‡ of the Church of England, with her clergy in thousands, an array of England's highest nobility, yea, Royalty itself,—the Queen and Prince Albert, as well as the King of Prussia, being at the head of its Governing Members. It possesses

\* Mr. Pratt's Memoir says 1803, but this seems an error in date.

† The cause of the selection of Sierra Leone for the Society's first missionary efforts, was the existence there of a free Negro settlement, under the sanction of such men as Wilberforce, Clarkson and Granville Sharp, an establishment for the purpose of resisting the slave-trade and slavery, and encouraging lawful commerce and useful arts amongst the native tribes of Africa. The manumission of the unhappy Negroes received from captured slave ships afforded ready subjects for immediate Missionary labours, and most happy has been the result.

‡ The first bishops who joined the society were Bishops Ryder and Bathurst of the Sees of Gloucester and Norwich. We record their names with honour; though with regret we add, that it was not till 1814, that any members of the Episcopal Bench felt constrained to take this step.

too, what in our judgment is better than all, the deep seated affection of the vast body of the pious laity of England, so that its jubilee in 1848, bore the aspect of a national festival. Its missions are planted in the four quarters of the globe, at 118 different stations. The two missionaries with whom (after three years) it began its operations, have grown almost to hundreds, the last returns (for 1854) give 176, of whom above twenty are ordained natives of the countries in which Missions have been planted, and 103 of them Englishmen, so slow at first to come forward. Its lay assistants, such as catechists, teachers, &c., exceed 1,700, of which number above 1,600 are natives.

The Society's funds, which were at first as small as its operations,—(only £2,462, having been received during the first five years, an average of scarcely £500 a year)—have also grown in some proportion to the extent of its labours, having amounted last year to £123,915 for the year, the whole of which consists of voluntary contributions.

Such have been (as far as the organization and growth of the Society itself are concerned) the results of the clear views and the firm adherence to their principles, of the Society's early founders. It is with much justice remarked by, we believe, the present Honorary Clerical Secretary, the Rev. Henry Venn, (son of the Rev. John Venn, of whom honorable mention has been made above) in one of the publications called forth by the jubilee of the society, that—

“The difficulty which suspended and seemed to threaten the failure of the undertaking, arose from their determination to be true both to their *ecclesiastical* and to their *spiritual* principles. Had they been willing to make some sacrifice of the spiritual character of their design, it would have been easy to have secured the direct patronage of the heads of the Church, and a large accession of the clergy. Had they been less true to their Church principles, they might have gone forward without waiting for an answer from the Bishops. Had they been less confident in the ultimate triumph of their principles, they would have abandoned their attempt to establish a new society, and would have divided their strength between the existing societies of the Church of England and the London Missionary Society.”

We believe that no one's influence contributed more—probably no one's so much—to the maintenance of this firm, moderate and consistent course of fidelity to principle, as that of Mr. Pratt. It was he that at the meeting of the Eclectic Society (before referred to) in March 1799, when the project of forming a society first assumed a definite shape, stated it as his opinion that it “*must be kept in evangelical hands*,” and to that principle he continued to the last to adhere.

This has always, to our mind, been the distinction of the Church Missionary Society; it is the *Evangelical* missionary so-

ciety of the Church of England. This was once its opprobrium in the estimation of the world, it is now its distinguishing honour, its *decus et tutamen*. It has of late become the fashion with a certain party to deny this distinction, and to dispute the Society's claim to the title. In assuming it they say, you cast reproach upon other Church of England societies which claim to be evangelical too. Evangelical means conformable to the Gospel, and that we all claim to be : we all preach and teach the Gospel, and why should you arrogate the title evangelical peculiarly to yourselves ? It is, however, not a little unfair to dispute the Church Missionary Society's claim to this designation. She took it and held it fast when it was a term of reproach amongst the wise and prudent of this world ;—yes, and amongst a great majority of the good people of the world too, and among none more so than that very party who now profess to claim it themselves, in order that they may wrest it from her. We can ourselves remember the name of evangelical being one of reproach, one that we sometimes felt half-ashamed to avow ; when “as wild as an evangelical” was no uncommon phrase by which to describe a half-crazed fanatic. At a time when the name was in this evil repute, the society took it and bore it ; and now that the many undeniable virtues, the piety, the zeal, the active benevolence, the consistent bearing of the great majority of evangelical men, have made the name a name of respect, it is rather hard in those who once cast it in their teeth, to turn round and say, “No, you shall not have it now : we are evangelical as well as you !” *Methodism* was also at one time a nickname and term of reproach. But the numbers, and, in sundry respects, the merits of the Methodists have in many places rendered their designation also a respectable one. But what would be thought of other Christians, were they to begin to say, “No, you must not call yourselves Methodists ; it reflects upon us as if we were all unmethodical and irregular : now we love method and order as well as you ; and we protest against your distinguishing yourselves as Methodists !”

The *crux* lies in the meaning ascribed to the term evangelical ; or rather in the view taken of certain doctrinal points included in the Gospel, considered as a system. Agreeing in many grand and principal, as well as also minor truths, still learned and pious men differ widely from each other in their views of certain points connected therewith, and those points of no slight moment, which Arminius would expound differently from Calvin, Wesley from Whitefield, Marsh (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough) from his *quondam* antagonist Wilson (now Bishop of Calcutta), Sumner of Canterbury, from

Philpotts of Exeter, or, to adduce a less offensive contrast, Blomefield of London. We have heard one, who is no inconsiderable authority here in India on such matters, say, that if any one wanted to know the general leading views of the evangelical members of the Church of England, he might be referred to the writings of Thomas Scott (the commentator) Richard Cecil and John Newton, as giving a fair representation of them. Not that evangelical men take these writers as their religious dictators, their Protestant popes, but simply as fair expositors of the leading views which the majority of them entertain.

Holding these views firmly and from deep conviction, yet soberly and without undue heat, Mr. Pratt laboured with admirable energy, judgment and self-denial, first to organize and afterwards to carry on the Society, which may almost be said to present their best practical embodiment and exponent.

His laboriousness was remarkable. We have already adverted to his work as author and editor, and this alone, with the duties of his office, would have given many men enough to do;—especially as one of his eyes was defective in vision, in fact had no power of sight at all, all his life, and the other was at times affected by sympathy, at one time confining him in seclusion and severe suffering for nineteen weeks. But he was not merely an official and a book-maker. From his ordination in 1792, to the curacy of Dowles near Bewdley, till the time of his death in 1844, above half a century, he continued to labour also in the word and doctrine, as a minister of the Gospel.

In 1804 he relinquished his curacy at St. John's, Bedford Row, which he had held (as before stated) since 1795, in consequence of being chosen Sunday afternoon Lecturer at St. Mary Woolnoth's, Lombard Street. His rector here was the Venerable John Newton, and thus he had successively the distinction of being connected with two of the most remarkable evangelical clergymen of that day, Cecil and Newton.

In September of the same 1804, he undertook the Evening Lecture at Spitalfields church, and in the next December the Lady Cambden's Lecture on a week evening at St. Lawrence, Jewry, Guildhall. In about a year after, Mr. Newton's curate dying, Mr. Pratt succeeded him, and owing to Mr. Newton's increasing age and infirmities, usually took the morning service. For a considerable part of 1807, he preached regularly four times in the week. At the close of the same year, however, occurred Mr. Newton's death and the expiration of the term of his own incumbency in Spitalfields: and his clerical duties were for about two years confined to the evening Lectureship on

Sundays and Thursdays, which he retained till disabled by the increasing infirmities of age.

In 1810, Wheler Chapel, Spital Square, was obtained for him by the exertions and liberality of friends, and there he continued to minister till 1826, in which year he was re-elected by the parishioners to the living of St. Stephen's, Coleman Street, after a three years' suit in Chancery as to the legality of a previous election, and resigned the other charge, retaining the latter to his death.

In his ministry he seems to have been much blessed, especially in training and leading on to maturity of Christian character, persons of solid and practical minds and habits of business. Amongst the fruits of his ministry are specially mentioned Sir T. F. Buxton and Samuel Hoare, Esq., both so distinguished in the world of Christian benevolence.

It will be readily supposed that such an amount of ministerial labour, added to his weighty and engrossing official duties, which he himself says in one of his letters in 1815, formed "an average engagement for the last two years of eight to twelve hours a day, beside frequent journeyings," (p. 229,) and added further to his editorial work, must have fully tasked the time and strength of the strongest and the most diligent labourer. Few, indeed, ever attempt so much; and yet he did still more. A man of thorough order and diligence has sometimes been compared to a *good packer* of merchandize; he can get almost twice as much into the same space, as another man can, and still the bale is not overfull. Mr. Pratt exemplified this most strikingly. Loaded as were his hands at all times, he yet found room for occasional efforts of usefulness, outside of his own immediate walk.

Thus, in 1804, he was a warm originator, and became the first Church of England Secretary of the newly formed Bible Society, since grown to such a magnificent extent of greatness and usefulness; though he soon resigned the office to the able and pious Rev. J. Owen. Long afterwards, in 1831, he showed his abiding interest in its welfare, by coming forward to aid in composing some serious differences which had arisen within it, but which soon passed away. He took an active part in the exertions made previous to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, in 1813, to render its provisions more tolerant and Christian than they had previously been. When Bishop Chase of Ohio visited London in 1823, to obtain aid for the founding of a seminary to educate ministers for his vast wild diocese, it was Mr. Pratt that took up the matter at once, warmly and practically; and by his sound and judicious advice, together with his personal exertions, led in great measure to the success of the



good bishop's mission, which resulted in the establishment of Kenyon College, in Ohio, £6,000 having been raised in England for that object.

Again in 1831, he united with a few friends of like mind in forming what was called "The Christian Influence Society," which was designed to operate upon every important public matter within its reach, not so much by public proceedings as patiently and unostentatiously by faith, prayer, and perseverance in the exertion of Christian influence. On the great religious questions of the time his views carried great weight, and his opinion was sought by a wide circle of acquaintances. Nor was he inattentive to the political and social movements of his day. The "Roman Catholic Relief Bill" (as it was called,) the Reform Bill, the Church Reform Movement, and other public measures engaged his interest and, when he could apply them usefully, his vigorous exertions.

In 1834 he drew up a prospectus to form the basis of the New City of London School. The principles he laid down were embodied in an Act of Parliament, and the present flourishing institution is the result.

In 1835-6 he had a considerable share in the formation of the Church Pastoral Aid Society—now so widely useful and largely blessed in England.

Brief and poor as is this sketch, it is already growing too long. We could not altogether withhold, however, a notice of Mr. Pratt's abundant labours of usefulness; for the view is instructive, we repeat again, shewing as it does, how much may be done by a man of no extraordinary abilities, who sets himself with full purpose of heart to use his talents, whatever they are, and his opportunities, with humble reference to the will of God, for the good of mankind; or as he himself expressed it in a letter to a clergyman in Nova Scotia, "There is nothing too much to expect where we attempt anything for God, according to His will and in due dependence on His blessing."—p. 186.

Mr. Pratt's private character was just what the private character of such a man as he was in his office and his ministry, might be expected to be. Unlike many who shine only abroad, and whose private life one shrinks from contemplating too closely—he was, as it were, the same all through. A man of the Bible and of prayer for his own personal profit, in his house as in his ministry, they held the first place. Affectionate and wise, kind and dignified, tender and yet judicious, anxious for the spiritual good of his family and household, yet not rigid or gloomy in his treatment of them, but on the contrary, taking a lively interest in their enjoyments, he seems to

have been in no common degree revered, loved and confided in by all his children. Thoughtful and vigilant in using suitable opportunities of bringing before their minds, by words of counsel or by letters, the truths of the Gospel, the concerns of the soul, and the realities of eternity, his endeavours have been remarkably blest, all his six children, two sons\* and four daughters, have, we believe, become followers of him as he followed the Saviour. His readiness to every good work and his constant occupation in something of the kind were, (as the present Bishop of Calcutta said of him †), without "a particle of what we understand by assumption and forwardness."

In his measures for their best welfare, he appears to have been well seconded by the partner of his domestic life. This is, however, rather an inference than a fact stated (as far as we have seen) in the Memoir, in which we have remarked a lack of the usual amount of mention of the sharer of his home and heart. It is perhaps to be ascribed to the fact of Mr. Pratt being still alive when the Memoir was compiled.

When we have added that his habits were retired, perhaps too much so both for himself and for society; that he was (as every reader will have guessed) pre-eminently distinguished for punctuality and order, to which is in part to be ascribed his ability to get through so vast an amount and variety of business as he did; that he was in the midst of all his occupations readily accessible and willing to attend to any one needing his counsel and assistance; and that he was liberal of his money (though possessing but a moderate income and having a pretty large family) to the cause of charity and of God, which always found him ready to respond to its claims to the utmost of his ability, maintaining that Christians should not devote less than a tenth of their income to religious and charitable purposes, we shall have concluded our very imperfect sketch of this truly admirable Christian and ministerial character, and have now, before passing on, only to refer to the close of his labours and his life.

This faithful servant's death was not a scene of rapture and of triumph, it was rather one of humble cleaving to the Saviour. It has reminded us of the expression of a poor fisherman, who had been rescued from Romish delusions, and led by Divine Grace to embrace a pure Scriptural creed, and to hold to it amidst revilings and persecution. When dying he was

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\* The elder son, the Rev. Josiah Pratt, succeeded his father immediately as Vicar of St. Stephen's, Coleman street, where he still continues: the younger is well known to India, as the present excellent Archdeacon of Calcutta.

† In his Fourth Charge, May 1845.

asked how he felt in that solemn hour ; he replied faintly, but unhesitatingly, " At peace :—I am sore buffeted by the enemy ; but I am clinging to the Saviour, *like the limpet to the rock.*" So, as the shell fish buffeted by the rude billows, clings closer and closer to its rocky shelter, did the soul of this eminent saint and servant of the Lord draw nearer, in simple dependence to the Saviour, as the waves of the Jordan of Death beat upon him ; and he found there peace and safety. His dying experience seems to us peculiarly instructive and confirmatory of the great Gospel truths to publish which his life was devoted. He found by experience the truth of what he had taught, that the soul's peace and salvation are not secured by active zeal or many labours, not by sacrifices of ease and self-denying exertions in the best of causes, but by the atoning, justifying, interceding work of the Son of God, realized to the soul by the operation of the Holy Spirit, and apprehended by a simple, living, child-like faith. Thus laborious and devoted as he had been, " the thought of sin, and particularly of omissions of duty," we are told, " often troubled him" during the few weeks of his last illness, and he only found relief and tranquillity by casting himself in deep humility of soul and entire renunciation of self, with a sinner's helplessness and a child's simple dependence, on the all-sufficient Saviour. " I wish to have no comfort," he exclaimed, " but that which springs from an assurance that I have an interest in the Covenant of Christ " Jesus to penitent sinners ;" and on being asked—whether he had not that comfort then in possession, he replied, " Yes, I have ; and He gives me perfect peace." A few minutes before his spirit departed to the Saviour, that well-known hymn,

" Guide me, O thou great Jehovah."

" seemed to draw out the emotions of his soul," and almost before its soothing sounds had passed away from the ear, he had calmly passed into the number of those " that sleep in Jesus."

His chief malady seemed to have been a breaking down of his vigorous constitution, ending in London on October 10th, 1844, in his 76th year.

Not in vain, as we trust, have we traced this very brief record of his life and death ; for surely we ourselves, or some others will be stirred up by it to imitate more than ever what every Christian *can* imitate,—his faith, his firmness and his zealous laboriousness for God.

We have too long deferred that part of our paper which more strictly falls in with the subject proper to the *Calcutta*

*Review.* The society whose beginning we have briefly traced, took for its title at once "A Society for Missions to Africa and the East." And from the first, *the East*, and China and India in particular, attracted the regard of its founders.

As already intimated in this article, India had for some time previously been the scene of Christian missionary efforts for the evangelization of its people. It would be beside our purpose to enter into the subject of the first introduction of Christianity into India by the Apostle St. Thomas, or the subsequent efforts of the Nestorians. The traditions we have of the former event in particular, are so uncertain and so mixed with fable, as to afford little firm footing for the modern historian. We pass over altogether the Romish attempts, through the Portuguese and others. The accounts we have of them, too, are so little to be trusted; the means adopted to effect their object were so little such as the spirit of Christianity can acknowledge; and the religion itself which they propagated, was so little that of the Divine Saviour of men, that we cannot regard them as capable of being fairly called efforts for the spread of the Gospel.

It is to the honour of the Dutch, as a Protestant people, that they seem always to have recognized it as a duty, to aim at the spiritual and intellectual enlightenment, and in fact the conversion to Christianity, of the people amongst whom they obtained a sufficiently authoritative status, either commercial or political. For instance, on obtaining possession of Java in 1619, as we find stated in *Hough's History of Christianity in India*, Vol. III., chap 2:—

One of the first objects of their attention was the religious instruction of the natives.\* In obedience to the Governor's commands, the chaplains took immediate steps for the introduction of the Reformed Church of Holland among the people. The island was divided into districts, and in each district they erected a Church and established a school. After a time, their most promising converts were employed as catechists; and they made a selection of their scholars to preside over the schools, though it does not appear that they had all embraced the Christian faith. These teachers were distributed through the districts, and Dutch clergymen appointed to superintend the whole. The language spoken here, and in the Eastern Islands generally, is Malay, into which the ministers soon translated the Reformed Catechism and other elementary works on the doctrines and duties of Christianity, for the use of their catechists and schoolmasters. They also began, and in a few years completed a translation of portions of the Scriptures into the same language; and thus had they the honour of being the first visitors from the West to give the word of God to the natives of the East in their own tongue: the Romish missionaries who preceded them, having never put the sacred volume into the hands of their numerous proselytes, nor given them any methodical and intelligible instructions in the Christian religion.

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\* It was with a view to aid in this missionary work that Grotius (according to the same authority) composed his celebrated treatise *De Veritate*, &c.

This was all well, and as it should be : and similar measures seem to have been adopted by the Dutch in their subsequent conquests, such as the island of Formosa and others in those Eastern Seas. In Ceylon, however, where they obtained a footing about 1642 (though they do not appear to have finally expelled the Portuguese till 1656-8), they combined with these legitimate measures of a missionary kind, others highly objectionable, though for a time effectual in producing a vast number of professed converts to Christianity. Subscriptions to the Helvetic confession of faith, and submission to the rite of baptism, were made sure and necessary steps to civil rank and privileges. No native who refused these forms was permitted to hold any office, or even to farm land under Government ; and thus were great numbers of the more aspiring inhabitants of the island tempted, by motives merely of a worldly sort, to embrace, in outward seeming at least, the religion of the Saviour ; though, of course, as was to be expected, they remained in heart either Buddhist or Romanist idolators as they had been before. Mistaken and deserving the strongest reprobation as were these *measures* for the introduction of Christianity, the feeling or *principle* of national interest and responsibility for the religious welfare of a people, whose country is taken possession of, and its wealth drained by a more enlightened and especially a Christian race, is entitled to all approval and respect.\* Protestantism was then young, and had not yet fully unlearned the doctrines of force and of artifice in religion which the Church of Rome had been teaching the world for ages.

Would that we had any similar evidence to record of a sense of such high and solemn responsibility being entertained by the Government or by any great body of the people in England, when, in 1601, the first fleet of British ships sailed under the Charter of England's Protestant Queen, to open commercial relations with India by the route which, a century before, Vasco de

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\* The objectionable measures referred to in the text seem to have been entirely *Governmental* ; the better qualified amongst the Dutch clergy sent out to Ceylon to superintend the instruction of the people, such as the excellent Philip Baldæus, who arrived from Holland in 1656, and Dr. Singer, who was appointed Rector of the Cingalese Seminary in 1705, with others, do not appear to have relied on them ; but to have applied themselves to preaching and teaching the word of God in the language of the people, with true missionary zeal. And to their labour, doubtless, are to be traced the good results which, amidst much evil, appeared from the Dutch Missions in Ceylon. The Rev. James Cordiner, English chaplain at Colombo, at the commencement of the present century, when treating of this subject in his *Description of Ceylon*, states, that "although religious knowledge was not very perfectly conveyed to the lower order of natives, yet many of the middle and higher ranks became as true believers in the doctrines, and as conscientious performers of the duties of Christianity, as those who adorn more enlightened regions."—*Hough's History*, Vol. III., ch. 2.

Gama had thrown open to them by the Cape. But unfortunately amongst the honourable distinctions, which we freely admit, must be accorded to the East India Company, the highest of all cannot be included, that of an enlightened and a Christian concern for the best interests of India's swarming and idolatrous population. On the contrary, the deep reproach must ever rest upon it, that both whilst it was merely a commercial, and after it had become a territorial and ruling body, it never shewed an enlightened regard for the real and supremely important welfare of the people from whose land it was deriving more than royal wealth and power and greatness. Nor is it only that it neglected to put forth efforts of its own to communicate to that people the benefits of enlightened learning and the blessings of true religion, but it strenuously resisted every endeavour made by truer friends of India to do the great and good work which it had neglected; whilst, at the same time, it readily made grants and used the influence and services of its officers (often sorely against their will) to maintain and to honour the temples, the priests, and the rites of the Hindu's hideous and debasing idolatry. The noble triad, Carey, Ward and Marshman, were refused toleration by the British authorities in Bengal, and had to seek it in the limited territory of the Danes. Judson, the Apostle of Burmah, was driven from Calcutta, and had to get himself and his heroic wife smuggled on board the vessel which was to bear them to Burmah, where they found from a Buddhist monarch the friendliness and toleration which had been sternly refused them by the Christian Government of Bengal. Morrison, the Apostle of China, finding it impossible to get a passage to the east in a British ship,—all being at that time under the monopolist control of the East India Company,—was obliged to go round by New York, and make his way to China in an American vessel. It is true, that the force of public opinion has compelled the Court of Directors to a late toleration of missionaries as well as of other British subjects; but it has been little more than a mere toleration: they and their work were evidently looked upon for many years with jaundiced if not with hostile eyes; and even yet there is but little of cordial recognition accorded to them, and still less of encouraging co-operation and support. This was painfully evinced but a few years ago, when the Government of India, and we regret to add, the present Governor-General, took part with the Rajah of Nagpore against Christian missionaries at that place, and compelled them to give up to the relentless hands of the heathen King, a converted native who had taken re-

fuge among the missionaries, alleging as a justification of that most unchristian proceeding, that the treaty between the British Government and the native state forbade the former to "*aid discontented subjects*" in the latter ;—as if to turn from heathenism to Christ was to become a "*discontented subject* !!"

We do not refer, however, to this sad and dark page in the history of our rule in India, by way of having a passing *fling* at the Government ; but in order, should our remarks meet the eyes of any of those in authority, either here or at home, to add our humble mite of influence to strengthen the current of public and Government favour, which, from Sir Charles Wood's testimony in the British Parliament to missionary usefulness, from the late Education Despatch of the Court of Directors, and other recent occurrences, seems at length beginning to turn, however slowly and interruptedly, in favor of what we must always believe to be *the great work of Great Britain in India*, and the humble but yet noble-minded band of men who have been carrying it on for thirty or forty years, in the face of almost every kind of reproach, discouragement and resistance from the authorities of the country,—authorities too, of their own country and their own faith, from whom they might reasonably have looked for every suitable aid and support.

If the course hitherto adopted has proved not only unbecoming a professedly Christian Government, but also absurd and futile ; if the frightful consequences predicted in affected alarm, by worldly-wise statesmen of a by-gone day,—of allowing, and still more of encouraging the diffusion of Christian truth among the people,—have been shewn by experience never to follow ; if, on the contrary, the influence of some men in high station, who, from time to time, previously took a warm interest in the work of evangelization, has had anything but a prejudicial effect either on the Government or the people ; then, why not cheerfully and at once relinquish the old discountenancing policy, and (without using the force, the authority, or the pecuniary resources of the Government to bring about conversions,—we are as far as possible from desiring that) cordially and decidedly extend public encouragement and aid to missionary efforts, and thus not only take a consistent course as a professedly Christian Government, but also assist in removing one of the hindrances so long found in the way of the spread of the Gospel, a hindrance which missionaries tell us they constantly have to encounter, *vis.*, the marked and palpable indifference (to say the least of it) of the Government respecting Christianity ? It is no uncommon occurrence for the

natives, when unable otherwise to meet the missionary's arguments for the truth and value of the Gospel, to say: But if this were all true, why have not the Company Bahadur told us of it? Why do you not come with credentials from them? Why does not the Government shew an interest in the spread of these "glad tidings" of yours? Unschooled in the subtleties of modern "Christian" controversy, and the inconsistency of modern "Christian" indifferentism, they cannot see why a Government should not concern itself for the best interests of its subjects, as well as for their inferior ones, and if Christianity be, as the missionaries and their books say it is, the only religion given by God for the enlightenment, the elevation, the temporal happiness and the eternal salvation of men, why the Government should not at least shew an interest and a desire for its promulgation amongst the millions of men whom Providence has placed under its influence.

But this is a digression. We were about to touch briefly on the earlier attempts to plant Christianity in Hindostan. As the Protestant Dutch took a lively and active interest in the propagation of Christianity in the eastern regions where they obtained a footing, so did also the Protestant Danes, though not so promptly or of such set purpose. The first Danish merchant vessel reached the Coromandel Coast in 1618, and in 1621, the Copenhagen Company purchased from the Rajah of Tanjore the town of Tranquebar, with a few miles of adjacent territory. They had been more than eighty years engaged in the pursuits of commerce, however, before they began to concern themselves about the souls of the people. The honour of directing the commencement of missionary work belongs in this instance to a crowned head. Frederick IV. of Denmark, (as before stated) urged by one of his chaplains, Dr. Lutkens, used his royal influence to set on foot endeavours for the conversion to Christ of the idolatrous people of India. The distinguished and pious A. H. Franke, Professor in the Halle University and founder of the well known Orphan House at Halle, was applied to and recommended the first missionaries Ziegenbalg and Plutschou, who (with the authority and commission of the bishop of Zealand) arrived at Tranquebar in 1706. They met at first with not only ridicule and contempt, but direct and violent persecution from their gain-seeking fellow "Christians" from Europe: but peremptory orders from the King of Denmark, the first promoter of the Mission, put this down after it had become known at home. Their modes of proceeding seem to have been so admirable from the very first, that the missionary experience of a century and a half



has scarcely improved on them in any respect. Their spirit, their self-denial, their zeal, their devotedness, and their astonishing laboriousness are far above human praise.

An English translation of some letters of these Danish Lutheran missionaries published in 1709, by the Rev. Mr. Boehm (chaplain to Prince George of Denmark, consort of Queen Ann) was dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Tenison) the President, and other members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. This led to that society espousing the cause of the Danish mission, by granting a donation of £20,—a pretty considerable sum at that time, when the society's funds were still very trifling,—together with a number of books, and letters of kind brotherly encouragement.

A similar publication next year led to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (established in 1699), also resolving to open a separate fund in aid of the Danish missionaries and their work. "People of all ranks," we are told,\* "nobility and clergy, ladies and gentlemen, citizens and merchants, contributed to a large amount, some without wishing it to be known." They "felt ashamed that such an enterprise should have been so sparingly encouraged by Protestants." This fund continued to be managed in great measure by Archbishop Tenison, (and afterwards by Archbishop Wake) and Mr. Chamberlayne, Secretary to the *Propagation Society*, though it was properly connected with the *Christian Knowledge Society*; a fact which proves that both these bodies united cordially in this work. We are glad to be able to record this fact; it shows that these Societies were animated, then, by a larger and more catholic spirit than we fear has characterized them in later days.

From thenceforth the mission was steadily patronized and assisted by the Christian Knowledge Society. Its successive new missionaries (usually from Halle in Prussia) after having visited Copenhagen, to obtain ordination from the head of the Danish Church, seem always to have proceeded to England, to receive the benediction of the Primate and the cordial acknowledgment and substantial aid of the Christian Knowledge Society, before they sailed for India. Amongst these we should not omit to specify the distinguished Christian Frederick Swartz, who reached Tranquebar with two companions in 1750.

It is pleasant, too, in these statelier or more indifferent times, to recollect that, then, not only did the Primate of England write in cordial terms of Christian counsel and

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\* Hough's Christianity in India, Vol. III., p. 172.

encouragement to these excellent missionaries; but Royalty itself showed them a similar favor. George I. of England wrote more than once, with his own hand, in a most friendly, and indeed, Christian strain, to cheer the labourers in their work. His Majesty's last letter of this sort was written in 1727, the year of his death.

It will be impossible to follow further the fortunes of this first Protestant mission in India. Some particulars of it are well known in connexion with the history of the eminent Missionary Swartz just named, whose death took place in February 1798.

Some time after the English had established themselves in Madras, some of the chaplains began to take a lively interest in promoting missionary objects. Messrs. Lewis, Stevenson, and Leek, successively, from the year 1712, shewed themselves friendly to the Danish mission at Tranquebar. In 1734, Mr. Schaltze, who had been sent by that mission to Madras, was formally adopted, as was also the Madras mission itself, by the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was aided, too, by contributions from Germany.

It was not till 1814-15, that the first missionaries of the Church Missionary Society, Messrs. Schnarre and Rhenius, came out to Madras, where they settled with the full permission of the Governor, the Hon'ble H. Elliott; and since that time the mission has been steadily maintained, and the society has, besides, above twenty stations and forty ordained missionaries (thirteen of them natives) in various parts of the Madras Presidency.

The Christian Knowledge Society must certainly be regarded as the earliest Christian friend of India in England. From the time that that poor semi-heathen, Job Charnock, founded the English factory of Calcutta in 1689, no thought seems to have been taken for the souls of the people of Bengal, except a proposal (which came to nothing) on the part of the chaplain, the Rev. S. Briercliffe, to establish a school, until in 1714—the above named society invited that gentleman to become one of its corresponding members, and sent him a number of books, with a view to attempt the introduction of the Gospel among the population. Nothing, however, appears to have been actually done, further than the erection of the first Church in Calcutta, and the formation of a charitable institution,—the original of the present Free School, no doubt,—until some Dutch, German, and other foreigners residing in Bengal, again took the lead of us, in seeking the good of the people of the land. They applied to the Tranquebar missionaries in 1732, to send one or more of their number to establish a mission in Bengal, both for the

instruction of the natives and also for that of the children of the Europeans themselves, who were growing up in ignorance. The brethren in South India were at that time unable to meet this requisition: but it was still urged with so much importunity, that in 1734 they forwarded it to Europe, where it inspired a lively sympathy, both in England and in Germany. The Christian Knowledge Society again came forward with warm interest, and offered to contribute to maintain a missionary, if a suitable person could be found. Liberal aid flowed in from other quarters; but no one appeared who was considered an eligible person to enter on the proposed mission.

Time passed on, and Calcutta received two tremendous blows; first, in 1737, from a terrific hurricane and earthquake, which swept over it and did immense damage, and afterwards in 1756, by the invasion of the ruthless Suraj-u-Dowlah, when the terrible tragedy of the Black-hole was enacted, and 123 of our countrymen perished in one night. Almost every record seems to have vanished in these disasters; so that we know not if anything was done for the propagation of Christianity until 1758, when the first Protestant Missionary, John Zechariah Kiernander arrived in Bengal from Cuddalore, or more properly from Tranquebar, where he and his companion Mr. Huttman had taken refuge, on the French taking Cuddalore after a few days' siege. He was a Swede,\* but had been for some time engaged in a responsible situation at Halle, when the admirable Professor Francke (that true friend of India and of mankind) recommended him to the mission, and he reached Cuddalore in 1740.

Kiernander met from the British authorities, the Governor-General, the gallant Lord, (then Colonel) Clive, and the Council, a cordial reception and friendly support, which (strange to say) most of their successors seem to have been far from imitating. Colonel and Mrs. Clive, and Mr. Watts, a Member of Council, stood sponsors for his son, and the chaplains of that day, Messrs. Butler and Cape, showed the kindest feeling, and procured liberal subscriptions in aid of the objects of his mission.

The incidents of Kiernander's remarkable career are too well known to render our dwelling upon them necessary. In 1775 a second missionary, John Christian Diemer, from Halle, joined Mr. Kiernander; and it must be recorded to the honour of the East India Company,—who began better than they con-

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\* His native place was Akstad, in Sweden. He died in Calcutta in 1799.

tinued to go on,—that they granted him and Mr. Kiernander's two children, who were returning after being educated in Europe, a free passage in one of their ships. Mr. Diemer's health, however, allowed him to do but little, and obliged him to return to Europe in 1783, so that Kiernander had to apply again to Tranquebar for aid \*; and two missionaries successively (Messrs. Koenig and Gerlach) were sent up in 1778, but appear to have remained only a short time.

The first English clergyman that came to India as a missionary, was the Rev. Abraham Thomas Clarke, sent out to Calcutta by the Christian Knowledge Society in 1789, after Kiernander's pecuniary difficulties had forced him to retire. We must acknowledge with regret, that this first English missionary was unworthy of the high calling wherewith he had been called; for after about a year he obtained a Government chaplaincy, and without notice suddenly threw up his missionary charge (offering to repay what he had cost the society), and was sent by the Commander-in-Chief to Chunar. He still, however, retained an interest in Missionary work, and endeavoured afterwards to promote it. The Rev. W. T. Ringletaube also, who joined the mission in 1797, became discontented and forsook it, two years after; and the Christian Knowledge Society seemed in consequence to grow discouraged and to withdraw from the work.

Far different in spirit was the Rev. David Brown, the father of evangelical religion in Bengal. He had come to India in 1786, and had not only laboured hard, but sacrificed comforts and emoluments to carry on the Missionary work, which had been commenced in Calcutta.

"The furtherance of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to me all in all," said he, in a letter dated 1792; and his whole life proved that it was no empty vaunt. He found a true and a most able fellow labourer in the distinguished Rev. Claudius Buchanan, who came to India in 1797, and whose eminent services are well known. Messrs. Chambers, Grant, and Udney, ought also to be mentioned as most active, zealous and laborious friends of the mission, amongst the persons in high station, and especially Lord Teignmouth, who arrived in Calcutta as Governor-General in 1793, and most liberally supported and befriended Missionary work.

In the meantime, a missionary spirit was gaining strength amongst the Baptists in England. It seems to have risen there

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\* Two Portuguese Roman Catholic Priests, who had been converted through Kiernander's instrumentality, were very useful in the new mission.

first in the bosom of the afterwards eminent William Carey; and about the same time in Calcutta, in that of Mr. Thomas, a ship surgeon, who sailed to India, for the first time, in 1783. After the formation of the *Baptist Missionary Society*, in 1792, as before noticed, these two men first met; their meeting was deeply affecting; they fell on each other's neck and wept. They arrived in Calcutta on June 13th, 1793, on board a Danish ship, and were welcomed by David Brown and other Christian friends. In 1799 arrived Ward, Brunsdon, Grant and Marshman; but this large accession to a force then little known and less understood, at once awakened the suspicions of the Indian Government; and even the able and far-seeing Lord Mornington had almost ordered them to leave the country.\* But he was induced by the intervention of Dr. Buchanan, to allow them to remain, and settle at Serampore, where the Danish Governor gave them a friendly reception; and there, as is well known, the Baptists have ever since maintained their mission.

It may well be concluded that, on learning of the formation of the Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East, David Brown's heart would be filled with joy; and that he would use every exertion to bring its agency to bear on India. In 1807, he, and those true and noble friends of India named above, Dr. Buchanan and Mr. Udney, were constituted a sort of Corresponding Committee by a grant of £200, made by the Society's Committee in London, to be appropriated at their discretion to promote the translation of the Scriptures into the languages of the East. This sum was not drawn for immediately, and, in 1809, it was increased to £500, and Henry Martyn and Mr. Thomason were added to the Committee entrusted with it.

In consequence of a proposal made by this Committee, for the maintenance of natives to read the Christian Scriptures in public, the London Committee granted £250 a year for that purpose, in 1811, the year in which the devoted Martyn left India to return no more.

Previous to the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1813, the society had begun to bestir itself to secure an opening for Missionary efforts, and all the judgment and energy of its Secretary were exerted to the full. Dr. Buchanan

\* It must be admitted, that at the time there was something to excite the suspicions of the Government in the fact of Dissenters, (a body of whom many were known to have espoused French Republican principles), arriving without the usual license of the Court, in American vessels, with the avowed intention of propagandism amongst the natives.

had gone to England in 1808, and immediately began to plead the cause of India, with all his consummate ability and rich stores of oriental knowledge, through the pulpit and the press, both in England and Ireland: and with decided effect. It was at the request of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society that he drew up his celebrated Memoir on the necessity of a colonial ecclesiastical establishment for India, which was published by the society in 1812, and being extensively circulated amongst members of the Legislature, led in fact to the institution of the Indian episcopate. Thus it is to this society, which high church bigotry so vehemently assailed as opposed to church order and episcopal authority, that the origination of Protestant episcopal authority in India must be ascribed. It is difficult for us, at this period of our Indian history, with bishops, clergy and missionaries of all sorts, so long living realities around us to realize the extravagant alarm and the violent spirit which the proposition of an ecclesiastical establishment for India, and especially for sanctioning,—(Dr. Buchanan went no further),—missionary labours amongst the people, called forth from the worldly-wise politicians and statesmen of that day. The following passage from the Rev. J. Long's *Hand Book of Bengal Missions* (p. 14.) will give some idea of how such persons felt on this subject \*:—

“Opinions of the following description were warmly advocated by Anglo-Indians. The Hindu system little needs the ameliorating hand of the Christian dispensation, for “the law is good, if a man use it lawfully.” “No Hindu of respectability will ever yield to the missionary's remonstrances.” Even as late as 1808, Major Scott Waring, a Bengal Officer, has recorded his opinion in the following terms:—“Whenever the Christian religion does as much for the lower orders of society in Europe, as that of Brahma appears to have done for the Hindus, I shall cheerfully vote for its establishment in Hindustan.”

“We give the following as specimens of the notions and practices of some of the Anglo-Indians in Bengal, in former days, and which proved mighty obstacles to the conversion of the heathen. Colonel Stewart, who received the sobriquet of Hindu Stewart, resided at Berhampore, where he worshipped idols and the Ganges. He built a temple at Sagor; and on his return to Europe, took idols with him to perform puja. Warren Hastings sent an embassy to the Grand Lama to congratulate him on his incarnation. Mr. Lushington, a Director of the East India Company, stated publicly, in 1793, “that were 100,000 natives converted, he should hold it as the greatest calamity that could befall India.” The sermon preached at Bishop Middleton's consecration in 1814, was not published, lest the fears of many Anglo-Indians should be excited. At that period the opponents of missions declared, that if bishops were sent to India, “our empire there

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\* See also the article entitled *The Establishment of the Indian Episcopate*, in No. XXV. (March 1850) of the *Calcutta Review*.

would not be worth a year's purchase." Major Scott Waring writes in 1805; "I never met with a happier race of men than the Hindus when left to the undisturbed performance of the rites of their own religion; and it might truly be said, that if Arcadian happiness ever had existence, it must have been rivalled in Hindustan." In 1793, a member of the Court of Proprietors declared at the India House, "that the sending missionaries into our Eastern territories is the most wild, extravagant, expensive, unjustifiable project that was ever suggested by the most visionary speculator; that the project would affect the ultimate security of our Eastern possessions." We need not be surprised, however, at these statements, when we find the Bishop of St. Asaph, stating in the House of Lords in 1783, that "the obligation said to be incumbent on Christians, to promote their faith throughout the world, had ceased with the supernatural gifts which attended the commission of the Apostles."

The battle of the truth, however, was bravely fought, and at length won; and Thomas Fanshawe Middleton arrived at Calcutta as the first Protestant Indian Bishop, in November 1814. But we cannot say that this able, though cold and formal prelate, did much to forward the great work of missions in India. He thought himself restricted by the wording of his letters patent from ordaining either natives or others for the propagation of Christianity in his vast and swarming diocese. He even doubted whether he ought to countenance Missionary proceedings by any but the clerical servants of the East India Company,—and he did both countenance and commend those of Mr. Corrie at Agra. So that, though clergymen of the Church of England had begun to engage in missionary labour in the diocese during his episcopate, he never could make up his mind to license, or even to recognize them, because neither the canons nor liturgy of the English Church, nor the Commission of the Court of Directors, had specially provided for such cases. Towards the close of his career he seemed to be inclining towards a course of action more worthy of a Christian and Protestant Bishop in a country like this. But death surprised him before he had taken any step except founding Bishop's College, which forms an appropriate monument of the man.

Great was the disappointment of the Church Missionary Society. The small-mindedness (if we may construct a word for the occasion) and timidity of the new bishop, however, did not retard its energetic labours. The authorities of the Church seemed from the first, as it were, resolved to let the world see how much could be done without *their* help. Amongst the parties which have always existed, and we suppose always will exist in the Church, ever since there has been anything like a settled ecclesiastical organization, has been one whose cry is evermore "*Church Principles*;" and another whose equally constant cry is "*Perishing Souls*." To the former of these

belonged Bishop Middleton; to the latter pertain most of the leaders of the Church Missionary Society; and without debating at present their relative merits, we shall only say, let our soul ever be with the latter.

Not long after the first Bishop, the first English missionaries of the Church Missionary Society reached India. The Rev. Messrs. Norton and Greenwood were at first designed for Ceylon, but circumstances led to the former being assigned to Madras and the latter to Calcutta, where he arrived in June 1816. They had been ordained in England, and came out with the license of the Company to reside in their territories. From that time the number of English missionaries steadily increased, ignored and discouraged as they were, by their principal head; until at his decease, in July 1822, they amounted to eighteen, with eight Lutherans in India and Ceylon. The society had taken up twenty-four stations, of which ten were in the Bengal Presidency; and in spite of the unconcealed dislike of the Court of Directors, the "passive resistance" of the Indian Government, and the stiff and formal coldness of the Indian Bishop, was making friends for itself amongst the wise and good in the land, who began to support it liberally, and was doing its trying and difficult work, with a steady patient zeal and perseverance, which nothing but true Christian principle could have maintained. What can this be ascribed to other than the blessing of God? Never was there a more decisive and more cheering instance of that blessing prevailing against almost every human hindrance.

Heber was a wiser, as well as a warmer and farther-seeing man than his predecessor. During his more genial episcopate, the missionaries proceeded more cheerfully with their work as acknowledged members of the Church of England Ministry in India; and Bishop Wilson's lengthened episcopate of now two and twenty years, his evangelical principles, his missionary zeal, his liberal disposition, his sermons and charges, and his friendly bearing towards his clergy in general, have done much to place the missionary on his proper level, to cheer him in his work, and to commend that work to the many, who in India, as everywhere, are more influenced by the authority and example of one in an eminent position, than by the righteous claims of a good and glorious cause.

This should bring us to write of what they *have* done, of the actual fruits of missionary labour in India; and we had intended to have gone into this part of the subject at some little length, and to have proved by facts and by arguments that the actual results of Missionary labour are such as should call forth the thankful respect of all right thinking men; but we have been led somehow, in writing these pages, to take a somewhat dif-



ferent course from that at first contemplated, and are consequently obliged to defer much that we had intended to say on this and other branches of our subject. We gladly refer the reader, however, to an article exclusively devoted to it, by another and a much abler hand, in an earlier number of this *Review*, No. XXXI., for September 1851, where the subject will be found very fully and very fairly treated; and it is shewn that the results, not only in actual conversions of natives of the country, and in gathering of native Christian congregations, are much greater than could reasonably have been reckoned on from the comparatively trifling amount of missionary labour as yet expended upon this vast Missionary field; but also in the quantity of *material* produced, in the way of mission establishments, vernacular books, especially the Scriptures, and efficient native helpers, for the future carrying on of the work. We commend the paper to the perusal of the reader who wishes to obtain a just view of a work too little known, as we have said, and too much decried. And, at the same time, we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of referring to and commending to our readers another article in a number of the *Review* subsequent to that just referred to (No. XXXV., September 1852,) entitled *India as a Mission field*, and the pamphlet there reviewed, entitled *The Urgent Claims of India for more Christian Missions*, by a Layman in India: London, 1852. We are not, we believe, now betraying any secret in naming the Layman as Macleod Wylie, Esq., Senior Judge of the Calcutta Court of Small Causes, who has just left India (but we rejoice to hope only for a time) to seek restoration of the health which had seriously suffered under his devoted labours in the cause of missions and of every good work amongst us. Even while we write, another work of his has been announced, dictated by the same spirit of Christian zeal which has long animated him. It is designated *Bengal as a field of Missions*.

It was during the incumbency of India's third Bishope the active and sensible Thomas Turner, that the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht landed in Calcutta as a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, on New-year's day, 1831.

It is with no small regret that we find both our space and time so far engaged already, as to necessitate our compressing into a few concluding pages our notice of the Memoir and the Life of this truly valuable Missionary, which we had intended should constitute a large portion of this article.

The critic cannot and would not deal severely with the work

of a widow, drawn up, in great part, during the very year of her bereavement. But in candour we must say, that whilst the work presents some of the faults to be expected from the circumstances of its compilation, such as a natural tendency to accumulate and to over-colour every thing which can in any way exalt its subject, and to pass over, perhaps unconsciously, other things which might cast a shade over it, it is very far in our judgment, from deserving the harsh measure dealt out to it by a Calcutta contemporary.\* Admitting that the Memoir is in some measure "*overdone*," and that there are pages, which might, without much loss to the life or to the public, have been omitted—(though it is but fair to remember, that a history of the Burdwan mission is incorporated with the Memoir, and many passages unnecessary to the latter are quite relevant to the former,)—and, moreover, that the work would have been much more extensively read, were it less bulky, and printed in larger type; we must still say that the majority of ordinary readers,—for whom, be it remembered, and not for the critics, such books are written,—have pronounced warmly in its favour, as far as we have had opportunity of personally ascertaining; and the public in general has evinced its feeling very decidedly, by taking up an impression of 3,000 copies, and calling for another in the course of, we believe, a few weeks. We have heard, too, from a friend in England, well qualified, from position and otherwise, to form a judgment, that the work "is doing good service to the cause of Missions at home." This is a decided *success*. And as for the largeness of the volume and the smallness of the type, if they do not evince the literary discretion of the compiler, they certainly shew her honesty, so to speak: much less matter in much larger type would have cost her much less labor and expense, and probably sold still better; but there was a wealth of materials, and we happen to know, that nearly half as much more as appears in print, was included in the original compilation; but was judiciously excised by the Editor, Mr. Christopher, whose Introduction, (by the way) though by no means necessary to the Memoir, is in itself sound and sensible, and likely to prove useful.

We cannot but wish certainly that greater literary skill had been exerted in the arrangement of the materials; but it was necessary, for various reasons, to bring out the work soon;—every one who has had to compile a book hurriedly will understand what is meant by *not having time to be brief*:—it was done by a hand unhackneyed in the arts of book-making, though

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\*The Calcutta Christian Observer, November 1854.

not wholly inexperienced in authorship ; and to say the least of the work, it follows the fashion of biography so much in vogue at present, *viz.*, to leave the subject of the memoir to tell his own tale and exhibit his own character, by his journals, his correspondence, and the more public productions of his pen.

We shall say no more at present as to the execution of the work, except this, that if it has faults, it is certainly not without merits, too. It is agreeably written. With all its minute detail, and its certainly rather excessive lengthiness, no one can justly call it *tiresome* : and many readers, as we have already said, have pronounced it positively delightful. It has, in our eyes at least, one great merit ; it is so contrived as to bring forward a great number of incidents, small, it may be, in themselves, but yet calculated to prove instructive and cheering to persons engaged, as its subject was, in arduous and self-denying labour ; and by presenting us with Mr. Weitbrecht's own descriptions of his inward conflicts, and the sources whence he derived strength and comfort, and victory, it directs other tried ones to the same "wells of salvation," from which they may draw for themselves in their time of need.

We might choose passages, almost at random, from the Memoir, to illustrate this latter commendation. Take for instance, the account of the close of his second year in India, 1832 :—

"A few days later, his brethren left him, and he concluded his journal of this year by a summary of the great and wonderful mercies he had received from his Lord, who had so graciously assisted him through the arduous and difficult beginning of his missionary course. He traces all his strength for duty, and all his success, to the help and blessing of his heavenly Father, and renews his prayers and his vows for future aid and consecration under six heads :—1. For troubles, give faith and hope. 2. For discouragement, patience and perseverance. 3. For the poor heathen, love and pity. 4. For private devotion, humility and confidence. 5. For the work of the ministry, divine unction. 6. In combats, victory, through the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." (p. 77.)

Again, on New Year's Day 1834, he thus writes :—

"I have now spent three years in India, and depending on the Almighty hand which has hitherto so graciously and faithfully guided me, I enter on the fourth. O Lord ! let Thy favour preserve my breath, for in this land we sensibly feel that in the midst of life we are in death. Give me, blessed Jesus, new faithfulness, new zeal, new strength, and new blessings in my work in this vineyard wherein Thou hast called me to labour. My comfort under all my own infirmities and weaknesses, and under all the difficulties and trials of my pilgrim way is, that Thou wilt never leave me nor forsake me. My soul cleaveth unto Thee. Thou hast loved me first, and Thy love constraineth me to live, and if called on, to die for Thee. Be to my soul more and more precious,—more and more glorious,—more and more dear ; preserve me to Thy heavenly kingdom, and grant me at last a joyful entrance therein." (p. 98.)

And once more in 1836 :—

The great point a missionary must ever have in view, in all his engagements, is the conversion of those among whom he labours. While I feel my inability to accomplish this change in one soul, the privilege is sweet to me by which I can say, "*Lord, help me. I am Thy servant.*" It is an especial comfort to be able to ask His blessing in every particular case. "Lord, I am going to preach the Gospel of Thy dear Son; accompany my testimony by the power of Thy Spirit to the hearts of the hearers. I am going to instruct the young; bless the instruction." Labouring thus in His name we may be happy, and take courage. The cause is His, and not ours. May we be "faithful unto death!" Our reward will be great, and our rest sweet. Sometimes our faith and patience is exceedingly tried, at other times we are refreshed and comforted. I know this must be. All the saints in glory went there on the same path." (p. 146-7.)

We cannot but think that the disparaging remarks of the critic we have referred to, on Mr. Weitbrecht's personal qualities and ministerial labours, are unjustly severe and splenetic.\* They are moreover strangely dissimilar to others in the same periodical at an earlier period, soon after that excellent missionary's death. Were we to have the lives of men of genius only written, the world and the church would, in our opinion, be grievous losers; the mass of mankind would be effectually deterred from aiming at what is good and worthy of imitation in the teaching of Biography, because of that transcendent and heaven-bestowed something, called genius, with which it would come to be regarded as inseparably connected, as effect is with cause. But with but little of this undefined and fitful thing, a man may possess many most excellent and useful, nay, most noble and admirable qualities, which, while they render him a benefactor and blessing to his kind, do not raise him above their imitation. And such, we think, was Josiah Pratt, whose character we have just attempted, though very imperfectly, to pourtray; and such we hold also was John James Weitbrecht. Talents and powers, we maintain, he possessed, of no common order; but it is not for these we love, we honour, and we try to follow him; it is for his virtues; for the grace that was bestowed upon him, for the uses to which he applied his many and various gifts.

It affords evidence of mental superiority to have maintained always a pre-eminence amongst his fellows, and that not by any assumption of his, but by the ready concession of those

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\* We don't know who the writer is, but he seems to think the business of a critic is to strike out as far, and to deal as many and as hard blows as he can on any and everything within reach, all round. In the space of his five or six pages, he manages to attack writers of fiction and biography in general, and Mrs. Weitbrecht and her work in particular, missionary societies, and the missionary whose memoir he was reviewing, and we know not whom and what beside. This is not to be a reviewer, but a censor-general.

amongst whom he moved. This pre-eminence was awarded to him by his college-mates at Basle missionary institution ; and we can testify that it continued to be yielded by his brother missionaries in India up to the close of his life. Often have we heard the regretful remark made since his removal, "We have no one to take the place that he held amongst us ; no one to look up to as we did to him."

It is indicative of no contemptible amount of talent, combined with energy, firmness and diligence, to have successively set to work at, and made some progress in, four strange languages, and to have mastered the fourth so early and so respectably as Weitbrecht did the Bengali. And amongst his linguistic attainments must be included his perfection in English, which required little correction, even when he was on his voyage to India after scarce two years' residence in England ; for one of his fellow passengers says of him, "he then wrote as correctly and eloquently as in latter years, and preached in English with "as much ease as if he had been born in England." We have ourselves heard the friend, himself no inelegant scholar, who carried through the press the volume of Mr. Weitbrecht's Sermons published in Calcutta soon after the author's decease, say, that scarce a line or a word needed correction.

Nor can it be denied to be a proof of a gifted mind to possess the power to influence and control, by the utterance of the lips, popular assemblies of almost every sort, and that without the slightest attempt at the arts of the practised rhetorician, by the force of manly sense, fresh and vigorous thought, and pointed and simple appeal to the best feelings of our nature. Without dwelling on his missionary preaching in India, his progress through Germany on his visit home, in 1841-44, was a career of triumph. Wherever he went, he created an enthusiasm. A like, though perhaps not quite an equal success attended him in England, to him a foreign land ; and it was proved to be the result of no tricks of oratory or mere graces of manner or of style ; for his missionary addresses were published not only in German but in English, and in both languages had a very considerable *run*.

An instance or two will illustrate this position, as related in his free and artless letters to his wife.

"The town contains only 400 Protestants, yet the church was so full, one might have walked upon the heads of the people. At least 1000 individuals listened for one hour and a half in breathless silence. The two Dukes (Paul and Adam, of Wurtemberg) were present, and became subscribers ; you can imagine I do not lose these fine opportunities for speaking, as God may enable me, to the hearts and consciences of my hearers."

And again—

“I wish you could have seen the masses of hearers this day. I spoke an hour and a half.\* The people seemed quite electrified: there were about 3,000 present. It was a beautiful sight! An old infidel physician, who had not been in church for thirty years, attended. He was quite shaken down, and sent us a present for our work.”

We think, too, that the death of a man of ordinary and common place ability would not have called forth the numerous and strongly worded expressions of regret and admiration which followed Weitbrecht's decease, expressions which were not only heard from many of the pulpits of Calcutta and elsewhere, but which were entered on the records of public religious bodies, both those of the Church of England, and others, too, as may be seen in the latter pages, and the Appendix to the Memoir. Either these various bodies and individuals happened, accidentally and independently of each other, all to go out of their usual way, to do honour to the memory of a mere everyday good man; or else the man whose memory they honoured was one of no common stamp.

Thus much we say in simple justice; but we repeat, that we care not for the point. We are glad the Memoir has been written, if the subject of it were not half the man, the missionary and the Christian that he was; for even though the work be partial and over-coloured,—as we suppose almost every Memoir, at least by a near relative is,—we believe it will minister encouragement, and stimulus and comfort to many a faithful heart, both in the homes of Christian Europe and the tabernacles of the missionary field.

We may as well say here respecting the missionary character, and missionaries themselves in general, as they have come under our observation, that we have been constrained to respect them very highly. We think they are a class of men, much misjudged by most persons. The missionary character, in the abstract idea, is doubtless duly venerated; but somehow the Missionary himself, in the actual living reality, is not estimated amongst us here in India, as we think he ought to be. People are inconsiderate. They seem to expect a missionary to be a man above the reach of human infirmity, and even of human feelings and human wants: a man of an anchorite's self-denial, an apostle's zeal, a giant's power, and an angel's disinterested devotedness. They conceive the idea of a sort of compound character, made up of the best features of many others, and seem to expect to find their idea realized in every missionary they meet. They take the heavenly mind and even the splendid talents of a Martyn, the untiring energy and great success of a Swartz,

the deep humility of soul of a Brainerd, the laborious self-denial of an Eliot, or a Judson, the resistless gentleness and winning love of a Corrie, the solid sense, agreeable manners, and ready address of a Weitbrecht, and the physical energy and iron-constitution of a Lacroix, and forming to their imaginations a character composed of such elements, they seem to expect to find it wherever they find a missionary. Of course, they are disappointed ; " God " (as Cecil says) " who alone *could* make such ministers, has not done so : "—admirable Crichtons, and Berkeleys, endowed with " every virtue under heaven," are but rarely seen in this degenerate world ;—but in their disappointment men are apt to fly to the other extreme, and think nothing of the man who has not every thing they fancied he had. But this is unreasonable and unfair. " Every man," says St. Paul, " has his proper gift of God, one after this manner and another after that : " and though there are exceptions to what we are about to say, among the missionary body, we must in candour express it as our opinion that the Missionaries, as a body, form the most truly respectable class of society in India : respectable for their general ability, respectable for their usefulness and laboriousness, respectable for their high Christian character, and respectable above all, (we mean more than any other class) for their disinterested and single-minded devotedness to India's good. Of no other men in the country can it be said as a body, that they came to India only to seek the good of India and her people : and we must add, as the result of our own not very limited observation and experience, that amongst no other body are you so sure of meeting with a ready response and cordial co-operation when you want to carry out any well laid scheme for the real benefit, even, of a merely temporal kind, of the sons and daughters of the land. We are well aware, and rejoice in the acknowledgment, that among the members of the public services, civil, military and clerical, there is a considerable, and perhaps an increasing, proportion of persons feeling a lively interest in such undertakings, and ready to lend them energetic and substantial aid ; but of none others, that we are acquainted with, save and except the missionaries, can this be said *as a body* ; and, of them, it can. There are exceptions ; but we have found them but few. The people and the friends of India are sure of finding friends in them.

One element in the romantic idea of a Missionary to which we have alluded is, that he should live like an anchorite ; and if he is seen dwelling in a moderately good habitation, and partaking of the ordinary simple comforts of civilized life, he is liable to be set down as a luxurious self-indulger, who thinks more of

his comforts than of his work, and who probably entered on his holy calling to obtain a sort of advancement and independence in the world. This has always appeared to us a great mistake. We quote, in reference to it, the remarks of a writer in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, who seems to be well acquainted with the subject:—

“Half a century’s experience has taught such bodies (Missionary Societies) that *penny wisdom* here is *found folly*—looking at the matter merely in a pecuniary light. It has taught them, that to educate men in European Colleges for missionary labour, to send them out to India in our costly ships, with all necessary outfit, and then to place them in poor close dwellings, on stinted allowances, without conveniences for either family comfort or missionary activity—is the most utter folly. It wastes funds entrusted to them not for foolish waste but judicious use; it flings away valuable lives, which, on a better system, might be, and are preserved for many years; and it creates a prejudice and a fear about the missionary life, as if to be a missionary was necessarily to be a martyr; as poor Mrs. Pfeiffer thought it, though in another sense.

Hence good, substantial, airy and often expensive (we will not say they are not sometimes too expensive) houses are built for missionaries in those places where the mission is likely to be permanent. Hence missionaries are provided with the necessary appliances and means of protection from the deadly climate, and with a sufficiency of the ordinary supplies and comforts of persons in the middle classes of society; and one of the duties of the Secretaries, or senior members of missionary bodies, is to warn inexperienced missionaries against the folly and danger of denying themselves needful comforts, and exposing themselves to heat, damp, &c., &c., under mistaken ideas of economy.

We well remember the fears excited not very long ago on behalf of a zealous, though rather incautious missionary friend, who, being left too much to himself, adopted a mode of living which exposed his health and life to the most imminent peril. We felt constrained to volunteer more than one urgent caution ourselves; and we cannot forget the wasted and sickly look which he brought back with him after a few months of living in a mode which Mrs. Pfeiffer would probably not think “martyr-like” enough; for he never quite came up to her idea of living exactly like the poorest natives, eating with them from one dish, &c., &c. We have no doubt his life was saved by his having to leave his chosen abode and go to sea.”\*

The amount of labour gone through by a diligent and zealous missionary in India few persons are aware of. It is not merely going to preach now and then, or teaching a little in a school, with natives to help him. It is the constant and wearying pressure of many and often conflicting claims

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\* “Many instances might be cited of missionary labourers, who fell early victims to their own hasty and mistaken ideas of self-denying economy, contrary to the frequent warnings of more experienced persons. One, in particular, occurs to us of a promising young man, who thought it would look proud and luxurious to allow himself to be carried in a palanquin; and unable or unwilling to keep a horse conveyance, went about Calcutta and its environs on foot, and soon fell a prey to the climate, or rather to his own contempt of the warnings of both nature and experience. This is but one of many cases.”



upon his time and his exertions, that wear him down. Most missionaries have more or less of a native Christian congregation to attend to, and some, as for instance those of the Church Missionary Society in the Kishnaghur district in Bengal, and of that and other Societies in several parts of South India,—of many hundred members, such as are considered more than enough to fill the time, and tax the energies of a strong man in the bracing air of Europe. But this is but a small part of the zealous missionary's charge. He has (in addition to the usual European requisites for ministerial usefulness, to acquire a full and familiar knowledge of perhaps two or three strange and difficult oriental tongues, so as to discuss in them not only ordinary matters of business or routine (such as the planter or the Government servant has to do with) but abstruse religious doctrines and the niceties of eastern philosophy and metaphysics. Whilst he is learning these, his time is perpetually demanded, and his studies interrupted by the care of the before-mentioned native flock, by the concerns of his schools, of which he has probably two for native *Christian* children, boys and girls, in his mission compound, and two or three others in different parts of his district, at some miles distance from him and from each other; and none of these can go on at all satisfactorily without his frequent and steady superintendence. Missionary preaching tours occupy a good part of the season of the year, when it is possible to itinerate in a country like India, and exclude every thing else for the time. As he becomes known and respected amongst the people, he is constantly visited by enquirers, some seeking with a measure of sincere earnestness, to know what is the true way of salvation; some coming merely out of curiosity,—like the Athenian idlers gathering round St. Paul,—to have a talk with the Sahib, and hear how he talks their language, and what he has to say about his religion and about theirs; they want also to see how he lives in his house, and what kind of beings his wife and his children are. Some, again, come again and again, veiling their object under a thick cover of simulated concern about spiritual things in hope of securing the Sahib's intercession with the neighbouring judge or collector or other Government officer, for the obtaining a situation, or the decision of a law suit, or some such matter. All these persons the Missionary thinks it right to attend to. It is impossible often to distinguish the sincere from the hypocritical; and even though it were not, he knows not but that God's mercy may have led, unknown to himself, even the curious questioner, or the seeker of worldly advantage, to hear from him the words of life which

will yet convert his soul. Hence the missionary receives and converses with all, usually giving them tracts or books to take with them to their homes. Besides, he is often the physician of the neighbourhood, and has, morning by morning, a crowd of applicants for medicine and medical advice, with which he endeavours to impart the "Balm of Gilead" for the sin-diseased soul. He is not unfrequently, too, made (though we think he ought not to allow it) the arbiter in the disputes of his vicinity, and thus brings upon himself much trouble and annoyance. But whilst all this is going on, occupying and over-occupying his mornings and his days, he feels the want of new books or translations of books for both his Christian flock and the unbelieving multitude. There is no one to prepare them, but himself or some brother Missionary, who is no better off than himself. True, he is already "pressed out of measure above strength;" but the want is pressing too, and he sets to work, giving the brief occasional intervals of his interrupted days and a portion of his nights due to repose, to the work of composition or translation. In this way many of the now numerous religious books and tracts in the native languages have been prepared, and not a few of the translations of the Sacred Scriptures themselves. And this part of the work goes on silently and in private, whilst harshly judging persons are thinking that the Missionary is indulging himself in ease. But even yet the Missionary's labour is not at an end. In many places there is something of a European flock without a shepherd, to whom he feels bound to minister the word of life, hoping that the benefit done may revert in good to the work of missions; and though this is a labour which often times brings much refreshment to the missionary's own spirit, still it is a labour, and consumes both time and energy. And, in addition to all, he has to prepare reports for his Society, to keep up correspondence about his Mission, and frequently to collect some of the Funds for its support; and as most missionaries have a family, some time and attention is required for their culture and instruction too, especially surrounded as they are by the uncongenial influences of a heathen land.

Thus is the missionary pressed and worn down. Let any one compare the amount of labour we have just described, and *which is the lot of the great majority of missionaries in this country*, with all its disadvantages of a relaxing and exhausting climate, imperfect means of communication, and lack of cheering Christian society; let any one compare it with what is often considered such *hard work* in an English parish, that a curate

or two must be got to share it, or the over-burthened minister soon breaks down—and we feel assured that more consideration and respect will be felt for the missionary than it has been the fashion to exhibit in some quarters that might have been better informed and better disposed. Less wonder, too, will be ignorantly expressed, that these over-pressed and toil-worn men do not do much more, that they do not convert all India at once, whilst, too many of their “Christian” brethren, so far from cheering or helping, are criticizing them, and amusing themselves, gathering money and hastening home to enjoy it—that some 400 missionaries should not have reclaimed the 120 millions of India, when above 20,000 ministers are considered so inadequate for the due instruction of the 20 millions of Christian England, that Pastoral aid, and Scripture Readers, and City mission Societies are necessary to help them.

“The 2nd of April 1802, was a day of joy and sorrow” in the house of a respectable citizen of Schorndorf, in Wurtemberg. In the morning a little daughter died, and in the evening a son was born, the third of seven. This was John James Weitbrecht, the future missionary in Bengal. There was nothing of particular note to distinguish his early years, during which he seemed to exhibit many engaging qualities, but less of mental gifts and talents than others of the family appeared to possess. The father had been educated for the ministry, though he did not enter it; but his education enabled him to provide better instruction for his children than ordinary tradesmen of his class; and amongst other things he accustomed his sons to converse, and sometimes correspond, with him and with each other in Latin. In one of the son’s letters to his own son, in after years, as given in the memoir, he says that at eleven years of age he was able to read Ovid and Virgil, and converse fluently with his brothers in that language.

His mother was a pious woman: but he lost her almost before he could fully appreciate her value. A second mother, however, who was a step-mother only in name, seems fully to have supplied her place, and to have exercised a happy influence for good upon the mind of her adopted family; so that very early in his life strong religious impressions appear to have been made on the mind of John. They were renewed and deepened again at the season of confirmation, which in Germany always takes place in the fourteenth year. “With tears of repentance and joy,” he afterwards said of himself, “I then renewed my baptismal covenant in the ordinance of confirmation.” His

tears again flowed, but for another cause, at his seventeenth year, when his father died :—

"Around the sick couch of our dying parent stood weeping the sorrowing mother and nine children, of whom the youngest was but a year old. This grief was heavy, indeed, and once more drove me to the Saviour, not at first for myself, but for the preservation of my father's earthly life. The prayer was not granted, and the hour of his dissolution rapidly approached. Then my heart was lifted up, the weak faith became strong, and I was enabled to say, "Lord, if thou wilt take away our father, surely, Thou wilt, according to Thine own gracious promise, be our Father and Supporter." And thus it was : the earthly parent was called home, and the Heavenly One continued to lead me, through varied and painful experiences—among them very weak health—into the full knowledge and love of God." (p. 7)

He had been put to learn his father's business after he had completed his fourteenth year. What that business was is not mentioned, we believe, in the memoir, but we know not why it should be concealed. Who thinks the less of Carey when it is known that he had been for years a shoe-maker,\* or of Morrison, that he was a boot-tree maker, of Henry Martyn, when it is heard that his father was a Cornish miner, of David Brown, because he was the son of a poor Yorkshire farmer, or who will think the less of John James Weitbrecht, on learning that his paternal trade was that of a baker? A year after his father's death, finding his health suffering, he abandoned this first employment for another; we are not told what. This business led him "in due time" to Stuttgart, where, through the ministry of "the sainted Holfacker," he became thoroughly awakened and enlightened in soul, and to use his own words, "the blessed hour arrived when he was to find Christ, and to be united to Him to be separated no more." It was on Good Friday 1824, and at the Lord's Holy Table, that, as he believed, the work of grace was sealed upon his soul.

The desire he had for some time felt to devote himself to missionary work, then became more earnest and lively; and the

\* We have always considered it one of the best anecdotes we have of missionary life in India, that Carey, when dining one day at Government House, heard Colonel or General somebody, who was also at the table, and who understood that Carey was a guest, ask "Where is that shoemaker?" when the missionary, who was close by, immediately replied, with dignified composure, "I am here, sir; but you do me too much honour, I was not a shoemaker, I was only a cobbler." We perceive, however, from what is stated in the life of that distinguished missionary, that the anecdote is scarcely likely to be authentic, for a letter or statement of Carey's own is quoted, in which he says that he was considered a good workman, and that his master kept in his shop, as a favourable specimen of good work, a pair of shoes made by him. Carey was no boaster.

father that his cousin Pfander (who was long an able Missionary of the Church Missionary Society at Agra, and just now in the present year has been deputed to open a New mission amongst the Affghan and other tribes about Peshawar) and another friend had taken that step. He waited however in faith and prayer during eighteen months, for an indication of the Divine will : and then offered himself to the Basle Missionary Society ; and was at once accepted and admitted to the missionary seminary at that place, at the close of 1825.

The history of his residence there affords most pleasing and satisfactory evidence of his felt superiority, if not in talent, at least in maturity and weight of character, to most of his fellow-students ; over whom, indeed, his early education, as well as perhaps his more mature age, gave him some advantage. One of them says :—

“ He did, indeed, exercise a very blessed influence upon my whole being ; for I was not only young in years but in Christian experience, having entered the Christian Church not long before. The old Adam was still strong in me, and much in Christianity was new to me. He watched over me with motherly tenderness,—sometimes, faithfully bringing my inconsistencies before me ; and then when he saw me overwhelmed by a deep sense of my sinfulness, he comforted and encouraged me, kneeled down beside me, and united with me in beseeching Divine strength and grace to help me on. He loved me for that Saviour’s sake, in whom we were both one, and who was “ *all and in all* ” to him.” (p. 11.)

After about three years’ residence in the Basle institution,\* during almost two of which he attended lectures with the theological class in the University of that place, in which he also matriculated, he was selected with one or two others for the Church Missionary Society, and proceeded to London, where he arrived towards the end of December 1828, and took up his abode at the Society’s missionary institution at Islington.

He was at first intended for the Abyssinian Mission, and was

\* “ The missionary seminary there was established in 1817, after the fall of Napoleon, as a suitable token of gratitude to God for the deliverance of Germany from the yoke of France. Basle, in Switzerland, was chosen for its locality, partly because it was supposed that such an institution would there encounter less opposition from the secular power than in Germany, and partly because many of the men who founded it, were inhabitants of that rich commercial city, then, as now, distinguished for the piety of its ministers and of many of their hearers. It also forms the connecting link between Switzerland and South-Western Germany, and is admirably adapted to be the centre of a missionary society intended to unite Christians of the two countries. An intimate connection has existed for many years between this seminary and the Church Missionary Society, and an annual supply of students have usually been sent to London to complete, in the Church Missionary College at Islington, their preparation for the stations to which they are destined.

“ The expense of his education is paid by the English Church Missionary Society to the College at Basle, for every student supplied to the ranks of their laborers from that institution.” (p. 8.)

set to learn the Tigree language from a boy of that country, who had been brought to England : but the youth proved a very fractious and unprofitable pupil-teacher, and the design was abandoned : so also was a subsequent one of sending Mr. Weitbrecht to West Africa, after he had commenced learning the Susoo, another tongue of the sons of Ham, and at the same time Arabic from the distinguished Professor Lee. After circumstances had led to an alteration of this design also, at length,—with his own consent,—India was fixed upon as his future sphere.

From his arrival in this country in the beginning of 1831, to the close of his earthly course, his life was divided into three distinct periods : the first, ending with his departure for Europe, for restoration of health in December 1841, was devoted to preparing himself by study of the Vernacular languages for efficient work among the people, and to organizing the schools and other departments of the Burdwan Mission. In it, too, he was married in March 1834, to Mrs. Higgs, then the widow of a Missionary of the London Missionary Society, to whom we are indebted for the present memoir, and of whom we need say no more, as she is well known in India.\* The next embraces the period of his visit to Europe, from whence he returned to India again in November 1844. But, though brief, it was perhaps one of the most useful portions of his Missionary life in the amount of interest regarding Missions amongst the heathen, which he was enabled to excite in Europe. The third period covers the time of his last residence and labours in India, and extends to the time of his death, on March 1st, 1852. His ministry, during this last period of his Indian life, seems to have been to give an impulse to itinerant preaching in Bengal, when it had become too little practised (at least by the Church Missionaries) in consequence, partly of so much attention and labour being required for the instruction of the large native flocks which had professed Christianity, chiefly in the Kishnaghur district. He had also to exhibit the Missionary character mature amongst his brethren, and last of all, to die, as it were, in their presence, in the calm assurance of faith in an all-sufficient Saviour.

\* Mrs. Weitbrecht's family name was Edwards, and her native place London. She came to the East, in the first instance, we believe, in an educational capacity, and was married to Mr. Higgs at Malacca, or in the Straits. She was soon left a widow, however, her husband dying on his return to Bengal ; and not long after Mr. Weitbrecht made her acquaintance in Calcutta. These particulars are not mentioned in the Memoir. Mr. Weitbrecht left her, at her second widowhood, with five children ; the eldest of whom, a fine lad of about sixteen, she has had to mourn the loss of since his lamented father's death. Two boys and two girls still remain.

We must (though with real reluctance) abandon our intention of giving a brief sketch of each of these periods, illustrated and enlivened by extracts from the memoir itself, as our share of space is already more than exhausted. To do so, however, is the less necessary in this country, not only because he was so well known to many of our readers; but because also two brief memorial sketches of his history were published in Calcutta shortly after his decease,—one in the *Calcutta Christian Intelligencer*, for April and May 1852, afterwards republished separately; and the other, somewhat more extended, some months later, as an Introduction to the volume of Sermons before alluded to. But we have no hesitation in commending to the reader, who wishes to see a valuable Christian and Missionary character well, though not artistically portrayed, the memoir of the Rev. J. J. Weitbrecht. To the serious Christian reader, who desires to have his own spirit warmed and cheered and soothed by the out-flowings of a kindred soul, we can promise much enjoyment from the perusal of the volume. Indeed, we would venture to suggest that, in case yet another impression should be called for,—or indeed, whether it shall be called for or not,—an edition smaller in size should be prepared, omitting much of the laudatory, and most of the unnecessary and less useful portions of the work, and leaving its subject to speak more exclusively for himself by his own letters, journals, &c. The work would thus become more readable, and consequently more acceptable and useful to a large class of readers; and, we think, would take a respectable place amongst the standard Religious biography of the day.

In conclusion, we will only say that the value of the Church Missionary Society, with which we have coupled the name of Weitbrecht, and to which he was sincerely attached, appears incidentally in the course of the narrative; not only in its deciding on India as the field of labour for a man so well qualified naturally for such a sphere; but by the ample liberty and sufficiency of means it allowed him (as indeed it does to all its Missionaries) for the prosecution of those departments of Missionary labour, for which he felt himself called and fitted. At first he gave himself to arranging and consolidating the little Mission at Burdwan. As he became familiar with the language and the people, he commenced itinerant preaching at intervals of a year. Further on, in his Indian experience, he began to give some time to translation and the preparation of hymns and little works in Bengali, chiefly for

children ; and last of all, he purposed devoting his matured powers to a more continuous and exclusive course of preaching through the towns and villages of Bengal ; and "he did well that it was in his heart," though the Lord, to whom he had given himself anew for this work, did not allow him to carry it fully out. For each and all of this different departments or sorts of work, the Society with which he was connected, gave him full liberty, and aided him in every way it could by its sanction, by counsel, and by pecuniary supplies.

And if it could be proved that the Society's efforts for the conversion of India's idolatrous population had been utterly futile and thrown away,—“that not one solitary native soul had been converted to Christianity and to God “through her instrumentality ;—if it could be shown that it had done nothing whatever for India's good, more than sending into it such faithful servants of God as Weitbrecht, Wybrow, and others still living whom we could name, the debt of India's European population would be very great for the benefits conferred on it through their ministry. And if that Society had done no other service to the cause of evangelical religion and active earnest zeal and devotedness in the work of God throughout the world, its having been the cause of the publication of such memoirs as that of Weitbrecht now before us, and of Henry Watson Fox some few years ago, to mention nothing else, must of itself be judged a service of incalculable value, a value which will be duly estimated in that day when “there shall be time no longer,” and when the interests of human souls and of Eternity shall stand forth in a vastness and a grandeur unspeakable, beside which the worth of the temporal concerns which now fill and agitate the minds of men will appear to be “less than nothing and vanity.”

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## THE ADMINISTRATION OF LORD DALHOUSIE.

BY W. S. SETON-KARR, ESQ., C.S.

1. *The Punjab Blue Book.*
2. *The Friend of India.*
3. *Selections from the Records of the Government of India and from the Records of the Governments of Agra and Bengal.*
4. *Printed Reports, 1848, 1849, 1850, 1851, 1852, 1853.*

IT is a difficult and sometimes a dangerous experiment to attempt as a contemporary to write history. We live too near the events to judge of their just proportions. There is a temptation to magnify some things which posterity will hold cheap, and to slur over others of which future generations might have been glad to know our impressions. There is the danger of partisanship and the danger of antipathy, and above all, on the shifting scene of India, there is the obvious fear that we may indulge in pœans which a few years will convert to wailing, give way to regrets for which there is no good foundation, or predict triumphs, social, political, and financial, which the change of a Cabinet, the caprice of a future Governor, or the mere instability of human events, shall prevent from being realized. Why, then, do we try to describe the Administration of Lord Dalhousie? We do so, because it has been fruitful of great changes, striking events, important reforms, and considerable improvements; because it is now time to review some of the remarkable points in the history of the last six years, and because it is often a good thing that the impressions of contemporaries should be recorded in all their freshness, and even in all their exaggeration, in order that future writers, who take a calm and unprejudiced view of men and measures, may see where the sight of their predecessors has been defective or dull. The greatest critic of the present age, when republishing his criticisms on the works of its great novelist, tells us that posterity may be perhaps glad to know how the luminary appeared to ordinary mortals at its first rising, or before it had reached the meridian. In humble imitation of the above sentiment, we venture to hope, that the future historian of India may cast a glance on this paper as detailing facts drawn from authentic sources, and representing opinions.

which, however open to correction, are formed on the spot. Would not a paper on the Administration of Warren Hastings, or Lord Wellesley, written by a contemporary, be eagerly perused, though it contained much that was erroneous, many shortsighted opinions, and much that could interest only the men of those days?

The present Governor-General of India, then Earl of Dalhousie, landed in Calcutta on the 12th of January 1848. He came to fill a place, where, since the last Charter, beyond which we shall not look back, had sat no less than five Governors-General, none of whom had been unworthily chosen, while all had taken part in great and striking events. We shall not preface this paper with a review of their several administrations: we pass over the unflinching firmness, the unwearied eagerness in the pursuit of truth, the reforming, enquiring, analysing spirit of Lord William Bentinck: we pass over also the indomitable will, the profound statesmanship of that Governor, who was bred entirely in the school of the Company, but was selected to govern the two greatest dependencies of the Crown; and we leave the amiable Lord Auckland, with his private virtues, and his public errors, his zeal for education, and his political weakness, to the judgment of Mr. Kaye and to the verdict of posterity. To Lord Ellenborough, in spite of eccentricities which put his good qualities "to the foil," no man can deny the praise of much vigour and energy, and of that clear perception of coming events, which is one of the undoubted attributes of a statesman. If the conquest of Scinde has proved a drain on the imperial finances, we had still in that sandy waste a commanding position during both the Sikh campaigns. Lord Hardinge has owned himself obliged to the policy which humbled the Mahratta ruler, reduced the army, and dismantled the guns of the Gwalior Durbar. It is not inconceivable that without Maharajpore, the roar of Mahratta artillery and the trampling of Mahratta cavalry might have been heard in 1846 or 1848, at the very gates of Akbarabad. No man foresaw with greater certainty than Lord Ellenborough, the inevitable struggle on the banks of the five rivers. His piercing, rapid, and comprehensive glance surveyed the dangers that might arise from the presence of one army unreduced in the very heart of India, and of another bristling on our most important frontier: an army strong in national feeling, abounding in resources, complete in organization, and longing to add to its old triumphs. It is to him that we owed the power of concentrating our forces against the Sikh army, instead of scattering them to observe the motions of a turbulent soldiery,

a wavering minister, a corrupt court. When his recal took India by surprise, it was remarked that he was "*capax imperii nisi imperasset*," but, while the contemporary writer would say of him as was said of the Roman Emperor, that he was above a private gentleman only so long as he filled a private station, the calm and unprejudiced historian, we think, will eventually dwell on his rapid conceptions, his prompt execution, his indomitable energy, the clear, vigorous, and forcible language of his writings and his oratory, his indifference to patronage, and his fortunate selection of that lamented Lieutenant-Governor, whose rule transcends the best days of Elphinstone and Munro.

The career of Lord Hardinge, who succeeded to the *opera imperfecta* and the *ingentes minæ* of his near connexion, and the career of Lord Dalhousie, afford materials for a comparison which might seem attractive to a Macaulay or a Mahon. In habits and in training, in their experience of the past, in their anticipations of the future, the two men were essentially opposed. The one was born in 1785, and the other in 1812. Capt. Hardinge had stood by the dying Moore at Corunna, and Col. Hardinge, with characteristic decision, had let slip the fourth division at Albuera, when Lord Dalhousie was still unborn. Sir Henry Hardinge had sat in Parliament, had held office, and heard "the Duke" recant his opinions on the subject of Catholic emancipation, when his successor might have still been thinking of the *literæ humaniores* and the class papers of Oxford. Selected to govern India at a time of life when most men are thinking of retirement, and few can willingly contemplate a residence in the East, the old soldier had gone there to maintain peace, and within eighteen months of his arrival, had taken an active and personal part in war. He had endeavoured in all honesty of purpose, to create or restore a free Hindu State, the rulers of which, forewarned by experience, awed by a power seemingly invincible, and conciliated by moderation without weakness, might interpose a barrier between the British power and the fanatic Mohammedans of Central Asia. His experiment failed, but its failure, owing to causes, perhaps beyond the control of human politicians, proved the sincerity of the Indian Government, and the turbulent character of the Sikhs. Nor was Lord Hardinge's Administration unmarked by measures of social or internal progress. He procured the active co-operation of native rulers to his measures for the abolition of Suttee: he encouraged education, and he practically gave us the first Indian railway. We may remember how Dominic Sampson, when reviewing the attain-

ments of Col. Mannering, "a man of war from his youth," pronounced him to be possessed of erudition, considering his imperfect opportunities." The most determined opponent of Lord Hardinge could pass no weightier censure on that gallant old General, whose timely presence in the field of battle probably saved the State.

The previous career of Lord Dalhousie is well-known. A younger son of an old and honourable Scotch House, he succeeded to the family title, or rather to the prospect thereof, on the demise of an elder brother, graduated at Christ Church after the school training of Harrow, and then betook himself to public life. At College he was the contemporary of Lord Elgin and of other men who, though higher in the class papers and of ability as public servants, have hardly kept pace with, our Governor-General in the great struggle of life. As a speaker, the capacity of Lord Dalhousie has been tried on the hustings and in the Upper House: as a man of despatch and dauntless energy in business, he has been lauded by Sir Robert Peel on the last occasion when that great minister gave evidence before a Parliamentary Committee. With natural advantages carefully improved, with talents which had already commanded respect, and from which careful observers augured the highest results, at a period of life which unites the activity of youth with the experience of manhood, he was appointed to the situation of Governor-General by a ministry of political opinions not then in unison with his own. Lord Hardinge was the companion in arms of the Duke. Lord Dalhousie had held office in the ministry of Sir Robert. Lord Hardinge had unavoidably been General as well as Civil Governor, and had reminded us of the spectacle so common under the Roman Republic, when the civil and the military jurisdiction, the Scales and the Standard on the Rhine, the Thames, or the Danube, were committed to the care of one and the same individual. But Lord Dalhousie, we were told, was to be the man of reform, of progress, and of peace: of peace, unbroken in aspect, prolonged in duration, and important in results.

We may, many of us remember how, on one clear fine evening in January 1848, the steps of Government House were thronged by civilians, merchants, military officers, and functionaries of all sorts, eager to catch a glimpse of their new chief. We may remember, too, that on that date there was not a cloud visible on the political horizon, to warn us that, in fifteen months' time, we should be talking about a rebellion, a protracted siege, two pitched battles, several

desultory engagements, and the annexation of a new kingdom. Lord Dalhousie having assumed his seat as Governor-General and Governor of Bengal, on the 12th of January 1848, was quietly making himself master of the somewhat intricate details of Indian business, and was beginning to talk to his Secretaries about sundry important reforms. There was no note of warlike preparation, no sound of the approaching storm, no voice that warned the helmsman to be ready. It is true, that Sir F. Currie reported the formation of a regular conspiracy to expel the English, to have commenced as early as February 1848: that Col. Sir H. Lawrence in the April of the year preceding, had clearly pointed out to Lord Hardinge the chances of a revolution at some future day: that even drawing-room politicians might anticipate for warlike men, ranking with defeat in four great battles, a career more stirring than labour in the fields, under a regency guided by a mere handful of foreigners. But at the time of which we are speaking, no person in office, at Lahore or Calcutta, openly expressed his apprehension of anything more serious than an occasional emeute at some high festival, a few gang-robberies, a good deal of cattle lifting, a refusal on the part of refractory villages to pay their lawful dues to the State. Already were civil and military officers beginning to travel over the country, under the orders of the Resident. There was a talk of expenditure on roads: lines for canals were being surveyed: summary settlements of revenue were in progress: the past history, the capabilities of the country, the character of the people, the climate of the Doabs, were matters for reflection, enquiry, and report. Things were, in short, going on smoothly enough. We know that there are always wise soothsayers who remind us, after the event, how they had warned you of the danger, predicted the outburst, foreseen the hurricane, foretold the crash. But we shall be content to abide by the testimony of the Blue Book, wherein we find the Governor-General in Council, as late as March 1848, quietly writing to the Secret Committee in terms of congratulation on the "perfect tranquillity which prevails in the Punjab."

More stirring times were at hand. Early in April, two young but rather distinguished officers, the one a soldier, the other a civilian, were deputed to relieve the Dewan Moolraj, at his own request, of the important charge of the Mooltan province. At the close of that month, every resident at every station in India was startled by the announcement that these two officers had been attacked in a manner, the details of which are too familiar to need repetition, had been deserted

by their escort, had been fired on in the Eedgah where they had taken shelter, and displaying in their union in death the calm intrepidity of Englishmen, had been murdered and mutilated by a rabble of Sikhs.

—————Hoc cruciatu

Lentulus, hâc poenâ caruit, ceciditque Cethegus  
Integer, et jacuit Catilina cadavere toto.

In the deaths of Agnew and Anderson there is nothing of which their surviving relatives, their friends, and the respective services to which they belonged, may not feel a mournful but honourable pride. It is true, that there were several unfortunate circumstances in that expedition to Mooltan. The officers deputed went down by water, and their Sikh escort by land, so that the two parties had no mutual intercourse till within a very few marches of Mooltan. The demand on Moolraj for the accounts of past years, and the refusal to assure him that his past government would not be too strictly scrutinized, were certainly not judicious. The chances of what a Sikh ruler might do, at a distance from the capital, when called on to give an account of his stewardship, and the chances of finding staunchness and fidelity in a Sikh escort, in hour of need, were perhaps not carefully weighed. But on the other hand, such an outbreak might have occurred then, or subsequently, at any time, in any part of the Punjab, amidst such a population. The materials for combustion would have been ready, though unseen, and there wanted nothing but the spark. We shall not detain our readers with an examination of the case as against the Dewan on his trial. He may have acted with malice prepense, as many distinguished officers think, and as the famous letter of VINDEX to the *Friend of India* would have had us believe—or he may have been “the victim of circumstances,” as the High Court of Justice at Lahore recorded, in a phrase which was used advisedly on a solemn occasion, passed into a proverb at Lahore, and long covered its unhappy authors with ridicule. In any case he was fairly tried, and not treated with undue harshness. But the die was cast: the Sikh calculated his chances, and within six months of his arrival, Lord Dalhousie had a great war on his hands.

This paper does not pretend to be a military history of the Sikh campaign. Lord Dalhousie did not command a division at Guzerat, like Lord Hardinge in his battles, and the striking events of the Punjab war are fresh in the memories of most readers, and have already been reviewed in previous numbers of this periodical. We shall, therefore, pass over with rapidity

the purely military operations of the years 1848-49, nor perhaps have our readers any desire to linger with General Whish before the fortifications of Mooltan, to flounder with dragoons on the quicksands of the Chenab, or to be sent headlong, in company with brave and devoted thousands, through an almost impenetrable jungle, against the Sikh batteries on the Jhelum. A cursory review of the various turns of fortune, which brought about the desired consummation, and which after the event it is so easy and so pleasant to survey, will probably be thought sufficient. The tactics of the enemy, their wonderful discipline, their remarkable union, their fanatic courage, their mysterious resources, were not wholly unknown. The first Sikh war had more than proved the truth of a saying of General Allard in the year 1838 to the late Mr. H. W. Torrens, uttered, in spite of disbelief and doubts that were scarcely suppressed by other hearers, "*Les nôtres se battent bien—mais une fois, bien.*" The second Sikh war was destined to see that truth repeated in a manner so forcible as to convince the most incredulous. The first campaign had been decided in our own territories, in the short space of sixty days, into which were crowded, an invasion, four battles, a slight disaster, a rout and a capitulation. There was, then, little time to dwell on contingencies or to deplore results. The advanced guard of the Sikh army crossed the Sutlej about the 10th of December, and Soobraon was fought on the 10th of February. But the scales of the second Sikh war hung suspended, the balance inclining to one side or the other, for the greater part of a year. First, there was the doubt whether the assassination of the two British officers should be promptly avenged, and the Fabian policy, which waited for a better season, and feared exposure to the climate: then came the opportune success of Major Edwardes, in the month of June, which excited differently in various quarters, honest exultation, hearty praise and ungenerous envy; and finally the march of General Whish, with what was deemed a competent force, at the close of July. We can well remember with what avidity the letters from that column, in its march, were caught up and retailed; how joyfully officers and men bore up against the heat by day and the occasional heavy showers by night: how they amused themselves, when the tents were being pitched in some grass-jungle, with knocking over hares with tent-pegs, and slaying wild hogs with bayonets: how false had proved the vaticinations of men who talked of disease: how the troops in admirable condition were encamped before Mooltan at the commencement of September. During the previous month the plot had thickened: there had been



disturbances in Hazara, and Chuttur Sing had risen—but as yet there was no general war. The appearance of General Whish, with a siege-train, to reduce the Dewan, was, obviously, one of the turning points in the campaign. Either he reduced Moolraj, avenged the murder of our officers, and smothered the flames of insurrection, or if he failed, we had to encounter our enemies, not merely shut up in a fortress, but in the plains of the Manjha, on the banks of the Indus, and even in the Jullunder Doab. We all know that the siege was raised, and we know, too, that the failure or check was owing to Shere Sing's secession, and not to the effects of the climate, or to casualties amongst the troops. But from the middle of September the aspect of affairs was entirely changed. The native army was at once recruited to its original full complement. The Jullunder column was ordered to be ready. Active preparations were made in every department. The Governor-General left Calcutta for the Upper Provinces on the 9th of October; and a large army took the field under Lord Gough, at the commencement of the ensuing month. From this time, to the beginning of the new year, there is nothing for the historian to recount which can be termed decisive. Against the check at Ramnugger, and the partial action at Soodalapore, we have, certainly, to set the successful attack on the audacious enemy at Mooltan during the first week of November, the prompt and energetic measures of Mr. John Lawrence and Brigadier Wheeler to preserve the tranquility of the Jullunder, and the well-timed occupation of the fort of Govindghur. The first of these operations vindicated our fame in the eyes of Moolraj and his adherents, the second preserved the peace of our frontier, kept down the turbulent spirit of the Manjha, and perhaps saved Simla, and the last, rendered unnecessary another costly siege. But in spite of these partial successes, there is no denying that the first twelve months of Lord Dalhousie's Administration were singularly inauspicious and dark. He had been promised peace, and he found himself involved in a war which, undertaken on the most righteous ground, was yet neither prosecuted with energy nor terminated with effect. What was the aspect of India on the 12th of January 1848, when Lord Dalhousie took his seat in Council, and what was it in the same day of the subsequent year, or on the eve of the battle of Chillianwalla? To these questions there can be but one reply. Profound tranquility on the former date, and on the latter a combination of events, for which *disasters* is perhaps not too strong a term. Political gentlemen baffled: one large and well equipped army that had struck no one

decisive blow : another that had only just re-commenced active operations after more than three months of inactivity : the department of intelligence contemptible when compared with the minute and accurate information of our movements possessed by the Sirdars : the enemy insultingly burning a bridge of boats within sight of Lahore : officers and tender women in the hands of the rebels : a failing exchequer, adversaries increasing, friends standing aloof—such was the state of events within exactly one year after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie. Some signal success, some display of skilful strategy, some series of effectual operations—were now anxiously expected. The hopes of every European in India were divided between the Mooltan force and the fine army of the Punjab. General Whish was gaining ground before the fortress, Lord Gough was gradually closing with Shere Sing, and bets were even laid on the chances whether we should first be gratified by news of the fall of the citadel, or by the announcement of a second Sobraon. All at once came the startling results of Chillianwalla.

An immense deal of paper has been covered with explanations of this engagement. We have had the *Journal of a Subaltern*, the account of Capt. Thackwell, articles in reviews, leaders in every paper in India and in England, letters from intelligent eye-witnesses, attacks by the enemies, and vindications by the friends, of the Commander-in-Chief. About the main features of the battle there is, therefore, no doubt. We all know that, after the fall of Attock, Sirdar Chuttur Sing's advance in order to effect a junction with his son, Shere Sing, rendered it almost imperative that something should be done. We know, too, that the Commander-in-Chief one day, about encamping time, finding a shot or two fired at his out-posts, and deeming that the enemy would advance his guns so as to reach the British encampment during the night, gave the order for battle after midday, with the ground before him quite unexplored. We know the results of that order. Men went onwards through a dense jungle, guided by the flashes from the enemy's batteries : the artillery did its part admirably,—as it always does,—during the one hour's time which the general allowed it : there was no want of conspicuous gallantry on the part of particular corps : deserted in the jungle, cut off from friends, and surrounded on all four sides by the Sikhs, several regiments displayed heroic firmness under these trying circumstances : the 24th regiment was half cut to pieces : the 14th Dragoons, in one of those unaccountable panics to which the bravest and best troops are liable, and acting, it is said, under orders, went "threes about : " night fell : an immense

deal of execution was done on the Sikh army. Some of their guns were captured, and some of our own, which had been taken in the early part of the day, were recovered; and thus ended a memorable engagement, which cost us between two and three thousand men, which literally gained us no advantage whatever, on which the first of Greek historians would have recorded that both sides erected a trophy, and which Livy perhaps might have set down as a *clades accepta*.

We must bear in mind, that our position in India, as the conquerors in a hundred fights, imposes on our armies the necessity of commencing the attack. Our Generals know this: our soldiers expect it: our politicians and statesmen regard it as a fundamental axiom in the maintenance of our supremacy. Whether the enemy be posted on the bank of a deep river, or be shut up in a stockade, or be securely entrenched, or be crowning some heights, or be lining the right side of some morass, we are expected to dislodge him by force, with as little delay as may be practicable and expedient. This was exactly the feeling under which Lords Hardinge and Gough ordered the attack on the Sikh entrenchments at Ferozshah, almost as soon as the British army, which is not a mathematical point without parts, could be got into position. There may be occasions when even rashness is the better part of valour. There are times when the delay of twenty-four hours would be fatal. At Ferozshah the Sikh battalions were encamped on British territory: Tej Sing was bringing up his reserve of 25,000 men: there was nothing to be done but to repulse and chastise the insolent invader who, without the slightest provocation, had crossed the boundary. But previous to Chillianwalla, Lord Gough had been following the enemy about from the Ravi to the Chenab, from the Chenab to the Jhelum, by combinations which resulted in nothing, by movements directed by no intelligence, by operations where the absence of system was the only thing systematic. A civilian will leave it to military men to say how, with the Sikh army posted at Russool, a prudent commander, after a few days' cautious examination of localities, would have stormed their position. With every allowance made for the difficulty of the ground, with an avowal of the principle that it behoves the British commander to open the ball, we can admit no excuse but that of intemperate rashness, for an action which cost us so many precious lives, dispirited our army, and left us just where we were.

Yet this battle was not as critical a point in Indian history as the night of horrors at Ferozshah, nor did it ever excite in the mind of any European resident in India any thing that

could justly be denominated a panic. No province rose in rebellion. Nowhere was the revenue not punctually paid. Patna did not resound with the Allah Akbar of the Mussulman. Benares did not echo to the shouts of rebellious Hindus. Lord Dalhousie was not seen to rush about frantically, calling on Varus to restore him his legions. No Calcutta editor counselled the inhabitants of the metropolis to retreat to the merchant ships in the Hooghly. No up-country paper predicted the sack of Delhi by an enemy more cruel than Nadir Shah. To judge from the leaders in the English papers, all this and even more must have passed through the minds of fund-holders, Directors, and leading men in the State. Napier was sent to rescue us, but the spirit of Napier—*atrox animus Catonis*—was not needed on this occasion, though the Sikhs were as warlike as any into whom Togh Bahadur had ever breathed the spirit of fanaticism, or as those whom old Runjeet had disciplined and drilled.

The best thing that can be said in favour of Chillianwalla is, that it was the turning point in the long lane: the dark part of the night, which immediately precedes the day-spring. Within ten days of the battle, the fortress of Mooltan was in the hands of our troops, salutes were being fired, and General Whish was on his way to reinforce the Commander-in-Chief. Then were hopes aroused, and dark faces grew bright, and men congratulated each other as they met, and the wounded looked up with smiles from their weary couches, and annexation began to be canvassed, and *ECONOMIST* issued his series of vigorous and animated letters. There was still some little room for doubt during the time when it was thought that General Whish might be intercepted, that Shere Singh might descend on Lahore, or that Lord Gough might not be able to come up with his dexterous and shifting adversary. But every cloud vanished on the 21st of February 1849, in the battle of Guzerat. This engagement, while it forms a bright contrast to, is at once a severe condemnation of, Chillianwalla. It seems hardly credible that the General who judiciously planned and accomplished this crowning victory, who made such an excellent use of his heavy guns, who carefully guarded his soldiers from needless exposure or sacrifice, should five weeks before have petulantly ordered them to take artillery, the position of which they did not know, and to try and beat an enemy who lay *perdu* in the jungles. We are glad, however, at length to deal with operations of the Commander-in-Chief, which can be recounted in no qualified phrase. The battle of Guzerat, well-planned and well-executed, and without serious loss on our side, broke the Sikh power, dis-

persed the Khalsa, and virtually ended the war. It showed the Bombay and Bengal artillery to be completely superior to that arm of the service in which the Sikh had most reason to confide. It enabled Lord Gough to claim the honors not of an ovation, but of a triumph, and to quit the warlike stage with grace, with dignity, with the congratulations of his many personal friends, and with redeemed fame. It almost atoned for all the previous delay and disappointment. It added one more to the great victories of the army of India. It sent the veteran Gilbert, that keenest of horsemen and first of boar-hunters, on a raid to the Khyber, by which a united foe was allowed no breathing time, and forty pieces of artillery, with sixteen thousand stand of arms, were laid at the feet of Lord Gough. And, lastly, it enabled the statesman at length to come forward, and to show of what he was capable, in a series of papers, on the subject of annexation, as remarkable for classic diction and cogent reasoning, as for liberal policy and enlarged views.

The Punjab was annexed on the 29th of March, in a proclamation, the terms of which are widely known; and the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab was formally established in a minute, dated the 31st of the same month. But before proceeding to allude to the measures taken for the settlement of the new province, we should wish to say a few words on one officer who played a conspicuous part in the commencement of the war, and who for a time divided the attention of dinner tables at the West end of London with the Ban of Croatia. It is no part of our plan, as we have said already, in a paper which is a review of Lord Dalhousie's Administration, and not a military history, to detail the actions of the campaign, to dwell on blunders or successes, or to recount the honours deservedly earned by so many officers. We must, however, spare a little space for Major Herbert Edwardes. A chivalrous nature is no guarantee against detraction and envy; and when the *Times* talked of his finishing the war, by two successive blows, the progress of the insurrection could not have been foreseen in England, and the magnitude of succeeding operations threw Kineyree and Suddoosam into the shade. But the young subaltern was not a presumptuous "political," involving the higher authorities in a dilemma, nor a Clive, who could crush Moolraj at once. Nothing can be more unjust than to tax Major Edwardes with underrating the power of the Dewan,—a charge which his own writings disprove, "I am a terrier barking at a tiger,"—or more futile than to say that there are other officers in the

Bengal army who would have done what he did. No doubt, there are : nor will such men ever be wanting as long as the Company lasts : but history can only praise the victorious warrior, the successful statesman, the crator or the poet, who seize opportunities and make themselves heard. Major Edwardes seized his opportunity. He saw that a slight insurrection unchecked, would spread like wild fire. By his tact he smoothed down animosities, disciplined raw levies, and skilfully managed elements almost irreconcilable. He never held Moolraj cheap, and he never thought procrastination anything else but dangerous. Finally, he fought two engagements, and was successful in both. His book, the charm of which, to an Indian reader, lies in the first volume, shews how he can handle the pen ; nor will any future history of the Punjab campaigns be complete without a due notice of the manner in which he handled the sword.

The feverish interval, the doubts and fears, were now all past. We can remember how many lamentations were uttered, because instead of peace for the first year of a new Administration, we had had a costly and prolonged war. At this distance of time we can look back, and allow everything, politically, was for the best. There was no doubt that at some time or other, a knotty Punjab question would tax the powers of some British statesman. The great Punjab case was, in fact, as ECONOMIST told us, "a mere question of time." It might be decided summarily, like a trial before a Californian jury, or it might be protracted beyond the limits of the longest Chancery suit. When our two officers were assassinated, it is possible that a display of energy might have crushed the insurrection ; but the same thing might have happened again in the next year in any part of the Punjab. When we see the result of the Lawrence Administration for five years, we can have little doubt that things are better for us now than if we had been just looking anxiously forward to the termination of the Bhyrowal Treaty, and to our handing over the Government to a young and inexperienced Prince, during this very year.

The task now remaining for us is to describe the moral conquest of the Punjab. The first thing to be done, was to determine the precise form of the local Government, and to give habitations and names to the various departments and officers. Lord Dalhousie, who from this time must be the prominent character in our picture, decided on entrusting the Administration to a Board of three Commissioners. The first member, or rather the President, was Colonel Sir H. M. Lawrence, an

officer possessed of mighty energies, large sympathies, and a most intimate knowledge of the Sikh character. He knew them, and they knew him, and their knowledge of him led them at once to confide in his willingness to protect and his power to quell them. It was a signal good fortune that gave Lord Dalhousie the disposal of the services of Sir Henry Lawrence. The second, who was, however, called the *senior* member, Mr. C. J. Mansel, a man of originality, had filled some high posts in the Secretariat, and in the Financial Department, during the rule of Lord Ellenborough. He had lately returned from furlough, and having rubbed off any old Indian prejudices by the contact of English society, might be thought well suited to conceive and carry out a liberal system of administration. Mr. John Lawrence was the junior or third member. This gentleman till selected by Lord Hardinge to be Commissioner of the Jullunder Doab, after the first Sikh war, had never filled any post of extraordinary emolument or responsibility out of the regular line of the service. He had never been Secretary to Government, nor envoy to a foreign court, nor Governor-General's Agent at a native Durbar. But with energy equal to that of his brother, he had acquired in one of the best of schools, a rare amount of experience in the important subjects of revenue and police. In the tent for months in the cold season, at the head of the district of Delhi, on the disputed boundary, in the crowded bazar wherever the character of the natives could be most intimately studied, he had gained a complete insight into the *common law* of the country. He was familiar with the minutest details of the village communities: he knew the value of all the various crops which the two harvests of the year produce, the whole system of irrigation, the mode in which land is acquired, farmed out, rented, and transferred: his love of work was inexhaustible, and he possessed the key to many points in the native character, in a manner which, to an unpractised stranger, appears almost inexplicable. Under this Board, then, were placed the country newly annexed, and the Cis and Trans-Sutlej provinces. The country was parcelled out into seven Commissionerships and twenty-seven districts, and by the 1st of June, or in some cases a little later, the Civil Administration was fairly set a-going.

We have so lately had occasion to describe the whole system of administration introduced by the Board at Lahore, and the official report of the two first years after annexation has been so widely discussed, that it would be almost superfluous, in this place, to give a detailed account of the various measures introduced by the local Government or by the Head

of the Empire. It is no new thing for an Indian Government to have thrown on its hands the settlement of a ceded or conquered province, or for a Governor to exercise his judgment in the selection of instruments well calculated to attain this important end. For upwards of a century we have been making experiments on a dozen different races, on all kinds of revenue settlements, perpetual, protracted, or summary, in territories marked by broad and striking distinctions of fertility, climate, and soil. We have made some blunders, but we have achieved some real triumphs, and we have laid up a vast stock of administrative experience. We were standing, at the annexation of the Punjab, in the position of men who are "the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time." It was then well known that every theory had been tested in practice, that every crotchet had been analysed, every plan for the security of the land-revenue, or the welfare of those who paid it, had been subjected to examination equally searching and minute. To investigate the nature of intricate land-tenures of different denominations, to select the sites of stations and cantonments, to establish courts for the administration of codes, technical, refined, simple, or comprehensive, to build jails, hospitals, treasuries, to teach a native population the difference between lawlessness and liberty,—all these things have attracted the attention and taxed the energies of many able and conscientious men in various parts of India, since the beginning of this century. There had, however, it must be confessed, been grounds for regret at the appearance in our system, when fairly consolidated, of evils which either growing up with its growth, or not timely observed, or not boldly eradicated, a moderate degree of precaution might have prevented at first. There had been a neglect to preserve or to record, against future encroachment, the rights of the sovereign power, of the landlord of limited domains, of the village community, of the tenant proprietor: when hundreds of acres were lying waste and uncultivated, no portion had been appropriated for public purposes, a due percentage of the land had not been set apart for annual expenditure on internal communication and public works, a variety of petty taxes, vexatious to the payers and not very profitable to the State, had not been remitted as early as was just; adherence had been too long given to an unsound commercial policy or to internal restrictions on trade: some element of European Administration, congenial only to Anglo-Saxons, had been forced on the acceptance of a population who could neither estimate its value nor comprehend its scope:



some of the best instruments of the old native Government, sanctioned by time, endeared to the ryot by immemorial custom, and valued by the native administrator for their cheapness and their facility of application, had been contemptuously disregarded or prematurely crushed. But our latest acquisitions had been the scene of our greatest success. It was important that grievous mistakes should not be made in the settlement of our new and magnificent acquisition; that crude measures should not be attempted; that just reforms should not be delayed; that the shattered or dislocated fabric of good native institutions should be carefully put together; that every department which admitted of it, should have the benefit of the greatest amount of European science, and the truest maxims of Indian official life. How all this was done, we endeavoured to show in the October number of this *Review*. Lord Dalhousie, calmly reviewing the manifold claims on his time, wisely, as it appears to us, gave to the new kingdom the largest share of his attention. Its claims, though not "prior in time" to those of other provinces, were yet, to use the language of Burke, "superior in equity and paramount in importance." From the very commencement of the task, whether the Governor-General was watching the progress of the settlement from the heights of Mahasoo, or was visiting every thing with his own eyes during a cold-weather tour in the plains, the motto has been "forward," the maxim hard work, and the result prosperity. The Jat Sikhs, the disbanded soldiery, the warlike peasants, settled down at once under the new rule, not to growl at the foreigner, but cheerfully to irrigate their lands and to pay their rents. This rapid change, hoped for, but certainly not anticipated, except by a very few, is a feature which cannot be too often dwelt on. Had the cultivators stood aloof with sullen and lowering brows: had we had jails without occupants, or filled only by rebels, courts without suitors, and blank statements of revenue without rupees in the treasury chest: had no civilians ventured to proceed into the interior without an escort of cavalry and a six-pounder: had officers at every cantonment been shot at from the road-side, in the twilight, as they were returning from their evening ride: had there been barricades at Umritsir, or had Lahore streamed with blood: had communication by post been cut off for days together, and the possession of the Punjab been described as that of certain localities lit up by camp-fires—had any picture of this kind, we say, been true and accurate in its main features—we should then have acknowledged that we had annexed a loss, that a century's experience had taught us nothing of the

science of governing aliens in blood and religion, and that the Sikhs of the Manjha and the Mussulman of the Chuj Doab were beyond the reach of kindness, sympathy and control. But from the 1st of April 1849, the very contrary has been the case. No guerilla warfare harassed our troops. No where did indignant patriotism or incensed nationality, hurl their defiance at us from fields of sugar-cane, bamboo jungles, or forts of mud. The settlement officer, the active magistrate, the civil judge, taught a lesson as enduring as the Bengal artillery or the famous Scinde horse. With few exceptions, the men selected to fill places in the Punjab, were equal to the task. Their service has been one of considerable exposure, constant toil, and even occasional risk. They have had to live in places in which the sleek, contented and well-housed civilian of the Upper or Lower Provinces would hardly condescend to keep his grey-hounds or his horses: in mat houses, between clay walls, and in the tombs of Mohammedan saints. They have remained out, under canvass, in the interior of the district, at seasons of the year when the fierce sun and the stifling hurricanes of dust severely tried the strongest constitution. The organization of the whole body of native officials, whether Punjabis or Hindustanis, has, in most instances, been the entire work of their hands. They have selected, where choice was but scanty, men suited for the responsible posts of Thanadars and Tahsildars, and have taught the inferior police officers the very elements of their duty, and the common routine of their work. Their mornings and evenings have often been consumed in actual field-work, in the survey of lands, and the adjudication of boundary disputes: their days have been devoted to the trial of cases of all kinds, and to the decision of those hundred conflicting claims, certain to spring up in such a country as the Punjab. This labour has gone on under all the inconveniences of climate, under the absence of comforts, which would be luxuries in England, but are necessities here, and under periodical visitations of disease. No men have ever more nobly vindicated the character of their service, or more effectually disproved the calumnies thrown out against the officials of India, by men who either knew, or should have known, better. Moreover, the reward of this labour, though in some few instances not inconsiderable, has not to the majority been of that character which obviously excites envy in the less fortunate. Their reward has been that which springs from the consciousness of duty boldly and honestly performed, and from the gratitude of an agri-

cultural population, whose wonder has been visibly excited to a degree well nigh ludicrous, at the formerly unseen sight of courts to which the humblest has constant access, where the presiding officer is just without propitiation, strict without cruelty, and lenient without weakness, and where the rich and powerful defendant is compelled to liquidate just debts, to atone for violence, and to acknowledge the majesty and the supremacy of Law.

We sum up the things accomplished in the Punjab, under Lord Dalhousie's guidance, as follows: A revenue of more than two millions has been raised from the land-revenue, from salt, from the excise, and from other legitimate sources, by means which fetter neither the resources of the country nor the lawful claims of the State. A surplus, in spite of all that the Napiers can say, lies at the disposal of the Government, amounting to one-quarter of a million, after large disbursements on great public works. The Baree Doab Canal, and the military road to Peshawar, are progressing towards completion. Other great lines for commercial and social purposes are in progress, and cross-roads are covering the districts in every direction. Violent crimes have been entirely put down: and secret ones have been traced to their source. Justice is dealt out in a fashion which combines the salutary promptness of the Oriental, with the scrupulous investigation of the European, court. The vexatious enquiries into rent-free tenures are fast drawing to a close. Churches and dispensaries, the medicine of the soul and of the body, may be seen side by side in many of the principal stations. In sanatoria on the hills, the wounded or invalid soldier, and the worn-out civilian, can recruit their strength. Warlike subjects may enlist in our irregular troops, and find something better to do than to sit down and grumble at their lot. Not six months ago a grand meeting was convened at Umritsir, where measures were adopted to put down the fearful crime of infanticide, by the exercise of authority combined with persuasive influence and moral force. A civil code, sufficient to meet the growing requirements of a commercial and agricultural population, has been compiled by the joint efforts of Messrs. Montgomery and Temple, has been revised by the Chief Commissioner, who is now a sort of Lieutenant-Governor, and submitted for sanction to Government. The missionary is endeavouring to win converts at Lahore. An Agricultural Society is striving to improve the produce of the plains. Tea cultivation is being extended in the hills. The whole face of the country tells its own tale in expanding cultivation, secure highways, long lines

of camels, and carts laden with rich merchandize. There is not one of the above summary and downright assertions which we cannot prove incontestably by an appeal to printed papers, to written words, and to the testimony of hundreds of living witnesses. Had the Governor-General effected no other reform, planned no other great work, grappled with no evil, given to India no one single benefit, the pacification and prosperity of the Punjab, would be enough, by itself, to place his name amongst the foremost of the benefactors of the East.

We pursue the thread of our narrative, not wholly losing sight of the maxim of Tacitus, when he wrote his annals—*singula quæque in annos referre*—but at the same time diverging from the course to mark the result of events whenever it may be expedient or necessary. At the commencement of 1850 there was the unfortunate affair of the 66th Native Infantry. It will be in the memory of our readers that the men of this corps, when marching into Umritsir, in February of that year, betrayed a mutinous spirit in regard to their allowances. The spirit of insubordination was promptly repressed, the corps was disbanded and no symptoms of disaffection were ever seen in other regiments of the Bengal Army. Sir Charles Napier, who had succeeded, or rather superseded Lord Gough as Commander-in-Chief, took on himself to disband this corps. To quote one of Sir Charles' own phrases, "*this was wrong*": and it was even worse to go and alter the compensation for the price of *atta* and other necessary articles, not merely in anticipation of the orders, but against the wishes, of the Head of the Government. The Government had very properly ruled that when *atta* was dear, and other articles, such as ghee and pulse, were cheap, the one should be pitted against the other, and the compensation be calculated on the value, not of *atta* alone, but of every article of food. The Commander-in-Chief decided just the other way, and told the sepoys, through the Generals or Brigadiers, that they were to get compensation calculated on the price of *atta* only. Both of these orders were, however, upheld. It had long been current that this produced a strong difference of opinion between the Head of the Indian Army and the Head of the Indian Empire, and that much correspondence passed between the two men, both of whom are remarkable for a pretty strong will of their own. The particulars of this passage of arms were not, of course, made public at the time, but every one has lately read them in No. III. of the printed Selections of the Government of India. Under what deceitful planet, by whose injudicious advice, one Napier was led to bring on an *exposé*, of the folly of another, we are unable to guess—but the result

shows that good sense, temperate but firm language, sound reasoning, logic and grammar, were with the Governor-General, and the very opposite to all these qualities with Sir Charles Napier. Brian de Bois Guilbert did not receive a more complete overthrow from the lance of Ivanhoe, than did the late eccentric Commander-in-Chief from the pen of Lord Dalhousie. This subject, however, demands separate treatment, and we say no more about it here.

Lord Dalhousie having assured himself of the tranquil condition of the Punjab, confiding in the Civil Administration of the Lawrences, and fully satisfied of the sufficiency of our military preparations to meet an outbreak, had any been intended, took a short trip to sea, to recruit his energies and his impaired health. He proceeded down the Indus, satisfied himself of the tedious nature of its navigation, visited Bombay, Singapore and the Straits Settlements, and the Tenasserim Provinces, and finally returned to Calcutta in the commencement of March 1850. No Governor-General had paid a visit to Moulmain since Lord William Bentinck went there in 1829. By no other Governor-General could such a tour have been even contemplated. He was the first Indian statesman who could make the circle of India without exceeding the bounds of the Company's landed estates. It may be asked of what use are such rapid tours, during which no subject can be thoroughly mastered, and some can hardly be understood at all? A flying visit from the highest official in the East will not cover Guzerat with roads, or light Bombay with gas, or simplify the difficulties attendant on the growth and transport of cotton, or settle the land-revenue of the Deccan on a prosperous footing, or fertilize Scinde, or increase the revenue of Tavoy and Mergui. The reply to this is, that personal conference may do a great deal in making the men acquainted with each other's views, and with the general aspect of great questions. Unfortunately oral discussion is never much in fashion in India. Nothing is done without long letters and bulky reports. But every one must admit that such letters and such reports are read with more interest, when the reader knows the locality from which they emanate, has heard something of the subject which they discuss, and has talked, though it be only for half an hour, with the persons by whom they are written. Preliminary discussion, knowledge of the parties interested, will go a great way towards smoothing difficulties, and leading the mind to go deep into the subject. And are not all subordinates, be they Governors, Councillors, or Commissioners, more likely to address with confidence and earnestness, a Governor-

General whom they have seen and talked with, than one who lives, as the late Chancellor of the Exchequer said, in a cloud, like one of the Homeric gods? It is our belief that such meetings, though transient, generate mutual confidence, invite fair discussion, and facilitate progress. \*The Governor-General will not be less likely than he was before to listen to a representation from Bombay, because he has seen its splendid harbour and received a deputation from its Chamber of Commerce; nor should the local functionaries be less backward in stating their wants, and expounding their various remedial measures. We could wish that every Governor-General or Governor had visited as much of his dominions, as Lord Dalhousie has done in the last six years.

One of the first objects to which Lord Dalhousie directed his attention during his short stay at the metropolis in March and April 1850, was that of a reform in the Post Office. The abuses of this department, and the paramount necessity for a complete change, were universally acknowledged. To deny this is just as absurd as to deny to successive Indian Governors the credit of originating and maturing many excellent reforms in various other branches of the public service. He would be a bold advocate who should undertake to prove the efficiency of the Company's postal arrangements. We may even doubt whether in this matter we have not retrograded, and whether the *Cossids* of Akbar and Aurungzebe were not faster of foot and more punctual in their deliveries of letters than those of the present day. We adhere to the old fashion of travelling in palanquins, and of employing runners or walkers, as the case may be, to convey the correspondence of Government, as well as that of a community daily increasing in importance. But there were worse evils than the mere retention of human beings as letter-carriers. With very few exceptions there were no stations with distinct post-masters, appointed, paid, and supervised in a manner consistent with the importance of the work to be done. The ubiquitous civil surgeon of the station, or a subaltern with spare time on his hands, got through the duty of post-master, in some instances as fairly as could be expected, in others with absolute indifference to every thing, save the pittance assigned to the office. The native clerks were overworked and underpaid: the roads were bad: the postage was very heavy: the whole of the carriers along the line were liable to be fined for delay, which had occurred at some one single point, while the precise point thereof was never carefully investigated. The speed of the mails everywhere, except on the Grand Trunk Road, was not more than five miles an hour, and sometimes,

as low as two miles and a half. The mistakes in the transmission of letters: the number of letters mislaid or locked up in a spare chest, owing to the culpable indifference or the dishonesty of the Dawk Munshi: the frauds and speculations of clerks, and the absence of any redress—all this was sufficient to exhaust the patience of the community, engaged in commercial transactions, or much given to correspondence for obvious social reasons. Before the establishment of a regular steam communication with England, such a state of things might have been passively endured. The inhabitants of England in the reign of Charles II. might positively be glad of the postal system as described in Mr. Macaulay's famous Chapter III. The residents of India, in the days of Hastings or Wellesley, who were fortunate, if they received an answer from their friends at home within the twelvemonth, might very well be content to spend four months on the river in a budgerow, or to creep up the old Benares road at the rate of three miles an hour, or they might post letters at Calcutta for Agra which should not take much more than eight days to reach their destination, and they might never even dream of sending a missive to Lahore. But with inland steam communication, and with other departments more or less undergoing reform, with improvements in the civil, revenue, and criminal codes, in jail discipline and national education, the postal department was still unimproved. Yet there were no insuperable difficulties in the way: no obstacles generated by climate or locality, which attention, energy, and a liberal disbursement could not overcome. Something had been already done on the Grand Trunk Road between Meerut and Calcutta, where the mail has for some years been carried at a rate never under seven, and generally at nine miles an hour, over a first-rate road for nine hundred miles. There are mail carts in the Punjab, Transit Companies competing for the public favour in Bengal, and carriages for passengers in some parts of the Madras and the Bombay Presidencies. The Editor of one of the Calcutta newspapers had startled the good folks of Calcutta, in January 1849, with the intelligence of the battle of Chillianwalla, brought by a private express which beat the Government dawki by thirty-six hours. The distances which men like Sir G. Clerk and the late Sir Walter Gilbert, and others, had accomplished by relays of horses in a wonderfully short space of time, proved all the talk about the heat of the Indian sun to be sheer nonsense, and showed that determination, even in India, will carry climate and everything else before it. The

Post Office, in short, to be efficient, required simply liberal expenditure, systematic arrangement, and careful control. To effect this, Lord Dalhousie very wisely entrusted the preliminary enquiry to a commission composed of a civil servant for each Presidency, namely, Mr. Courtney for Bombay, Mr. H. Forbes for Madras, and Mr. C. Beadon for both Agra and Bengal. We well remember how a cry was raised for the appointment of all sorts of committees and quorums, to be composed of men who should have had, somehow, an intimate knowledge of the working of Post Offices; enlightened and public-spirited individuals, with their several plans and crotchets, and their minds made up. We remember that the usual amount of indignation was expressed, because the enquiry was entrusted solely to members of the "favored service," and because Lord Dalhousie was too wise to appoint a body of independent men, who would infallibly have wasted a deal of time, have squabbled amongst themselves, have covered acres of paper with all sorts of impracticable schemes, and have attained no one definite result. No doubt, Mr. Beadon had had no particular insight into the working of a Post Office. He simply possessed thorough business-like habits, great energy and quickness, and had no wish to carry out a favorite theory, or to force some crotchet of his own on Government. He, with his colleagues, only knew that many a district Post Office in India was very like that village Post Office in the Antiquary, which transmitted letters in the manner best calculated to air the correspondence thoroughly, to exercise the patience of the receivers, and to add a few pence to the revenue. The Post Office Commissioners commenced their work at the right end. They overhauled the department. They made themselves masters of all the details of the work, and of the whole subject of the rates of postage. They drew up long but lucid statements of the number of covers received and despatched, and of the salaries of clerks and delivery peons: they invited communications from all parties who had any thing to communicate, they took down evidence of Bengali Sircars and merchants from Marwar: they visited local Post Offices: they repeatedly conferred together—for it was one part of the plan that the Madras and Bombay Commissioners should meet Mr. Beadon in Calcutta—and finally they drew up a report which has been so often quoted and commented on, that any minute analysis of its contents in this place would be superfluous. The main recommendations of the commission may be briefly set down as follows:—

1. Half-anna postage, for all distances, on letters not exceeding a quarter tola in weight.



2. Consolidation of steam and inland postage.
3. Compulsory pre payment by stamps, and double charges on unpaid letters.
4. Abolition of franking, and the introduction of a charge on official letters.
5. General re-organization of the whole Post Office establishment in all its branches, from the head thereof down to the lowest delivery peon.
6. Extension and improvement of district dawks.

The above headings are taken, with slight alterations from twenty-eight changes summed by the Commissioners as desirable, in the close of their report. Some of the less important headings we have altogether omitted : others we have grouped together under the comprehensive term of general re-organization of the department. Such a heading, if honestly carried out, will embrace everything that requires amelioration in every Post Office in India : it will affect the receipt, registration, and delivery of letters : it will give us better clerks and more attentive post-masters : it will simplify the accounts, and will result in the compilation of a small code of Post Office Laws. Other recommendations will provide rules for book and banghy parcels, and for charges on ship letters : in short, whatever may be the opinions of individuals as to their own particular grievances, no one will deny that the report has embodied with marvellous precision and lucidity, every thing that could be devised in the shape of Postal Reform, and that it promises to give us eventually a practical and working scheme which will come home to the feelings of every resident in India. No department touches so many tender points as the Post Office : by none are domestic sympathies and fireside prejudices more effectually enlisted. Other departments touch only a class. Manchester groans over the salt monopoly. The genuine Anglo-Saxon inveighs against the Black Acts, the inefficiency of the police, and the corruption of the civil courts ; native landholders cry out against the Sale and the Resumption laws. The Chamber of Commerce remonstrates against impolitic restrictions on trade, and imperfect repairs of roads and bridges : every set of agitators can press for a removal of their own particular grievances in their own fashion and at their own time. But delay in the Post Office, and the expense of communication by letter, come home practically to the feelings of Europeans and natives, merchants and civilians, young cadets and old ladies. A delay in the dawk causes an anxious mother more real sorrow than any military procrastination along the Irrawaddy : a missing letter will excite a greater stir in a quiet gentleman's household than the report of a whole fleet of Commissariat boats missing on the Ganges or the Megna : the demand of

a delivery peon for fourteen annas as the postage from Lahore to Calcutta will raise a greater storm of abuse at the exactions of Government than the opium monopoly of Behar and Benares, or the Moturpha taxes in Madras. The benefit of Lord Dalhousie's comprehensive and statesman-like reforms will be felt and gratefully acknowledged by every one. The debt will be thankfully paid by the Chunds and the Mulls, who, in the exercise of their large commercial business, write dozens of letters daily to their correspondents at Joudpore, Muttra and Benares ; by the young civilian on the eastern frontier of Bengal, who keeps up a gradually declining intercourse with his old college friend stationed at Khangurh or Mooltan : by the unhappy husband, who toils away during the hot winds at Agra or Cawnpore, while the sick wife is inhaling the mountain breezes of Mussoorie or Simla ; by the English merchant at the head of a large firm at the Presidency, who wishes to know the prospects of the indigo crops on the banks of the Brahmaputra, or in the plains of Tirhoot ; by the Editor, who looks anxiously for the details of the last inroad by the Shivaranees, or of the latest *fracas* at the mess-room of the 100th regiment N. I. ; by the Choudaries and the Chuckerbuttees, who desire their local agent to report faithfully every turn in the great suit for the possession of Chur Nilabad, or every item disbursed in the hire of *lattials* and the propitiation of the police : by the cadet, who calls on his father to aid him in the purchase of " a step," or the fitting up of a bungalow ; by the Calcutta tradesman, who can dun his remote debtors with less original outlay ; and by dozens of fair correspondents who mutually interchange light and pleasant gossip about the assemblies at the Town Hall, the rides along Jacko, the inconvenience of a Mofussil station in the far West, or the *agremens* of the cold weather in the City of Palaces. It is not every Governor that can please so many classes, or finds it in his power to effect such universal reforms at so moderate an outlay. The Post Office Commission alone, had Lord Dalhousie done nothing else, would suffice to place his name in the list of Anglo-Indian reformers, alongside of that of Cornwallis. As we write, we are informed that the Post Office scheme has received the approbation of the Honorable Court, and that we are to have the half-anna postage on letters, and the two annas on newspapers, as soon as the requisite number of stamps can be made and stored. In six months time, from the issue of this number, then, every one of its Indian readers will be thanking Lord Dalhousie for his Great Postal Reform.

The second grand reform was entered on within a year after the organization of the Post Office Commission. In the commencement of 1850, the Court of Directors had earnestly pressed the Governor-General to appoint a committee to enquire into the whole system of public works ; but it was not until the close of the year that Lord Dalhousie found either the leisure, or the instruments, to enable him to follow the advice of the Court. In December 1850, however, he selected Major Kennedy, Consulting Railway Engineer to Government—Major Baker of the Engineers, who had lately returned from England—and Mr. Charles Allen, of the Civil Service, to be members of a Committee for an enquiry of the kind recommended. The engineering skill of Major Kennedy had been proved by the roads which he had constructed in the hills, and by the advice which he tendered to Government on all matters connected with the railway ; Major Baker was an officer of singular merit in a corps to which merit alone can obtain entrance ; and Mr. Allen had had great experience in several departments of the North-West Provinces, had secured the entire confidence of Mr. Thomason, and had given complete satisfaction wherever employed. These gentlemen were to reduce to some shape the thousand complaints which had been rife as to the superintendence and execution of public works in this Presidency ; and they were invited to make their suggestions, either for the modification of the present system, or for the establishment of some other in its stead. Records were opened to their inspection, and the functionaries of the department were to afford them every possible aid. Other commissions were appointed for Madras and Bombay, by the Governors of those Presidencies, at the request of the Government of India. Our business will, however, be with the Military Board at Calcutta. We believe that, in this department, as in that of the Post Office, abuses had long prevailed, which could find no apologist, and could admit of no defence. A barrister, rashly undertaking to defend the cause of this incapable body, *versus* the community or the Government, would, we think, throw up his brief in despair. In the first place, the officers under the Board, termed variously executive officers and executive engineers of divisions, are not all scientifically trained. If the cry has been loud against untrained civil judges, how much louder should it swell against men without ability to conceive, or skill to direct, the construction of roads, bridges, and civil buildings. Moreover, besides the want of training in such officers, they were chosen by one department and paid for by another. They were selected by the Military Department

of the Government of India, and forced on the reluctant Civil Governments of Agra and Bengal, which could neither exercise any veto on the nomination, nor directly remove an incapable nominee. In short, as matters yet stand, the department, which bears all the responsibility, pays all the expense, and must take all the blame of works ill-devised, ill-constructed, and irregularly repaired, is not at liberty to select its own tools. No wonder that the system had contrived to exhibit in itself all the combined evils which result from inexperience, from inefficiency, from delay, from lost time and lost labour, from lavish expenditure without any good object, from niggardliness when really great objects were at stake. Bridges had been constructed on unsound principles; roads had been laid out on the lowest levels in the country, where rain water soonest accumulated, and was latest dried up. Regular repairs, on some roads nominally under the Board, were, as we can ourselves testify, literally unknown for years. Occasionally, if a work of some magnitude had been well executed at a very considerable expense, it was left without any one to look after it, until it became quite impassable. Thus a *via silice vel lateribus munita*, which, when originally constructed, had cost half-a-lakh of rupees, has remained without even a timely basket-load of pounded brick or granite, until the outcries of the civil functionaries, and the intercepted traffic of the district, might at length arouse the apathetic Board to life. Then, instead of the small sums, which, if judiciously and regularly disbursed every year, would have kept the road in tolerable repair for all ordinary purposes of communication, another good round sum of half-a-lakh of rupees was obtained from the reluctant Government; the road was repaired, and left to look after itself for the next five years, until the same reiterated complaints might bring about the same costly remedy. In other instances, estimates were made for works declared to be urgently necessary, and were never acted on when sanctioned, or else works, when completed, were found to have largely exceeded their estimates. Yet, with all this, no man can justly complain of any want of skill in the members of the corps of engineers. On the contrary, we might complain that so much real talent has been lost to the country, or is productive of no great results, owing to want of supervision, to the prohibition of able men from acting on their own responsibility, to too few checks in some points, and to a great deal too many in others. In both the Upper and the Lower Provinces, we have had plenty of clever officers, who have taken levels, bridged hill torrents or deep-running rivers, erected colleges of some archi-

tectural beauty, have constructed hospitals with every regard to ventilation, and have metalled lines of road connecting some of the important localities in the country with each other. But all this individual talent has been neutralised by the acts of inefficient subordinates, by dilatory superiors, and by financial considerations. We can do nothing without money; and in the department of public works, we have sometimes had skill without money, sometimes money without skill, and sometimes neither skill nor money. We could mention instances where the works constructed by the magistrate, with the aid of convicts, triumphantly beat those constructed by the executive officer and his native agent. The thannahs repaired by the civil functionary did not leak, his drains carried off the water, and his bridges did not tumble down, and we have known the only police building in the whole district, which was thought of sufficient importance to require the supervision of the executive officer, to be the only one that was repeatedly tinkered, and yet never water-proof. But as a testimony of what engineers can do, when untrammelled and liberally supported, we have only to look at the prosperous condition of the great works under the Civil Engineers of the Punjab. By Colonel Napier's magic influence, embankments are raised, coolies are found to work, canals are cut, civil buildings do not leak or fall down. Cross the Sutlej, come within the soporific influence of the Military Board, and you will find that all working men lie down and bask, like the Neapolitan, in sunshine, without caring for the remonstrances of the community, or the despairing cry of the district officers. All the above facts were elicited, and proved beyond a doubt, by the labours of the commission, and every reader of the newspapers has for some time been in possession of the views of the Governor-General on the subject. The Military Board, composed of an Engineer, who may be the ablest man in his corps, but who is harnessed to one officer, who knows nothing but how to supply beef and bullocks, and to another whose sole experience lies in the casting of guns, will soon cease to have anything to do with this great and important department. It will not be deemed necessary to fetter a really scientific man by the presence of an officer of the Line, and a Brigadier of Artillery, who might be efficient men at the battle of Guzerat, or at the storming of a stockade in Burmah, but who are quite out of their element when calculating the estimates of a road, or when deciding on the respective merits of suspension and stone bridges. The new plan, advocated by Lord Dalhousie, which gives a Superintending Engineer to each of the Governments of the Punjab, of

Agra, and of Bengal, will doubtless rid us at once of all those doubts, delays and differences, which have literally paralysed the efforts of the Civil Government to improve this department. We know, moreover, from the minute of the Governor-General, which has been read in almost every newspaper on this side of India, that the Government of Bengal, in its anxiety to support all complaints by the fullest proof, ransacked the records of ten years, in order to demonstrate the evils of the system; and the array of facts, which were disclosed by this laborious enquiry, was something literally startling. Shameful waste, unpardonable delay, indecorous squabbles, no definite responsibility—instances of each of these evils, or of all combined, were forthcoming in abundance. A Superintending Engineer, carefully selected, backed by influential support, and allowed a liberal discretion in expenditure, will very soon rescue our roads, our bridges, our dawk bungalows, and our jails from the reproach that has been attached to them for the last twenty years. We wait anxiously for the arrangements which will complete this much wanted reform.

The third grand reform, introduced by Lord Dalhousie, concerns a department with which the public in general have very little to do—that of the Army Commissariat. Few people, except native merchants, can feel much interest in the feeding of bullocks, or the storing of flour: and had it not been for the celebrated trial of Jotee Prasad, many persons might have remained in entire ignorance of the manifold abuses under which European troops are victualled, and horses are purchased, and bullocks are reared. Yet the Government, for sometime had been fully aware of the necessity for thorough reforms, and as far back as 1845, Mr. F. Millett, then a member of the Supreme Council, had gone into the subject with his usual laborious accuracy. It was left for Lord Dalhousie to put matters on an improved footing, and to save the State a considerable yearly expenditure, which can be much better applied to the improvement of other important departments of the public service. Accordingly, in March 1851, the President in Council, under instructions from the Governor-General, appointed a commission to enquire into, and report on, the system of the Army Commissariat, past and present, and on the arrangements adopted in the other Presidencies for the same end. Mr. Charles Allen was again a member of this commission, and has since reaped the reward of his important labours, in the post of Financial Secretary, in succession to Mr. Dorin. Another member was Major Anderson of the Bengal artillery, an officer who gained great distinction in the

*Affghan campaign, during which he was the right hand man of General Nott at Candahar, and who consequently was excellently qualified to speak of the system by which a large force is fed and equipped in the field.* These two gentlemen, aided by Colonel Sturt, who was unluckily called off to Arracan before the conclusion of the investigation, were occupied for a year or more in their enquiries, during which time they received reports from the Military Board at each Presidency ; they obtained copious returns and papers, and considered them attentively ; they circulated questions to officers of the department, to engineers, doctors, and colonels of regiments, and after examining several individuals, drew up a clear and valuable report, which fills fifty-three pages of rather close print, and with the appendices makes up a volume of very decent size. Our readers may, perhaps, not be unwilling to have a sketch of the multifarious duties which the Commissariat Department, as constituted in 1809, and as since improved, was expected to perform. It had to victual the European troops ; to provide elephants, bullocks, and camels, and to feed them ; to transport troops and petty stores ; to procure draught and carriage cattle when required, over and above those maintained by Government ; to supply magazines with small stores, and European soldiers with quilts. It had, besides the above, its original duties, to victual native troops when on service, by land or sea ; it had to supply harness, saddlery, camp equipage and buff accoutrements ; to buy physic for the hospitals ; to superintend sudder bazars ; to collect the excise duties in cantonments, to look after the breeding of bullocks and camels, and to capture elephants in the jungles of Chittagong. The powers and constitution of the Commissariat Department have been several times modified in Bengal : in the other two Presidencies, they presented several differences, but we believe that the same objections were found to exist against the retention of the system in force anywhere. Without going into the minute details, with which the gentlemen of the commission were so long occupied, we may avail ourselves of their lucid summary, and extract thence a statement of the evils which they denounced, and the remedies which they proposed. Like the gentlemen of the Post Office Commission, they wanted a code of rules for the department, compiled with care and published under authority. The whole system of audit and supervision should, they proposed, be entrusted to two separate officers, independent of the Military Board ; the Commissary-General to control the workings, and an auditor to check the accounts. The officers were too few, the establishments too weak, and the

salaries too limited. Warrant officers and serjeants were absolutely requisite; but it was not requisite that Government should rear its own calves, or that so many camels and bullocks should be maintained as Government pensioners. Contracts must be concluded in the places where the articles are required, with better securities, and under simpler but comprehensive forms. This provision alone, if properly enforced, would prevent another such *imbroglio* as that of Jotee Prasad. An annual estimate must be prepared and submitted to Government, and the expenditure should show the actual outlay disbursed in the year, without reference to the period for which such outlay was incurred. Finally, the whole system of supplying an army in the time of war should be placed on an improved footing. The above recommendations, drawn up after mature deliberation, met with the approval of the Governor-General, and the reforms in this department have been carried out with greater celerity, and more completeness, than those of either the Post Office system, or the Public Works. At the same time, it is admitted, that the abuses of the Commissariat are, like so many others in India, those of the system. Individual officers had done their parts well. It was the complicated machinery, the multifarious duties, the useless checks, the appalling delay, that did the mischief. Nothing could be more fatal than to entrust the Commissariat to a Board, and of all Boards to that one, which has found so many enemies, and not one single friend. Amongst the various reforms, which Lord Dalhousie has had the merit of effecting, none was more needed than the one just described. It is a dreary, unpoetical, unpromising subject, and we have neither the time, nor the inclination, to linger over it. But it will husband the resources of the State, provide for the public service at a reduced cost and with less delay, and will prevent contractors from being kept out of their just dues for eight or ten years. It is, in short, a reform by which Government is the first to benefit. But the community will eventually benefit by reductions in any department, which will allow Government to spend more money for the improvement of the country.

It will be seen from the previous pages, that in little more than three years, Lord Dalhousie had appointed three different commissions, for the reform of as many separate departments of the public service. The first commission—that on the Post Office—will be more for the benefit of the community at large than for that of Government, although the State will naturally gain, in authority and effectiveness, by an improved system of general intercourse, and by the rapidity and certainty with



which intelligence is conveyed. But every private individual will view the reform with approving eyes, when he can send letters across the Peninsula for half an anna. The remembrance of the Post Office reform is, we think, likely to be long cherished and widely diffused. The benefits of the second commission will be shared pretty equally by the Government and by the community. The Government will spend more money, and see its public works held in better estimation: the community will travel with more celerity and ease. The reform of the third and last commission will be at first appreciated by Government alone. In ten years more, not one private gentleman in a hundred, nor perhaps one public servant in fifty, will come to know any thing of the old Commissariat system. Whatever is saved will benefit Government only, and if the community at large are ever reminded of the improvements, it will be by the reduced expenditure of provisioning the army, and the greater available surplus for works of peace. But whether the advantages be appreciated by the community, by the community and Government, or by Government alone, the foresight which dictated these reforms, and the energy and statesmanship by which they were carried out, are entitled to the warmest praise.

We have digressed from a narration of events to a discussion of reforms. We resume the thread of our history, and shall now treat of the political changes in native states, which engrossed the attention of the Governor-General. In the close of 1849, we had a tempest in a tea-pot in the little war of Sikhim. It will be remembered that Dr. Campbell, the Superintendent of Darjeeling, when travelling in the interior of the Himalayas, and while engaged in prosecuting his enquiries in botany and natural history, was seized by the orders of the Raja of Sikhim, bound and treated with indignity, and threatened with further severity, and even with death. A detachment of the Hill Rangers was pushed up to the hills from Bhagulpore: the native regiment at Moorshedabad was directed to support the Irregulars; when the Raja released Dr. Campbell, we are glad to say, without doing him any serious injury; and we were spared another of the little wars of a great country. The result of the affair was that the Raja lost an annual sum of six thousand rupees, which used to be paid by us for the occupation of the sanatorium of Darjeeling, while the British Government gained the whole of the Sikhim Morung, hill and plain, a tract which, adjoining the district of Purnea, and said to be not unfitted for the cultivation of cotton, has been assessed for 16,000 rupees, and incorporated with the tract

under the Superintendent of Darjeeling. Not a shot was fired: the operations were directed mainly by the President in Council, and the matter is now almost forgotten. But it has a claim to a few lines in such a paper as the present.

The years 1850 and 1851 have left us no very remarkable political events to record. They were spent by the Governor-General partly in the hills and partly in the plains, and it was then, that by personal inspection, repeated conference, and continued study, Lord Dalhousie laid the foundations of an enlarged and sound administration in the Punjab, and reared on them an edifice which succeeding generations of statesmen may long look up to and admire. We think it proper here to give some little account of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal, which every one knows was administered, during the absence of the Governor-General, by the President of the Council for the time being—all matters of importance, and all nominations to the high prizes of the civil service, being referred to Simla or Mahasoo for the vice-regal orders. It would be impossible, in a paper like this, to give an account of all that was done under the four subordinate Governments respectively, though each Presidency, theoretically, stands in one and the same relation to the Government of India. They are all subject to the same control in legislation: the power of the purse, in the hands of Sir H. Pottinger or Lord Falkland, is just what it is in the hands of Mr. Colvin: the intent of the Charter Act was that Bombay and Agra, Madras and Bengal, should remedy their respective abuses, and attain their peculiar reforms, by one and the same process. But our concern is with Lord Dalhousie, and with those divisions of the Indian Empire, in which his influence has been most felt. Of the late Mr. Thomason's Government we have already given a notice in our last Number, and no additional praise of ours could enhance the merit of that successful administration. But with Bengal the case is different. It is the focus of civilization: the commercial capital of the country: it has been the residence of the Governor-General for the last two years: it represents one-half of India in the eyes of the untravelled at home: it is here that we have the most influential bar, and the largest mercantile community: here the spread of education is the most acknowledged, and the effects of missionary operations are most visibly seen. Moreover, Calcutta, or rather Bengal, conceives itself to have a right to the presence of the Governor-General, at least for such time as he is also the Governor of this large and fertile kingdom. When, then, the administration of the

*Lower Provinces* was left for the whole interval, between October 1848 and February 1852, in the hands, first, of Sir H. Maddock, and next, of Sir J. H. Littler, considerable dissatisfaction was expressed by the fourth estate and by the community generally; and it was even asserted, that matters, instead of progressing, were actually going backward. For the time that Sir H. Maddock held the reins, from October 1848 to March 1849, these murmurs did not make themselves very loudly heard. Sir H. Maddock had had very considerable experience in civil business, and had been Deputy-Governor under Lord Hardinge. But when the administration was presided over by a soldier, who was not unjustly supposed to know more about platoon firing and advancing in echelon than about the Excise Code and the Decennial Settlement, the Government of Bengal was assailed by considerable obloquy, though the old soldier commanded respect by his kind manner and straightforward dealing, and though his responsible adviser was, in talent, integrity and uprightness, amongst the very foremost of the whole civil service. There is no doubt, however, that it is anomalous and unjust to hand over the Government of such a Presidency as Bengal to a man who has many other duties to employ him—to a man who may be somewhat worn out, who may be inexperienced, who though a good councillor, may not be the fittest man for such a post. There is more work to be done under the Bengal Government than under any other Government in India. The land-revenue, though assessed in perpetuity, is constantly giving rise to new, intricate, and perplexing questions. The manufacture and sale of opium creates a responsibility, of which the Lieutenant-Governor at Agra knows nothing. The salt, the excise, and the sea customs, in themselves, form no contemptible addition to the work. The police is a heavy burden, where the population expect to be protected, and will not stir a finger to help themselves. The Bengal Marine Department, as at Bombay, requires a great deal of attention, and would be a hard task for any Civil Governor, were it not for the admirable manner in which ships and men are disciplined, and kept in order by the Superintendent of Marine. The whole of the judicial branch demands constant attention, in a country where there is valuable property to be contended for, and acute intellects that make litigation a trade. Education is making grander and more rapid strides in Bengal than in any other part of India, without a single exception, and the schools and colleges under the Council of Education are more than double those of any other Presidency. The non-regulation provinces of Assam, Arracan,

Tenasserim, and the South West Frontier Agency, together with the Tributary Mehals, would, if geographically compact, form an area equal to that of a separate kingdom. Finally, Calcutta alone must occupy a large portion of any Governor's time and attention. It is unjust to blame those entrusted with the administration of Bengal for not having advanced its moral and material prosperity in the same ratio as that of Agra had been advanced. Great questions require undivided energies and uninterrupted leisure. A Governor of Bengal should be a person of "large discourse, looking before and after." He must be wholly unfettered by other duties, be a man of large experience and unquestionable ability, if he is to grapple with the question of improving the village watch, if he is to reform the police, to lay down roads, to simplify procedure, to establish Courts of Small Causes, to visit the different districts at intervals in the year. We think ourselves fortunate to have secured in Mr. Halliday a person equal to this task. If the routine and current work has been carefully and well got through under the old system, if cases have not been slurred over, nor practical difficulties eluded, nor blunders committed, we ought perhaps not to expect much more. But we shall hope to show, that while all this has been done, the forward movement, as it is termed, the great cause of reform, has not been wholly forgotten. We proceed then to state what was done for the Lower Division of the Presidency, during the absence of Lord Dalhousie. In 1849 we had the commission on the police of Calcutta, which terminated in a very satisfactory reform of that department. The merit of this is due entirely to the Governor-General. In the same year, the Bengal Government took possession of the small State of Sumbulpore, lying on the Bombay road, in the South West Frontier Agency. This little chiefship lapsed from failure of heirs, its last Raja having, in his lifetime, expressed a desire of seeing the administration made over to the British Government. The amount paid by this State as tribute previous to 1849, was only 8,800 rupees. The amount now taken in the shape of direct revenue is 74,000 rupees, of which only 25,000 rupees are expended in the cost of collection and in the payment of establishments, including an European officer. The country, naturally rich and productive, but unhealthy at certain seasons of the year, was admirably ruled by the late Dr. Cadenhead. Not the slightest symptom of discontent has appeared, and one of the members of the Board of Revenue was to visit it this last cold season. But greater changes, with regard to some of the non-regulation provinces have been carried out. It was found that Arracan and the Tenas-

serim Provinces, as to revenue matters, were under the Revenue Board, and that Assam and the South West Frontier Agency were not. Arracan, under the management of Capt. Phayre, was giving in nearly seven lakhs of net revenue, while its grain was exported to all parts of the world. Sixteen lakhs worth of rice are exported yearly from the port of Akyab. The province is remarkably free from crime, the population are contented ; a great stream of emigration is flowing yearly from Chittagong southward, the Bengali is pushing the native Arracanese aside. The Tenasserim Provinces, under the successive administrations of Major Broadfoot, Captain Durand and Mr. Colvin, had been gradually recovering from the distress and confusion into which they had been thrown by ill-advised measures, some ten years previous to the time of which we are writing. But of Assam little was known, and the same might be said of the district of Hazaribagh and Chota Nagpore, though much nearer in position to the seat of Government. Both these provinces were put under the Board of Revenue, and the good effects of this measure have been already made apparent in a better and more effective system of management. The mention of the Board of Revenue naturally lead us to record a change in the composition of the Board itself. For the first year after Lord Dalhousie's departure for the Upper Provinces, the two members of this body were very much opposed to each other in opinion. They differed—not as men often differ in India, from mere captiousness or unwillingness to yield points—but from honest conviction and after protracted enquiry. The result, however, of their antagonism, which never prejudiced the interests of either the Government or the landholders, was that an immense deal of additional work was thrown on the office of the Bengal Secretary. Several very knotty points of revenue law were referred to that office, and there set at rest. But it is obvious that an Executive Government should have something to do besides giving rules as to the party with whom lands in the Sunderbunds should be settled, or as to the precise meaning of some clause in Mr. Holt Mackenzie's famous Revenue Regulation of 1822. Accordingly, when one member of the old Board of Customs had retired, and another had been removed from office, it was found convenient to send the third and remaining member to the Board of Revenue. The advantages of this measure were, first, the saving of expense by the abolition of two appointments worth 52,000 rupees a year ; secondly, the addition to the Board of Land Revenue of a third member, who had long been its Secretary, and was well versed in revenue law ; and, finally, the union of all the great

sources of revenue under one well-selected body, the members of which were enabled to divide all current work amongst themselves, and to discuss all questions of importance in a full conclave. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the working of the revenue system in the Lower Provinces has, within the last four years, been greatly ameliorated. All the operations in the Chittagong division, which rendered the presence there of an officer with extraordinary powers indispensable, having been wound up by Mr. Ricketts, this gentleman was succeeded by an officer with the ordinary pay and powers of a Commissioner. Collectors everywhere were instructed to move about their districts in the cold weather, to examine the condition of Khas Mehals or Government estates, and to follow the example of magistrates in exchanging stone walls for canvass ones. A great deal has been done towards the arrangement of the records in various Collectorates, and order and regularity has been introduced amongst a mass of confused or moth-eaten papers. The survey has engaged much attention ; it has been manned by officers of ability, and has been pushed forward with the laudable desire of demarkating the boundaries of villages and estates, and of saving a very considerable expense in establishments. It is hardly possible, and it would certainly not be desirable that the survey in the Lower Provinces should mark off every field, or designate every holding. The advantages derivable thence would not be commensurate with the vast expense and the fearful delay of such a measure. All that the survey professes to do is to record the boundaries of estates and villages, the natural features of the country, the area, and the extent of cultivation, the products of particular districts, the extent of the pressure of the Government revenue on each acre—and other statistical information which the surveyors may pick up in the course of their work. All this will be available in a few years' time for every district in the Lower Provinces. With regard to the vigorous enforcement of law and the abatement of crime, much has not been done. We have, however, a Commissioner of Dacoity, who is doing his best ; and we have seen a vigorous and effective police established on the Grand Trunk Road from Calcutta to the Kurumnassa. The Lower Division of the Line, it should be remembered, is the very opposite in features to the upper part under the Government of Agra. From Benares upwards, the road passes through some of the richest and most populous districts of the Doab. After leaving Burdwan, the Grand Trunk Road merely skirts the edge of the districts of Beerbhoom, Bhaugulpore and Gya, and does not go within fifty miles of a single station. The line selected lies, in fact, through

a hilly, wooded, and thinly populated country, which, though fertile in materials for the construction of roads, is equally so, in places where unsuspecting travellers might be robbed and murdered by scores. An effectual protection to life and property has been afforded throughout the line. At every two or four miles there are stations, the police of which regularly protect the road from sunset till dawn. At certain parts there are sowars, and at every fifty or eighty miles there is a deputy magistrate. The whole force on the line is numerically about equal to a regiment of infantry, and it is as safe to travel along this line as it is to go from Calcutta to Baraset, or Kishnaghur. Besides the above reforms, the Bengal Government has commenced the very proper practice of publishing selections from its records, and the numbers, which already amount to more than a dozen, contain abundant information on the opium manufacture, on Teak forests, on several wild districts and their occupants, on the Electric Telegraph, on embankments, on the sanitary condition of Calcutta, and on other subjects. No doubt, when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, things will move at a quicker rate, and we may think little of reforms, such as those just enumerated. But when we consider that current business alone is greater in Bengal than elsewhere, that the Executive, during the period of which we are writing, was burdened with some personal cases, relative to the conduct of civilians and other officers, of a very serious and complicated character, it will be allowed that the Bengal Government has done, and done well, all that in common justice could be expected of it. Neither must we forget that its care has been to put into the highest court of criminal and civil justice, the very best officers that could be selected, and the Calcutta Sudder for four years was presided over by judges who, for energy and acuteness, long acquaintance with native character, with the procedure of the courts, and with the Company's law, were not approached by those of any of the courts at the other Presidencies. The contrast presented by the decisions of the Calcutta Court, with Mr. J. R. Colvin at its head, and by those of the Sudder at Agra, since it has been bereft of the judicial acumen of Messrs. H. Lushington and Deane, is something almost painful to contemplate. The files of the Calcutta court have been reduced to the lowest possible amount; the confidence of suitors and pleaders in its decisions has been increased by the new rules under which civil cases are argued before a full bench: the results of criminal trials appealed, or referred to the court, are widely made known, with the minutes of the several judges; and the good effects of a strict supervision by officers, whose

talents and character command respect, are visible in the additional care with which magistrates prepare, and judges in the districts dispose of the calendars.

We have reserved the great measure which originated with the Bengal Government, but which will be felt all over India, for the last. It is easy to acknowledge the utility of great material works, and to bless the name of the Government that paid for, and the engineer that planned, the long line of road, the noble arch, or the spacious college. A swamp drained, a whole tract protected from inundation, two great marts connected, a wide river bridged, an ubiquitous police—all this appeals to the outward senses. We have nothing to do but to travel, admire, and record. But the measure of which we are about to speak, is one of which the influence will be felt by degrees, and the benefits be more perceptible by the process to which the German school apply the term “subjectivity.” Whatever improves the character, increases the official knowledge, and raises the tone of the civil service, must have a positive effect on the general administration. That such will be result of the rules for the examination of assistants after they have passed the college of Fort William, no one who has studied those rules and watched their results, will attempt to deny. These examinations will act beneficially not merely by excluding the incapable from important positions, and by stimulating the apathetic, who *can*, but *will* not work, but by making the really industrious and clever young men exert themselves to the utmost, and by rendering their knowledge of language and procedure complete and compact. A great deal has been written lately against the system of examinations in the college of Fort William ; and, no doubt, the language and style with which civilians are there familiarized, are not those of the court-house : nor does a certificate gained in Tank Square argue conversancy with any colloquial dialect. But no one ever imagined that any such attainments would be met with there. The college course only pretends to afford the means of acquiring a fair knowledge of the grammar and general structure of the language, and of one or two of its standard works. That which is obviously wanted after such an ordeal, will be supplied by the new half-yearly examinations of assistants with their two standards of qualification. An examination for the lower standard, on passing which, the assistant is eligible for what are termed “special powers,” will be a guarantee that each civilian can read official papers written in fairly legible running hand : that he can translate an English paper into the vernacular in a style intelligible to a native : that he can hold a



conversation with two or three natives, and that he has a general acquaintance with the leading principles of the revenue and the criminal codes, and with the rules of procedure. He will also be able to decide a criminal or a revenue case, and write his judgment thereon. The second or higher standard, which is to confer eligibility to the full judicial powers of a magistrate and a collector, is similar to the one described, but greatly more difficult in degree. Assistants have to pass in both Bengali and Urdu: the papers are more difficult: the dictation and conversation are to be fluent, correct and idiomatic: the questions on law and practice are selected from the whole field of the duties in both departments. The facts elicited by the above system, which has for some time been in full and active working in the Lower Provinces, are, first, that such examinations were really needed, and, secondly, that they have answered remarkably well. Something of this kind was wanted to take up the college course where it terminated, and to add to book-learning the power of talking fluently with *bunneahs* and ryots. To the really industrious, such an ordeal will not perhaps convey any great additional stimulus. There have always been some men, who without injunction from any one, will sit down on first joining a Mofussil station, to the study of the regulations, and will mix familiarly with the people till they can hold converse with them on all ordinary topics. But even to such men a little pressure from without is advantageous, while the effect on the idle, the undisciplined, and the improvident, is not easily calculated. It was, of course, at first asserted that the rules would never work well: that old assistants could not pass them: that the Bengal Government had flown at once from the extreme of laxity to the extreme of harshness: that examiners would favour: that men of active habits, sound judgment, and mild temper, would find these valuable qualities sacrificed at the shrine of philology. All these, and dozens of other objections, have proved nugatory. Philological niceties are not discussed by the divisional or central committees: the older assistants, whom the new system took somewhat at a disadvantage, as they were in charge of offices which left them little time for study, have all taken the test, and the men of less standing who, from the first, have prepared themselves for this special end, have obtained very great and signal success. No unprejudiced person, who will consult the list published in the *Gazette*, can have any doubt that the scheme was wanted, and that it has fully answered its end. Under the orders of the Court of Directors the same system is now being introduced into every Presidency of the

Empire, including the Punjab, with such modifications as local peculiarities may require. Into the N.-W. Provinces and the Punjab, the examinations can obviously be introduced with the utmost facility. Urdu in the one case, with perhaps an examination in Nagri running-hand, and Urdu and Punjabi, or perhaps, Persian, in the other, will be the languages by which an assistant's knowledge will be tested. In revenue and criminal law the test will be mainly the same. At Bombay there may be some little difficulty, owing to the prevalence of Guzerati to the north, and of Mahratti to the south of that Presidency; and Madras labours under a plurality of tongues, Telingi, Tamil, Canarese and Malayalim, besides the ubiquitous Urdu; but there is nothing in either locality which determination and ingenuity cannot overcome. We shall expect soon to hear that examinations are held with signal success at Lahore and at Poona, in the Northern Circars, and in the Rohilcund division. The merit of this system belongs entirely to the Government of Bengal; and amongst the servants of that Government to Mr. Ricketts, who is not the man to let a good measure go to sleep, to Mr. Mytton, who had observed that some collectors would persist in employing young and unlearned assistants in duties, the best calculated to excite disgust and aversion, and to the gentleman on whose shoulder rested the whole weight of the Lower Provinces, Mr. John Peter Grant. It is not easy to estimate the invidious responsibility of such a position as was held by this last named gentleman, while Lord Dalhousie was absent from Calcutta. During his incumbency, several long, intricate, and perplexing cases, involving the personal character of officers high in the service, and ending in their removal, were taken up and most carefully investigated, and in *every single instance, without one exception*, the orders of the Bengal Government met with the entire support of the Home authorities. It is rather a wonder that, without a separate and unencumbered Lieut.-Governor, so much has been done in Bengal, than that more should not have been attempted. The manner of doing the work may, in part, be appreciated by a perusal of such papers as official form and secrecy have permitted to see the light. It has often been a subject of regret to us that there is no way of making important papers known, except through the somewhat laborious process of publishing them in "a selection." But to such as emanated from the Bengal Office, during Mr Grant's incumbency, and under his signature, we shall not hesitate to apply the description given by the most judicious and grave of English historians, of the style of one of the most eloquent and sound of our divines, that there was

"no vulgarity in that racy idiom, and no pedantry in that learned phrase," and we have reason to know that Mr. Grant's official career is acknowledged by competent judges to have exhibited better things than mere style, however weighty and precise, such as inflexible impartiality, high sense of honour, undaunted love of justice, and unwearied search for truth.

The Government of Bengal, since February 1852, just two years ago, has again been administered by Lord Dalhousie himself, aided by Mr. Cecil Beadon, a gentleman whose merits have deservedly gained him a high and important position at a comparatively early period of service. The principal measures by which these two years have been distinguished are, an important alteration in the law relating to the sale of estates for arrears of revenue, the promulgation of a new set of rules for the grant of waste lands in the Sunderbunds, which may, it is hoped, have the effect of inducing capitalists to lay out money in clearance and cultivation, the giving effect to the Mitford bequest to the city of Dacca, in accordance with the decree of the Court of Chancery: and the extension of English education by the establishment of a new college at Moorsheda-bad, and an English school at the principal station of every district where the inhabitants may be ready for such a course of instruction. Lord Dalhousie himself has also visited Arracan and Chittagong, and has sent grave Sudder judges and members of the Board of Revenue to report on unknown and unexplored districts, and to suggest measures for their improvement. The only drawback to the benefit derivable from these tours, appears to be that the deputation of two judges of the highest Court of Appeal tends to disorganize the machinery of justice. It is not always easy to supply the vacant places on the bench; nor, if judges are to have roving commissions over huge provinces, do we exactly see of what use is the office of Commissioner's Division. But when we have a regular Lieut.-Governor, we shall expect that for him the steamer will be ready, the tent spread, or the dawk laid, and that a beneficial personal intercourse will be maintained between the chief, his subordinates, and the influential landholders, many of whom have never seen a live Governor. We believe that no Governor-General has ever worked harder than Lord Dalhousie, and that no man is more sensible of the paramount necessity of entrusting the Government of Bengal to the undivided time and the entire energies of the ablest civilian that can be found for the post. All considerations of reduced patronage and diminished weight and influence, even if correctly stated, ought to give way to the public interests. A Governor-General comes out

here to superintend and direct the affairs of each Presidency, to master all the political and external relations of India, to set the financial system on a secure basis, and to see that the legislative, social, and commercial policy of the Empire be directed by adequate means, and on approved principles, towards one and the same end. It is not his business, overwhelmed as he is with references on every point, from the building of a barrack at Peshawar, to the repairs of a gun-boat at Rangoon, to grapple with the intricacies of land-tenures, to promote vernacular education, to infuse spirit into the police of Bengal, to enquire by whom village-watchmen shall be nominated and paid. Let the Governor-General but choose a man in whom he can place implicit reliance, whose talents and character will command the respect of the services, and of the native and European population—and we will answer for it that no measure will be undertaken and carried out, in which the head of the Empire shall not be furnished with ample previous information. We have good reason to believe that the creation of a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal is due much more to the candour and foresight of the present Governor-General than to the lugubrious declamation of Anglo-Saxon and Hindu reformers, who made a great stir about evils which no Act of Parliament could remedy, and said very little about the one measure which it was in the power of the Houses to pass. If report is to be believed, Lord Dalhousie will make over the kingdom of Bengal to Mr. Halliday: an act which the services and the community will think fully justified by that gentleman's long experience, intimate knowledge of the country, renewed energies, acknowledged service and honourable name.

The years 1850 and 1851 were not, as we have already remarked, fruitful in great political changes. Lord Dalhousie was occupying himself with the consolidation of the new province; and the commissions which he had organized were busy at their work. But the year 1852 saw a new comet on the horizon: we allude, of course, to the second Burmese war. The causes and origin of this war are widely known. The Governor of Rangoon had "beaten a Venetian and traduced the State." In other words, he had tried the Captain of one vessel for a charge over which he had no jurisdiction, and had ill-treated another on charges which were denied. But we have no intention of devoting any part of this article to the origin, progress and termination of the Burmese war. Its origin has been fully discussed already in our pages, and its consequences as yet are hardly appreciated. Its financial results are

uncertain, the capabilities of the valley of the Irrawaddy are matter for speculation. The organization of the executive system can hardly be termed complete. The development of the resources, the tranquillization of the country, have not attained that maturity which would warrant us in treating the subject in an historical light, as we have ventured to treat the Punjab. The very origin of the war is still occasionally disputed in the Senate at Home. We, therefore, purpose to leave the whole affair, from the sailing of Commodore Lambert to the return of General Godwin, and the late visit of the Governor-General, the conduct of Wycoens, Woondooks and Thyogyees, the achievements of Sir John Cheape, the storming of stockades and pagodas, the marches over swamps and through jungles, and all the other desultory operations, the loss of boats and steamers, the privations of men and officers, the temper of the inhabitants, the tone of the press, to some future writer. For our own part, we can only lament, like the Baron of Bradwardine at Gladsmuir, that the country and the armament were not calculated to display the true points of the *prælium equestre*, and we are strangely tempted, at times, to apply to the war, from its commencement to its termination, a well-known quotation from a well-known play of the inimitable Moliere :—*mais que, &c., &c., &c., &c.*

We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to the other political events of the years 1852 and 1853. At the commencement of the latter year occurred the deposition of Mir Ali Morad, the Rais or ruler of Upper Scinde. It had been proved, on a lengthy and careful enquiry, that this prince, by the dexterous subtraction of one leaf of a Koran, and the substitution of another, had gained possession of certain districts to which he had no right or title. The trick played on the British Government consisted in the insertion in the new leaf of those *districts* of identical names with certain *villages*, which latter were rightly the appendages of the Turban or symbol of authority. His Highness had therefore got possession of extensive tracts, when he was only entitled to a few clusters of houses. It will be in the remembrance of some of our readers, that just before the conquest of Scinde, Ali Morad, by some means, persuaded his brother Mir Rustum to abdicate in his favor, while he himself remained faithful to the British power during that brief but eventful war. He was accordingly maintained in the undisturbed possession of the chiefship, and was formally acknowledged as Rais of Upper Scinde. When it was discovered, through information given by his servants, that he enjoyed the revenues of the tracts which did not go with the Turban, to use the phrase current in the province, he was of

course called on to give them up. Opposition was useless, and the Mir saw this at once. A brigade was held in readiness to coerce him and his adherents, but the lands were given up to the British Commissioner, without the smallest resistance. The mercenaries of the Rais were paid off and discharged: his most pressing necessities were relieved, and he was left in possession of the tracts devised to him by the will of his father, that is to say, of the younger brother's appanage. In an European kingdom, or even in some of the more fertile provinces of India, the land left to the Mir would have been considered a very pretty provision, especially to one of a dynasty that had neither long descent, nor meritorious exercise of power, to recommend it. But no part of Scinde, with the exception of land easily irrigated, can be termed remarkably fertile, and the character of Mir Ali's rule is not likely to develope whatever natural resources there may be. For a considerable portion of the year 1850, Major Le Grand Jacob and Capt. Stewart were occupied in the demarkation of Ali Morad's patrimony, and towards the close of last year, their report, transmitted by the Bombay Government with suitable recommendations, was duly received and considered by the Governor-General in Council. The terms conceded to the Mir were liberal. Old scores were cleared off summarily, and a doubtful claim he had against Government was allowed him as a set-off against our good claims for mesne profits on account of districts held by him without title. He was allowed to retain, not only what his father, but that which his uncle would have given him: he was even permitted to keep what it was *intended* by his father that he should have had; lands lying along a canal which had been dug, but never finished, in Mir Sohrab's lifetime, and along a stream called the Narra, which passes through a part of the patrimony, and which has been improved by the British Government, were left without stipulation in his possession, and if ever there was a doubt about the precise line of demarkation, the most liberal concessions were made in the Mir's favour. We regret to say that Mir Ali Morad is not likely to benefit by the lesson he has received, or to employ himself in the improvement of his patrimonial estate. Like grantees elsewhere, who have had a fall, he would fain keep up his ancient dignity on a diminished income. Fruitful tracts converted into hunting grounds: days and weeks devoted to sport—a whole population turning out to beat the jungles, and debarred from the timely cultivation of their fields—these are the main features of his paternal rule: and that the career of the late Rais will be rapidly downward, there can be little doubt.

In the same year (1852) the tract in Central India known as the Saugor and Nerbudda Territories, was transferred from the hands of the Supreme Government to that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Agra. This fine province had been placed under the Governor-General in Council in 1842, by Lord Ellenborough, owing to the spread of disaffection there, which was said to require the constant attention of the highest power in India. But it was clear that the reasons by which Lord Ellenborough had been actuated, were of no weight ten years afterwards. The province, under the successive management of Colonel Sleeman and Mr. Bushby, was improving. There were no symptoms of discontent amongst its cultivators or its petty chiefs. The Government of India had other things to do than to administer directly the affairs of this province. The Lieut.-Governor of Agra, from position, experience and habit, seemed the proper person to introduce into the territories in question sundry improvements of which it stood much in need. The transfer got rid of the anomaly presented by a Commissioner or Agent, who was directly subordinate in political matters to the Governor-General, and not to the Lieut.-Governor, and who was yet, in revenue matters, placed under the Lieut.-Governor's subordinates, the members of the Sudder Board. The tract in question was to have been visited by Mr. Thomason during last cold weather, and though death interrupted this and other plans, we have no doubt but that the Jubbulpore school of thugs, the condition of the province, the necessity for a regular settlement, the denial of an appeal in civil suits from the judge to the Agra Sudder, while the same privilege is not denied to criminals, with other matters touching the welfare of the inhabitants, will be subjects of anxious consideration to Mr. Colvin next year.

In the commencement of 1853 an event took place on our North-Western frontier, which, but for the sagacity of the head of the Government, might have been productive of most serious results. We are induced to dwell particularly on this, because it is the fate of administrators to get very little credit for things which they have *not* done. The wars which they prevented, the mistakes into which they did *not* fall, the first false move which they did *not* make, are hardly dwelt upon by cotemporaries, and may escape the research of even the most laborious of subsequent annalists. The events to which we allude, took place within the independent native state of Bahawalpore. The late Nawab had been the ally of Major Edwardes in the operations against the Dewan Moolraj, had been thanked for his services by the Supreme Government, and had exchanged visits with the

Governor-General. He died and left his throne to a younger son. The elder brother of this prince, rejected by his father, was kept in close confinement, and fed on the bread and water of affliction. The British Government would not *interfere* to procure his release, and would do nothing, but simply recommend the reigning prince to treat his captive with generosity. This advice was not followed, and in the beginning of last year, the prisoner, aided by some Daoudputras, effected his escape, erected his standard, assembled a considerable body of adherents, and, after a very short struggle, made himself master of his brother's person and of his father's throne. In a brief space the pretender had vindicated his rights: the captive had exchanged a prison for a camp: the friendless and the disinherited one saw a nation stretching forth a sceptre for his acceptance, and a brother suing on the Koran for life. Before this scene in the drama, the opinion of the highest local authorities had been that the British Government should interfere to support the reigning prince, to prevent disturbances on the frontier, and to put down rebellion in the palace. Brigades should be moved from Mooltan, the authority of the British Government should be manifested, and its determination to uphold legitimate power against upstart pretensions should be proclaimed to every native court in India. Without any knowledge of the rapid changes passing on the spot, with nothing to guide him to a decision beyond the bare fact of the escape of the prince, and his reception by a party of the Daoudputras, Lord Dalhousie at once wisely determined *to do nothing*. Against the advice of men on the spot, whose judgment, often tried, had been found correct, with the certainty that a heavy responsibility must rest on the head of a man who attempts to pull the strings from a distance, he at once proclaimed his conviction that the issue of the struggle would not long be left in doubt. Either the reigning Nawab, if he possessed the affection of his subjects and the confidence of his ministers, would make short work of his brother's attempt, or the fugitive, if called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the people, would soon be *de facto* and *de jure* king. The British power should not force an incapable or unpopular sovereign on a reluctant people, nor lend its bayonets to the support of a puppet. The doctrine of non-interference was well and boldly avowed. There was no objection whatever on the part of the paramount power to uphold the younger son in preference to the elder. If the Nawab had deprived the latter of his birthright, it was because he had thought him ill-qualified for sovereignty. If the nation thought



differently, after due experience, this was a matter with which the Government of India had no concern. Whichever prince could count on the support of the army and the good will of the people, would be acknowledged by the power which annexes kingdoms, pensions out-casts, and recognises just claims to the "umbrella" or the "cushion"—all the above was fore-shadowed by the Governor-General with accurate knowledge of the position of affairs, and every mail that arrived from the North-West served to prove the correctness and the sagacity of his views. The only interference exercised by the chief Commissioner, was in the shape of a recommendation to the successful adventurer to treat his brother leniently, and not, in the first flush of victory, to prepare for him the axe, the string, the hot iron, or the bowl! It is a gratifying tribute to the influence of the British rule to know, that although rumours were rife about a treatment in store for the ex-Nawab, like that which Hubert had not the heart to inflict on Prince Arthur, not a hair of his head was touched. The prisoner ascended the throne, and the ex-ruler became his brother's pensioner, residing in the British dominions. Not a shot was fired, not a soldier stirred from his post. Had Lord Dalhousie, acting against the advice of the Chief Commissioner, gone wide of the mark, had there been disturbances on the frontier, and had a rebellion in Bahawalpore proved a nucleus for the disaffected in the Punjab, there would have been no end to abuse of the Government of which he is the head and chief. But in what, if unsuccessful, would have been designated as rashness and obstinacy, in the same measure when successful, we see the clearest foresight, the soundest judgment the most undoubted statesmanship. To divine coming events, when they do *not* cast a shadow, to tell officers on the spot that they are so near to the subjects of which they are writing as to be dazzled by the glare or stunned by the noise, to point to them, like a good pilot, the true course which the ship should take—this is, surely the highest political talent, and the grandest capacity for directing the complicated affairs of kingdoms. It is not the less worthy of praise that such measures leave no trace. We never can tell, in India, what one false step may not bring forth. The move of a regiment, or of a troop of artillery, the deputation of a single officer, the transmission of a mere piece of paper, may involve consequences, the end of which several generations shall not see.

As the year wore on, the affairs of the Nizam began to demand the serious attention of the British Government. The dominions of this sovereign, though certainly not well governed, presented no material for charges such as are justly brought

against the king of Oude. The Nizam's army, as it is termed, was never ordered out to support the misrule of a wicked minister, to curb the spirit of an oppressed population, to exact the taxes imposed by a vindictive tyrant. The main evil of the Hyderabad state was, that it was bearded by fanatic Arabs, by adventurous Rohillas, by independent Chiefs, who collected a band of unruly followers, shut themselves up in some mud-fort, and levied cesses on every passer by. The services of the contingent were constantly put in requisition to chastise or coerce some adventurer of this kind who had defied the king. The proceedings on such occasions were generally as follows:—The prime minister would inform the Resident that in some particular district, the authority of the Nizam was entirely set at nought: that cattle were driven off by thousands, and *bunneas* imprisoned by scores: that women and children were being helplessly plundered, and that the very communication by post was in danger of being cut off. The Resident, having satisfied himself that the crisis had not been produced by the oppression or the misgovernment of the Nizam himself, and that the case was one to warrant British interference, would immediately order Brigadier Mayne to take a proper complement of cavalry and infantry, with guns, and proceed to reduce the rebels. Brigadier Mayne, with the spirit of the "illustrious garrison" still strong in him, immediately makes his arrangements with all speed and secrecy, starts at noon one day, marches the whole of the night, and in the grey of the morning, finds himself before the fort. A summons to surrender to the representative of the British power, produces nothing but a valiant defiance, and an intimation that the garrison will die in defence of their position. The Brigadier invests the fortifications, orders up a gun, fires a shot, which is responded to from the fort, and then proceeds to more active operations. After a slight cannonade, the gates are opened, the brave army are seen escaping at the back of the citadel, and over rugged ground, and the British commander, with no loss whatever, is in possession of the place. Many of the garrison get clear off: some are captured and sent for trial before the moonsiff, who in Hyderabad is a criminal as well as a civil judge, a host of captives are released, and have their property restored to them, the fort is dismantled, and the troops return to cantonments. We have known repeated examples of the above occur in the course of six months. The Nizam was not, however, always free from blame. It was a common practice with him to farm out a particular district to two people at the same time, taking a sum in advance, or a *bonus* from both par-

ties, and leaving them to fight for the collection of the revenues. The army was in arrears : the sum stipulated on account of the contingent was never punctually paid. The state was in debt to wealthy sahoocars. The administration of justice was venal or imperfect. The sums levied on goods in transit were, in excess of what was permitted by the commercial treaty. But the most objectionable feature in the Hyderabad Government, was the dilatoriness with which the men and officers of the contingent were paid. Nothing could be more harassing to the British Resident than to assume the attitude of an importunate creditor, and to have to dun the minister every week. Nothing could be more humiliating and undignified than the subterfuges and the excuses, the shifts and the shams, to which the Nizam was put. At the same time that potentate steadily refused to permit the contingent to be reduced by a company. It was his safeguard against rebellion : the pillar of his state, the mainstay of his government. At length the arrears of pay, which amounted to about fifty lakhs of rupees, added to the growing inability of the Nizam to supply the current expenses of the force, appeared to call for decided measures. Promises of financial reform, assurances of a replenished treasury, and a sound credit, had been made and broken, been given and retracted, for the hundredth time. The only measure that could satisfy both parties, was an entirely new arrangement. This had been threatened in 1851. Its fulfilment was reserved for the year 1853. The departure of the Resident, General Fraser, for England, enabled Lord Dalhousie to appoint to this important situation, Col. John Low, C. B., of the Madras army, an officer who had served under Sir J. Malcolm, had been at Lucknow, and at Hyderabad. had great knowledge of native courts, had done excellent service everywhere, and was possessed of remarkable self-command, peculiar suavity of temper, admirable firmness, and excellent judgment. Col. Low quitted Rajpootana, where he had been performing the duties of Agent for those states for the last four years, came to Calcutta, and went to Hyderabad in full possession of the views of the Governor-General. He was instructed to endeavour to prevail on the Nizam to follow the example of Scindia, and to make over, if not in perpetuity, at least for an indefinite time, certain districts adequate to the payment of the forces. It may easily be conceived that the Nizam was reluctant to acquiesce in this proposal. It proved as hard to persuade him that such a step was for his benefit, as it was for Margaret of Anjou, in Anne of Geierstein, to cajole the poor old king Renè to abdicate his rights. Of course the

Nizam's kingly ire blazed forth at the proposal—he would reform his exchequer—he would not cut off his right hand—he was still a Sovereign Prince—he would endure anything, rather than this unmerited degradation. His pride could not submit to this fall. It is not easy to conceive, or to describe, the immense amount of tact, diplomacy and forbearance which the Resident displayed during this trying negotiation. If great results have ever been due to personal exertions, if an important object has ever been secured by the address and firmness of a single person, this is the occasion, and Colonel Low is the man. The Nizam yielded to an officer whose temper was never ruffled, whom argument and the loud tones of the Nizam never betrayed into one single unguarded expression, who was firm without obstinacy, who reconciled diplomacy and candour, and joined perseverance to tact. A new treaty was drawn up, signed and sealed. It appeared that the force known as the contingent, was not mentioned in the old treaties concluded at the commencement of this century, and has never been formally recognised. The contingent had sprung up in 1816, when Sir H. Russell was Resident, and had gradually increased to an unwieldy size. It was, in fact, an addition to the force known as the “subsidiary force,” furnished by the Company for the general defence and protection of His Highness, which consisted of eight battalions of sepoy, two regiments of cavalry, and a proper complement of artillery. The contingent, in addition to the above, numbered about eight thousand men, with an undue proportion of officers, some of whom were the servants of the Company, while others had only local rank. The whole sum due from the Nizam annually, on account of the above forces, was forty lakhs of rupees. The provisions of the new treaty were then, as follows:—The subsidiary force was still maintained. It was still to execute important services for His Highness, to protect his person, to reduce rebels to obedience, but it was not to be employed in the collection of revenue. The Nizam's army or contingent was replaced by the Hyderabad contingent, to consist of six regiments or 5,000 infantry, four corps or 2,000 cavalry, and four field batteries, commanded by British officers, and under the Resident's control. The contingent, like the subsidiary force, will be at the disposal of the Nizam for emergent service. The subsidiary force may be employed in adjacent kingdoms, on the part of the Government of India, should occasion require it, or in time of war. To pay the above forces, and to satisfy other claims, districts yielding a gross revenue of fifty

lakhs of rupees have been made over to our management. They consist of the districts to the north of Hyderabad, known as the Berar Valley, comprising Amraouti, the great cotton mart: the western districts adjoining the principalities of Sholapore, and the Raichour Doab between the Toongabudra, and the Kistnah. The revenues of these tracts will go, first, to provide the regular monthly pay of the contingent, next, to the payment of the old Mahratta claim, known as Appah Desaye's *chout*, and of certain other allowances, and lastly to the clearance, with interest at six per cent., of the arrears due by the Nizam, which amount to fifty lakhs of rupees, or to about one year's gross revenue of the ceded territory. These districts are now administered by British officers, some of them officers of the contingent; they took possession of their charges without meeting any opposition. All last cold weather they have been engaged in surveying the condition of the inhabitants, the capabilities of the soil, and the varieties of the produce, and when we have a railroad running up the Great Berar Valley, we may hope that the darling wish of Manchester will be at length gratified. The opportunity of reducing the expenses of the contingent was not thrown away. There had been five Brigadiers. There are now only two. It was at first thought that the one might have commanded the cavalry, and the other the infantry. But to avoid the obvious inconvenience of a divided authority, where infantry and cavalry are stationed together, it was subsequently deemed advisable to make two divisions of the whole. The most inefficient of the officers attached to the corps, many of whom had mere local rank, were pensioned. The best, as we have said, were placed in charge of some of the ceded districts. The staff was reduced. The old rate of pay was continued to all incumbents, a new rate was fixed for new men entering the service. The effect of these changes is a present saving of six lakhs of rupees, and an eventual reduction of nearly ten. The contingent, under such officers as Major William Mayne and Capt. Colin Mackenzie, will be more efficient at less cost; a great cotton mart will be opened to British enterprise; a populous and productive country will be rescued from misrule; the Nizam will, in reality, be more independent, and be saved from all the anxieties of a debtor's existence! and be "every inch a king." The British Government will assume the bearing not of a troublesome creditor or a persecuting bailiff, but of a true ally, of a real protector, of a firm friend. This is another of the triumphs which place

Lord Dalhousie and Colonel Low in the same rank with the Wellesleys and the Clives of our early days.\*

We come now to a subject which is of as much importance as either siege, conquest, treaty, or material improvements, but which is not so intimately associated with the idea of the Governor-General as others—that of legislation. We have preferred grouping all the improvements in our laws under one head and in two or three pages, to noticing them in detail according to the years in which they were passed. The influence of the Governor-General over the course of law-making is not always practical or direct. His time is too much occupied with administrative or executive measures—with the organization of irregular regiments, the commencement of great public works, the reports of Commissions, and the suggestions of Boards. The legislative department, moreover, is presided over, we may say, by an English lawyer, carefully selected and highly paid, whose especial business it is to peruse reports, to compare opinions, and to hammer out drafts of laws. In every department of the public service there are officers admirable qualified to explain what is wanting for the security of the public revenues, for the preservation of peace, for the punishment of crime. It is all we can expect if the Governor-General finds time to make himself acquainted with the general scope and tendency of every particular Act. He is not to cut and carve its several clauses, or to satisfy himself that it will be proof against the ingenuity of the English bar. Indeed, we think that the connection between the Governor-General and the legislative department might be made even more slender than it now

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\* We have inadvertently omitted, though we have not forgotten, the Electric Telegraph. The origin of this work, we all know lies with Dr. W. B. O'Shaughnessy, who, though he had never seen an Electric Telegraph in operation in his life, laid down a line from Calcutta to Kedgeree, which has been working for the last two years, invented a new alphabet, drilled a corps of Telegraphers, and triumphed over every difficulty of climate or locality. Lord Dalhousie at once perceived the immense political and social advantages of such a measure; handsomely rewarded its author; sent him to England to make arrangements for the erection of lines connecting all the important towns in the Empire, and has now the satisfaction of knowing that the wires are already "up" along hundreds of miles of road. It may be said of the author of this project as was said of Franklin—

"Eripuit fulmen cœlo, sceptrumque tyrannis,"—

That is, from native states, internal and external, of whose political movements the Telegraph will give us instantaneous notice, enabling us to curb disaffection everywhere at once. But we have not time or space for a detailed account of this great measure, nor for an examination of Lord Dalhousie's Grand Railway scheme, either of which, when fully carried out, would signalize the administration of any Proconsul. For the same reason, we are compelled to omit many other subjects—the annexation of Sattara, the confiscation of Ungool, the recognition of the independence of the Rajpoot state of Kerowlee. No man, in fact, can ever complain that Dalhousie has given us nothing to write about, and even with regard to Burma, we may hope that ere his departure, he may see *cuncta terrarum subacta*.

is, and that it would be quite sufficient, were he simply to give his assent to a proposed enactment, if consistent with the general policy of the Government, and with the spirit of the age. He ought to be spared the drudgery of comparing antagonistic theories, analysing doubts, and noting on sections. But, whatever be the precise amount of influence exercised by the Governor-General, a review of the most important legislative enactments passed within the last six years, may fitly find entrance in such a paper as this. Every one who ever looks into the *Gazette* must be well aware of the local and departmental character of many of our laws. Occasionally there will be seen drafts which can have no possible interest for any one except the inhabitants of a particular district, the traders in some one kind of produce, the officials entrusted with the charge of some special branch of the revenue. Our remarks then will apply to such acts as bear a catholic character. For the first three months of Lord Dalhousie's administration, the laws were forged by Mr. C. H. Cameron ; for rather more than three years by the late Mr. Bethune, for six months by the late Advocate General, now Sir Charles Jackson, and from the commencement of 1852 to the present time by Mr. Peacock. We shall advert to the laws of any general interest in each successive year. In the year 1848 was passed an Act, which has been usually coupled with Mr. Dampier's name, and which enables a magistrate to take penal recognizances from British subjects, not convicted of any specific offence, whenever he may have good reason to apprehend any breach of the peace. In default of such recognizances, parties may be committed to the civil jail. The object of this very proper enactment was, to enable men charged with the preservation of life, property, and the public peace, in a large district, to prevent those disgraceful outrages, by which, in Lower Bengal especially, men have long insulted the civil power. Of course there was the usual amount of clamour raised against the Act by Europeans, who hate subjection of all kinds, and who only begin to discover the inefficiency of the courts, when those courts are likely to check their turbulence and insubordination. But the working of the law has proved its own vindication. There is an appeal from decisions passed under this Act. No man has been unjustly confined under its operation. British subjects have been more circumspect and amenable to reason. Affrays have been more rare. No sensible man now makes this law his grievance. Act VI. of this year equalized the duties on goods imported to, and exported from, India, on British and foreign bottoms, and abolished the duties on goods carried from one Indian port to

another, with exception to ports in the Straits, the Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces. By this law the whole of India has been made one port. Another law of this year reminds us that the small State of Mandree, in the Presidency of Bombay, had become an integral part of the British Empire. By successive enactments, the criminal courts were enabled to punish wandering gangs of thieves and robbers by imprisonment for seven years, without a Futwah from the law officer: the jurisdiction of the Court of Small Causes was clearly defined: the period of time within which suits might be brought to contest the award of the revenue authorities in the Bengal Presidency was limited, prospectively, to three years: the duty on salt entering the North-West Provinces from other provinces of this Presidency was repealed: and, finally, the officers in charge of the revenue survey were empowered to compel the attendance of proprietors or farmers, with their accounts and documents, and to punish recusancy by fine. With the exception of an Act for improving the discipline of the Indian Navy, no other remarkable law was passed in this year. And, in all the above laws, besides the "Dampier Act," those for the equalization of customs, for the abolition of salt duties on Bengal salt, and for strengthening the hands of the revenue surveyors, are the most important. It is an object to let the salt manufactured by the Bengal Government travel up the country without any additional impost; and the only duty levied at Allahabad is that on salt from Rajpootana, when it attempts to pass into Behar. As regards the survey, nothing could be done until Act XX. was passed. Zemindars and their agents stoutly refused to give the slightest assistance to one of the most useful and beneficial measures which the Government had ever devised, and from which it could derive no direct pecuniary advantage whatever. Public spirit is not often manifested in Bengal in the furtherance of public objects.

The next year commenced with a very useful enactment for the trial of offences committed by British subjects in foreign states. This law gives us one uniform course of procedure, in place of the diversity that had prevailed in the three Presidencies. It makes all subjects of the British Government, and all persons in the civil and military service of that Government, and for six months after leaving service, amenable to any Company's court, for felony, murder, and other aggravated offences committed by them in the territories of a foreign or independent Prince. A British subject committing a robbery in Oude, may, under this law, be tried by a judge in the North-West Provinces, or by a commissioner or other civil



officer, presiding over any competent court in the foreign territory. This Act has worked well hitherto. Although the number of Acts passed in this year was not great, yet several of them are not unimportant in character. We then saw laws passed, which, severally, abolished the useless practice of branding and exposing convicts, protected the unfortunate shareholders of the Union Bank, provided for the safe custody of lunatics, and appointed an Administrator-General for the care of intestate estates. We saw other Acts, which placed the excise system of Calcutta on a better footing, which checked smuggling of salt, and obviated a deficiency which was felt by the Government in dealing with mutiny and sedition in the Company's naval and military forces. This ends the catalogue of enactments for the year.

The year 1850 was prolific of enactments of various kinds. We made Aden a free port ; we liberated the coasting trade of India ; we saw courts established for the recovery of small debts in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, which deprive the law of its delay, the Supreme Court of a deal of business, and the honest tradesman of the metropolis of a great deal of annoyance. No more popular or efficient institution has been as yet established, as far as Calcutta is concerned. Without entailing great expense, without involving suitors in the mazes of the law, without accumulating records, it enables creditors to realize with cheapness and facility a host of minor dues. It is presided over by judges of ability, who possess the entire confidence of the community. Its business has been greatly on the increase. The cry is waxing loud for the establishment of such courts in the 24-Pergunnahs, and in the populous cities of Dacca, Patna, Moorshe-dabad, and others. If there is any complaint about the court, it is that its jurisdiction is limited to suits of 500 rupees in amount. It was one of the cherished projects of Mr. C. H. Cameron. Had that enlightened gentleman remained in India, he would have acknowledged that the success of the scheme has more than equalled his expectations. As the year rolled on, it was found necessary to amend the law with regard to the punishment of breaches of trust and misapplication of public moneys. The criminal courts of the Company were empowered to add fines to punishments inflicted on persons convicted of robbery and other offences against property, to levy such fines by distress, and to distribute the proceeds for the benefit of the injured party. Judges and magistrates were very properly protected against suits brought for acts done in the discharge of their duties, though without jurisdiction, provided they were done in good faith ; and the virulence of rich and

disappointed individuals was to a certain extent baffled. A law regarding apprentices\* was promulgated. Any law or usage inflicting forfeiture of rights, property, or inheritance, by reason of loss of caste or change of religion, was for ever abolished. This great Act is known as that of liberty of conscience. The outcry against it has not been *very* loud. Of course, some men are bound to contend for the sacred privileges of bigotry, for the luxury of revenge, for the infeasible rights of Hindus to check the freedom of a strong will, the movements of a reasonable conviction, the workings of an enlightened mind. Of course, too, some men would proclaim that the Christian convert shall not have fair play, that Hindu intolerance shall always be respected, that the British power is pledged to support persecution against the dictates of humanity and sound sense. But in a case like this, we are content to take part with Mr. Halliday in preference to Counsellor Leith, with Dr. Duff rather than Sir Erskine Perry, the sentiments of Christian statesmen, husbands, mothers and wives, against the effusions of an undisguised rancour, and the sallies of a spurious zeal. There is a cant which is even worse than that of the Chadbands and the Stigginses.

We resume our notice of the course of legislation. The land-revenue of the town of Calcutta was at length defined by law. An act for the conservancy of towns, other than Calcutta, was actually passed, in order to give the inhabitants of Bengal an opportunity of proving their supposed capacity for self-government. We believe that this Act has had a very beneficial effect, though not exactly that which its authors intended. It was vainly imagined that the heads of the native population would consort to tax themselves for the lighting of roads, the purifying of drains, the cleaning of tanks, and general purposes of conservancy. With very few exceptions, the Act has not been put in force, and nowhere has it obtained more than a partial success. We believe, too, that in most of the large towns, such as Dacca or Moorshedabad, any attempt of the kind would end in the most complete failure. Let one-half the population be swept away by some tremendous visitation, occurring from the want of the most obvious sanatory precautions, let bridges break down, roads become impassable, and heaps of filth block up the approach to the main bazar, we do not think that the inhabitants would come forward to tax themselves at four annas a head, or divest themselves of the least portion of their hereditary right to the enjoyment of impurities. After all the talk about self-government, and the Anglo-Saxon model, we think that in conservancy there is nothing like the powerful arm of the

executive. Laws were about the same time enacted to encourage merchant seamen, to protect sailors from crimps, and commanders from sailors. Other laws were made to enable the Government to confine State prisoners in Calcutta or any where else, so as to get rid of any danger of collision by means of a *habeas corpus* with the Supreme Court: to improve the mode by which public inquiries can be made into accusations brought against public servants, not removable from office without the sanction of the Government: to allow the use of counsel to all persons accused of any offence, in all courts whatsoever, of the East India Company: and to enable lands to be taken for our Railway from Howrah to the collieries. Two Acts wind up the important legislative proceedings of the year. The one is for the registration of joint-stock companies, or partnerships, whose joint-stock is transferable in shares without consent of all the parties; and the other carries out the arrangement, of which we have already made mention, for the consolidation of the old Board of Customs and the Sudder Board of Revenue. Forty-five laws were enacted in this busy year—during which year, be it observed, the Governor-General was not two months at the Presidency; and many of the Acts, as will be seen from the above selection, were highly important in their principles and their bearing on the requirements of the community.

In the next year operations were somewhat delayed, owing to the late Mr. Bethune's long and fatal illness. We saw, however, the boon of deputy magistrates extended to the Presidency of Bombay, *only eight* years after the plan had been tried and found to answer in Bengal; we saw officers of the Salt Department in Bengal empowered to search houses, on information given, that such houses contained more than one *maund* of salt; and we saw Government authorized to levy an elaborate scale of tolls on public roads and bridges, of which no use has been made as yet. With regard to the Lower Provinces, it was jocularly said, but with truth, that the Act would be a dead letter, because no roads had been opened, and no bridges had been built. Gambling in Bombay was put down: the land-revenue of Madras itself was attempted to be secured, but with what success we are unable to state. Various laws for the collection of the excise in the Straits' Settlements were consolidated by one comprehensive enactment; and, for the satisfaction of Manchester, endeavours were made to stop the deterioration of cotton at Bombay, by the confiscation of the article, and the fine or imprisonment of the offending party. There were only sixteen laws passed

in this year. The next year, however, swelled our code very considerably. We came in for the benefit of the time and toil given by Mr. Jackson to law-making during the latter part of the preceding year; the Acts hammered out in that period, making their appearance, spick and span, and in rapid succession, after the commencement of the new year. The Act of Parliament for marriages in India was set agoing: marriage registrars were appointed, official and non-official, and no person can now have the least difficulty in being married according to the forms and rules of his persuasion in any part of India. The cost of a light-house on Pedra Bianca, a rock at the eastern entrance of the Straits of Singapore, to be named after the great hydrographer, Horsburgh, was provided for; the jaghir of Bethow, in the district of Cawnpore, granted to the Ex-Peishwa, was placed under the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and criminal courts, and we were thus reminded of the enormous amount of yearly pension which an ill-advised arrangement had conceded to this State idler. The unlucky Municipal Act of 1847, for the improvement of Calcutta, was set aside in favor of another, almost as ill-fated in one point of view. An Inam Commission, or court, was appointed for the decision of suits about lands claimed to be held, wholly or partially rent-free, in Candeish, the Deccan, and the Southern Mahratta country. The Presidency of Bombay is swamped by these and similar burdens, and it is hoped that no foolish leniency will be shown in the working of the Act. The municipal commissioners were furnished with another Act, framed for their especial benefit; and if anything in the shape of varied legislation could improve our sanatory condition, Calcutta ought by this time to have become a model city. The police of the city was next amended: the hands of its magistrates were strengthened, and the provisions for the preservation of public peace and morality, scattered over no less than eleven kinds of rules and ordinances, were lucidly brought within the compass of a single law. Three Acts amended the law of evidence, and the procedure of the Supreme Court. By another, an attempt was made to purify the Mofussil courts, by enabling judges to dismiss fraudulent pleaders, and by exempting pleaders from humiliating fines; and the excise revenue of the town of Madras was secured by a long and elaborate law. The same Presidency obtained its Act for the acquisition of land required for public purposes. In Bombay, deputy collectors were appointed, and patels or heads of villages in the same Presidency were empowered to try petty thefts and assaults, and to fine offenders in the sum of five rupees, or imprison them in the-

stocks for forty-eight hours. Darogahs in Bengal were no longer allowed commission on the value of any stolen or plundered property which they might recover. The law for the prosecution of ministerial officers was amended; the province of Arracan felt the benefit of legislation, in a law which abolished the poll-tax in the towns of Akyab and Kyouk Phyoo, and substituted a tax on lands covered by dwelling-houses.

The first remarkable law of the year 1853 is one, against which there would have been a tremendous outcry formerly, but which passed without even a muttered growl. It is in reality the first of the Black Acts. It makes British subjects liable to the same duties, and the same punishments as natives, in respect of public charges and duties in aid of the police. This is the introduction of the end of the wedge; and we have no doubt, that in due time, planters and zemindars, native and European, will be placed on a much more equal footing in their respective dealings with the Mofussil courts. The third and twelfth Acts of this year remind us that we have a railway actually in operation in the Presidency of Bombay, and that offences which may endanger the persons of travellers, and frauds which may injure the Railway Company, require to be visited with penalties, while passengers on the other hand must submit to certain rules. The other laws are of no general interest; but as we write, we see the issue of a draft of an Act for railways in this Presidency, which will protect the Company and passengers by the trains from annoyance and loss. We here conclude our notice of the legislative features of Lord Dalhousie's administration. The precise share taken by him, or by individuals in each particular law, it would be impossible to state; but we are quite certain that the working of the legislative system is, in a general way, as creditable to him as other parts of his rule, in which his ascendancy has been more prominently felt.

We have hitherto omitted all direct mention of one of the most distressing events of the past year: we allude, of course, to the death of James Thomason, the honored ruler of the North-Western Provinces. This event, with the assassination of Colonel Mackeson, threw a gloom over the close of 1853. We have lately had occasion to present in this *Review* a notice of the late Lieut.-Governor's character and distinguished career, and the time is yet hardly come when those who loved his example in life, can talk of him with tongues that do not falter and eyes that do not fill. For his nomination to the Government of Agra, we hold that the country is under a debt to Lord Ellenborough, which may be a set-off to the song of

Somnath and to other eccentricities. The late Lieut.-Governor had been nearly ten years in office. He had done much there, though something still remains to be done : he died on the scene of his labours, amidst a people which he had benefited, with some beloved relatives not absent from his dying couch ; and happy is the man, we would say, with all the solemnity that such a subject demands, who crowns a life of such ability by such a Christian death.

The allusion to Mr. Thomason's death naturally leads us to mention his successor, Mr. John Russell Colvin. Of this gentleman we expect great things. His large experience, his acute mind, his great energy, his rapid decision, and his varied information, all seem to justify the choice of Lord Dalhousie. His nomination was celebrated by a public dinner at Calcutta, given by men who had nothing whatever to hope at his hands, and was favourably received by the unanimous Service of the North-Western Provinces, as that of a new ruler without prejudice and without partiality. Mr. Colvin may be promoted to a higher post at Madras ; but if he remains where he is, we are quite certain that he is just the man to take up the subjects to which Mr. Thomason did not entirely devote himself, especially the judicial system of the North-West, and to introduce other reforms, for which even the model Government had not found time. The selection of Mr. Colvin, we doubt not, will be remembered as creditable to the nobleman of whose administration we are treating.

Two subjects have contributed to make the past few years of some interest even to Englishmen in England. The first is the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the second is the agitation on the Renewal of the Charter, during six months of 1853. At the time of the great national show, India seemed really to have been brought nearer to England. Without the trouble of the overland route, without reference to a single work on the East, without the persual even of a Parliamentary Report, the public at home were enabled to contemplate, in one clear and comprehensive glance, the India of the Hindu the India of the Mohammedan, and the India of the Company. We may remember how, when many of the articles destined for the Crystal Palace had arrived in our metropolis, we got up a minor exhibition on our own account, and owing to the admirable arrangements of the Central Committee, we were enabled, in a morning lounge, to see by what part of her resources India was to be represented in the World's Debate. We had no reason to be ashamed of the exertions of our local committees, or of the liberality of private individuals. We sent

home specimens of all the manufactures which had flourished under successive native dynasties, and of everything to which Anglo-Saxon enterprise had given birth. Accordingly, nothing excited more general attention than the Indian corner. Indeed, there was food there for the reflection of intellects of every calibre ; for those who viewed India as a fit land for the application of a larger capital, a better Government, a more complete agency ; for those who regarded the country as one where younger sons are sent to make their fortunes ; for those who had read of it as a land of untold wealth and inexhaustible romance ; for those who thoughtfully saw, in its connection with England, a series of noble triumphs, linked imperishably with the great Company and the British name. Nothing was wanting in that gorgeous spectacle, which could tell of its past history, or its present resources. Any partition might have been made the subject of a political treatise, of a commercial brochure, of a whole batch of reviews, of a long array of speeches, of a succession of memorials. There were dozens of subjects, the striking characteristics of which have since been skilfully alluded to by Mr. Campbell, or splendidly, but truthfully, drawn by Mr. Kaye. There were the products of the Indian mine and forest : of the flooded rice fields of Bengal, the loam of the Doab, the black soil of the Nerbudda valley : the evidence of wealth honorably acquired and securely held by natives in the Benares of the Hindu, or the Delhi of the Mohammedan : the returns of the English capital diffused, without let or hindrance, in spite of all demagogues may say, on the plains of Nuddea, or the banks of the Megna : shawls and canopies, indigo, gums and medicines, destructive weapons, rude implements of husbandry, matchlocks quaintly carved, armour splendidly chased, strange and uncouth instruments of discordant harmony, figures modelled to the life, showing the Rajah in his Durbar, the Anglo-Saxon with his factory in full play, and the official in his cutchery—all this presented a wide field for disquisition and thought. Untravelled Englishmen, and Englishwomen, by thousands, looked on the curious distinctions of Hindu caste, and the minute subdivisions of Eastern labour. Some of the best specimens of jewellery were perhaps almost coveted by the representatives of all the beauty and elegance of London. Political economists might look with indifference on dazzling or subtle fabrics, and argue that, if the labour to which they were owing was guided by exquisite skill, it was neither exerted with continuity, nor aided by the power of machinery. Manchester, with a contemptuous glance, saw there only the first fruit of

natural resources, of which the Company had failed to take advantage, and the last relics of a native industry which their rule had well nigh crushed. Philosophy pondered: curiosity admired: and pseudo-philanthropy might talk more than its average amount of nonsense. Retired Indians saw once more those familiar objects and names, which revived the recollections of thirty years of service, and told them, in plain language, that the great mass of the population, with their peculiarities, their employments, and their social habits, were still the same. The student of history gazed on arms, fabricated in the arsenals of Jeypore and Kotah, and was reminded of the chivalry and the independence of the Rajpoot. From the arms of the Mahratta horseman and his gay trappings, the thoughts reverted rapidly to Burke's tremendous description of the goading of spears, and the trampling of cavalry, when the Carnatic lay prostrate before the invader; and occasionally, some careful reader might recall the times, when amidst a galaxy of nobles, and with an empire still unimpaired, Shah Jehan, or Aurungzebe, the Augustus of the East, displayed tapestries as gorgeous, riches more unbounded, and magnificence more regal, to the wondering eyes of two European travellers—Bernier, that lively and entertaining French Doctor, and Tavernier, that "rambling jeweller, who had read nothing but had seen so much and so well."

The recollections of that summer will not soon be effaced, and as the arrangements under which India was worthily represented in England, were carried out by the officers of Lord Dalhousie's Government, acting with other independent gentlemen, the subject may fitly claim some little space in a paper which aims at giving a rapid view of his administration.

It will not soon be forgotten, that during Lord Dalhousie's tenure of office, the Company was summoned to give an account of its stewardship. That a great Government should periodically be called to the bar of public opinion, that its doings should be rigorously scrutinized, that its defects and its merits should be permanently brought to light, is what every lover of quiet constitutional reform desires. But was this the course pursued by the public on the occasion of what may be the last renewal of the Charter? A cry suddenly arose, waxed louder, and ended in a prolonged howl. Without any system of rational investigation, without recourse to the publications which threw light on Indian affairs, the press and the public at home settled down into the belief that the East India Company had done nothing for the people of India, had abandoned their sacred charge, slurred over their duties, and



betrayed their trust. It would take a whole Number of this *Review* to expose the fallacies uttered regarding the Indian administration, and to expose to deserved ridicule the quack medicines by which the oriental disease was to be cured.

Scarcely anything was too absurd, or too contradictory, for credence. The Company had done nothing: they had done too much: they should take less money from the land and spend more on it: they should not run into debt: they should begin to educate the natives: they should provide honorable employments for the many natives whom they had educated. Every monstrous theory found a supporter, and we were compelled to listen successively to the wild and dangerous remedies proposed by Mr. Phillimore, to the inept effusions of Mr. Seymour, and to the sincere, but mistaken, reasoning of Mr. Bright. The whole agitation proves clearly the entire unfitness of Parliament to legislate in detail for India, to deal with great Eastern questions, or do anything but give a better form of Indian Government at Home. With these grand and primary features, some clear-minded men at home will always be found competent to deal. An infusion of what is called the English element into Eastern discussions will always be a great gain. But it will be a fatal day for India, when the great sources of her revenue, the welfare of her hundred millions, and the authority of her Governors, are to be made the sport of men, who either aim at a cheap popularity, or are bound to satisfy a pledge. The crowning proof of the danger to India, from direct parliamentary meddling, is to be found in the attempted abolition of the salt monopoly. A revenue of a million, voted away by Sir John Maitland, to gratify his constituents at Dratwills, without one thought as to how the deficiency is to be made good. A few more mistakes of this sort, and we shall, indeed, in the cant phrase of the day, have taught India the art of self-government. Meanwhile, the new arrangements for India are so far connected with Lord Dalhousie, that it is to him we shall mainly owe the boon of a separate Lieut.-Governor for Bengal. This, one of the real wants of India, or at least of that part of it where agitators can shout the loudest, instead of being prominently put forward in the memorials of Associations and Committees, was inserted at the tail of a whole string of fancied wants, or nearly buried under a mountain of imaginary grievances. It might have passed unnoticed, or have been honoured with the merited contempt assigned to so many other representations. It is known, however, as we have remarked, that the Governor-General brought to the notice of leading men at home the paramount

necessity that existed for making Bengal Proper a separate executive charge. A recommendation, coming from his clear and practised judgment, and expressed in his lucid convincing language, derived additional force from the fact, that if ever we had a Governor-General competent to the double task of presiding in the Supreme Council, and wielding the executive power of the Government in the Lower Provinces, Lord Dalhousie was the man. But the best horse may be over-tasked, and every one is now fully persuaded that the best security for reform and progress in Bengal is to entrust it to the ablest civilian that can be found.

We cannot here pass over one measure, which, although not, during the life-time of its originator, connected with the Governor-General, has yet illustrated his administration. We allude to the attempt made to educate Hindu ladies of rank and position, by the late Mr. Drinkwater Bethune. Whether this gentleman's plan was characterized by sound judgment in all its minute details, may be questioned; but no one can deny that it was commenced with great earnestness, aided by princely liberality, and prosecuted with unwearied zeal. The debased condition of the Hindu female, it is allowed, had previously attracted the attention of other philanthropists. Missionaries have never lost sight of the object. There is a Society, established by the ladies of Calcutta, with corresponding members in the Mofussil, which pursues this one aim alone. Mrs. Wilson—a name which should be as widely known in India as that of Mrs. Fry in England—had been the first in the good work, nor did she lack the co-operation of such a divine as Heber, or the aid of such a gentle and noble nature as the late Lady William Bentinck. But India had not been standing still for the last eighteen years. The foundations now laid were broader, the crisis more favourable, the scene of the experiment was perhaps on a wider sphere. Of course, the plan met with opposition, with ridicule, with covert sneers, with open censure. We were not warned, indeed, as we often have been, that the British faith is pledged to maintain in their integrity the darkest superstitions, the most bloody sacrifices, the most debasing error, the foulest pollutions, the worst crimes. The arguments on this occasion employed against the measure were often contradictory. It was useless to deal with prejudices so deeply rooted as the non-education of women, for the Shastras had declared that they must neither read nor write, and centuries of experience had confirmed this decision. It was useless for a foreigner to dictate to wealthy Hindus regarding the economy of their household, or to teach, in a public institution, what all

enlightened natives were already teaching to the members of their families in safe and virtuous retirement. Education was a grand thing for men only. Education, for women, was a grand thing, but neither the hour nor the man had yet come. Of such kinds were the strictures on Mr. Bethune's favoured plan. We may, many of us, remember the richness of illustration, and the heart-burning eloquence, with which, on a fine evening, in the commencement of the cold season of 1850, he opened the institution; and we know, too, that Mr. Bethune died in the next year, and that Lord Dalhousie has since generously supported the institution out of his own pocket, until the Court of Directors can determine regarding it. But surely that native women should become educated, refined, capable of social intercourse, ornaments of the household, and not household slaves is not more unlikely now, than some years ago it was that Kulin Brahmins should become Christians, that high-caste Hindus should cross the ocean, that native princes should proscribe Suttee. We have had of late signal instances in which natives have risen superior to the prejudices of caste; and surely, it will be a happy day for India, when its wealthy and influential gentlemen shall appreciate that indefinable charm, which the presence of a well-educated woman sheds in every household; or when at least they shall combine to abjure that false and frail philosophy, which, while it proclaims by old saws and modern instances, in popular poetry and prose, the irredeemable vileness of one of God's noblest creatures, consigns a being thus designated to some vain frivolities which can never satisfy the intellect, and to a fancied seclusion which can never guard the heart.

We have attempted to describe in this paper the political events and the legislative reforms which have characterized the present administration. We shall now say a few words about the financial measures of the same period. During the past year, it has been duly notified by the Secretary in the Financial Department, that large loans bearing interest at 5 per cent., would be paid off, if parties in possession of paper desired it, the option of converting their paper into the lower rate of 4 per cent., being tendered to them at the same time.

There now only remains one loan which pays the high rate of interest. All cash subscriptions to the 4 per cent loan have been discontinued, and a three and half per cent. loan has been opened. Thus, at a time, when men in England were denouncing the irretrievable confusion of the Company's finances, were predicting more debt from the spread of territory, and were talking about failing supplies and increasing

charges, the Government of India was quietly disproving such rash assertions by notifying its perfect readiness to pay off large loans. It is calculated that the saving to the State by the transfer of the papers, and the reduction in the rate of interest, will be about ten lakhs of rupees. Some foolish remarks have been made about this notification, as if there were any thing strange in the idea of a man's paying his just debt, or decreasing his liabilities, when he could afford to do so. But besides the above saving, we have had the falling in of the ex-Peishwa's huge pension of eight lakhs a year, and of another pension of seven lakhs a year, which had been assigned to the ex-Peishwa's opponent, for two generations. The former of these stipends had been enjoyed from 1818 to 1850. The latter from 1803 to 1853. The total amount drawn by these two royal idlers is no less than six millions sterling—sufficient to have paid off a considerable loan, or to have covered Bengal and Behar with bridges and roads. For the former pension, granted under the reprehensible extravagance of the Government of the day, we have to thank Sir John Malcolm, and for the latter burden we are indebted, we regret to say, to no less a person than the great Duke himself. Still we have here a reduction of one-quarter of a million, effected by the above savings, under three different heads, within three years. The Punjab surplus, for the next ten years, as we shewed in our Number for October last, will be nearly another quarter of a million, and if the Bombay Government only knew how to make the most of such lapses as Sattara, we might have had something thence to lessen the general burdens of the State. But the plan on which they recognise Inams and alienations of revenue in that Presidency, is something incomprehensible to us on this side of India. The Supreme Government should look to it. But it has been one of the evils of the Indian administration, that while under a refined centralization, much valuable time has been expended on masses of irrelevant and isolated facts, on detached references, which form no rule for future guidance, important points which required scrutiny, flaws which should have been repaired, and radical vices which prevailed in all departments, have managed to elude all enquiry and research. For the rest, our finances are, on the whole, in a hopeful condition. No new loan has been occasioned by the Burmese war, but on the contrary, as we have just remarked, the treasury was so full, that old loans were advertised for payment. The surplus from the Punjab will cover the expenses of this war, and Pegu may, eventually, pay. The land-revenues of Bengal and Agra are generally fixed on a firm basis, and will not fluctuate. The

returns from opium have not yet become less. The salt revenue may yet last, with a reduction of duty, if crude legislators at home are only checked in time. The public establishments are generally on a footing adequate to their various duties. The army may be reduced. If no new wars occur, we may be in a sound financial position within the next ten years. But we are well aware how many vain prophecies and hopes have been uttered on this deceptive subject.

Perhaps the best way of estimating our finances, generally, is to look at the point in our political condition, to which the statesmanship of Lord Ellenborough, the soldierly bearing of Lord Hardinge, and the comprehensive views of Lord Dalhousie, have now brought us. The chances against a rebellion in the Punjab are about twenty-five to one. Every year adds to our security, as the old Khalsa die off, as the agriculturists become attached to our rule, as the young and active become enrolled in our Irregulars. The wretched kingdom of Oude only awaits the man and the hour. The kingdom of Nagpore awaits, at the hand of Lord Dalhousie, a new ruler or the sentence of annexation. The kingdom of Nepaul, as Lord Dalhousie remarked in his celebrated Minute on Railways can be no cause for apprehension while the minister Jung Behadoor lives : and even in the event of his demise, it is well known that the artillery of the Goorkhas is contemptible, and that they literally have not cavalry sufficient to face the Irregular regiment stationed at Segowlee. The Nepaulese Durbar could not find riders to mount the horses of the Poosa stud. It is only as infantry that the Goorkhas are valuable allies or formidable opponents. The kingdom of Gwalior shows us a small army, a young prince, who hitherto has promised well, and a wise minister, Denkur Rao Raghunath, who is doing all that his own sterling talents, remarkable integrity, and high sense of honour can do, against intriguers, who thwart his best measures and undermine his wise administration. The hundred petty states of Central India, under the care of agents and residents, are rescued from debt or saved from aggression. The best districts of the Nizam are in the hands of British officers. The high-spirited Rajpoots are managed by Sir Henry Lawrence, with the same tact and talent as they were by Colonel Low. There is no sound of disaffection in Mysore, no note of rebellion at Benares : even the Moplas are tolerably quiet, and the mountaineers of the North-West Frontier have not yet sacked Mooltan. We firmly believe that India has little to fear from the *jasails* of the Affghan, the swords of the Goorkha, the bows and arrows of the Nagas, or the wild cry of the Beloochee.

The sea, our own prestige, and impassable mountains, may shield us from external invasion, unless some astounding combination of circumstances shall occur—and as regards the chances of internal warfare, we may well ask if there is anywhere a native Prince who would dare twice to meet, in open field, a British force, of 10,000 men, under the guidance of Sir John Cheape?

It would be affectation to suppress, in a paper such as this, all mention of the *personnel* of the present administration. And we may fairly conclude this paper by advertence to the peculiar characteristics of the man, and to his mode of doing business. The most prominent feature of the present Government, it will be universally admitted, is its extreme vigour. In the Government of the Punjab, in the various grand reforms of public departments, in the control and supervision of all public officers, from the Board and the Sudder, down to the humblest official in the Excise or the Preventive line, in the enforcement of a respect for law, in the wielding of the executive power, in the prosecution of material works, in necessary retrenchments, in judicious expenditure, there has been felt everywhere a firm and vigorous hand. No man ever accused Lord Dalhousie of doing anything weak. There has been no delay, beyond what was necessary to collect scattered facts, or to get at opinions which might be useful; the ground has not been gone over twice and thrice, a flaw amended here, an omission repaired there, a mistake corrected in a third place. Wherever the blow fell, on cherished abuses, or official insubordination, it fell with crushing and irresistible force. Every man has been conscious of working under the eye of a Governor, who was determined to enforce a respect for discipline, who would accept no vain excuses, and whom no sophistry could elude. Accordingly, in the two Governments which have come more directly under Lord Dalhousie's management, the Punjab and Bengal, the effects of this vigour have been conspicuous. We have heard enough of several cases in which the head of the Government has thought it incumbent on him to check an insubordinate or captious spirit by trenchant severity, and we know, too, that, in some instances, the bolt has fallen not on the humble dwelling, but on the loftiest palaces—the *ingens pinus* and the *montium culmina*. But in this we can see nothing but even justice and wise dealing. What should we think of a Governor who delivered philippics against some unlucky subaltern or some friendless deputy collector, and reserved for delinquents of high station the cautious admonition, the gentle remonstrance, and the mild rebuke? Lord Dalhousie

has spared no man who, in his opinion, failed to act up to his duty, or transgressed the bounds of official propriety, as will be acknowledged by grave Judges, ancient Brigadiers, and sedate Boards. It is rumoured that even higher personages have felt the weight of his anger, and have gladly retreated from an encounter where one party is sure to get the worst.

*Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum.*

There may be a difference of opinion as to the necessity for the strong language actually employed on some of the occasions to which we are alluding, but no man can doubt the motives by which the Governor-General has been actuated at such times. They are none other than respect for law, jealousy for the interests of the State, a desire to uphold constituted authority, and a wish to see zeal and activity not idly spent in vain altercation, but carefully contributing their quotas for the furtherance of the public service.

The amount of labour which Lord Dalhousie has got through, has probably not been surpassed by any of his predecessors, though neither Lord Ellenborough, nor the amiable Lord Auckland, ever spared themselves in this respect. The Minutes of His Lordship, their rapid succession, their variety, their pith and pointedness, have long been celebrated, not merely in official circles, but in drawing-rooms and at dinner-tables. Two ponderous Blue Books attest his diligence, and allow every man to judge of his capacity. Several of his State papers, on matters connected with the Punjab, have found their way into the *Lahore Chronicle*, and have been copied by other papers: and we have had the perusal of several others in the Calcutta dailies during the past year. Of these, the paper on plantations in the five Doabs, is remarkable for its elegance and finish: that on the public works of the Bengal Presidency criticises the failings of the unlucky Military Board, and points out the remedy for our miserably neglected roads and bridges, with a force and conclusiveness positively irresistible: and just six months ago, we saw in the Minute on Railways for all India, a convincing proof of Lord Dalhousie's signal capacity for dealing with important social questions and for supplying the real wants of an extended empire. The style of his Minutes is singularly luminous, though not perhaps always free from marks of haste. The swelling periods, the apt illustrations, at times makes us think that the writer imagined himself engaged in an attempt to rouse, by narrative, the apathy of the Upper House, or was breaking a lance with some old opponent on a question of Eastern policy. The lucid statements of facts, and the complete mastery of the details exhibited in the Minutes, are not more

striking than the liberal sentiments, the comprehensive policy, and the enlarged statesmanship, which pervade and animate the whole composition. We shall hope that Lord Dalhousie's valuable papers, some of which are little Codes on Oriental topics, may not remain accessible only to a few persons immediately connected with Government, or be buried under the huge masses of rubbish which make up so much of our records : but that at some future day "the Dalhousie State papers," revised by their noble author, may vindicate his policy, disarm his opponents, and delight his friends.

We know no Governor, except Lord William Bentinck, who has gone so much into detail, as Lord Dalhousie. He has done this generally, without trenching on the province of subordinate officers, or attempting, except occasionally, to do work which such persons must know more about. It is not to be supposed that the Governor-General can lay down rules for the settlement of a large district, for the allowances of lumberdars, or the rights of the cultivators, as well as a Thomason or a Lawrence, or that he could lecture on the complicated procedure of civil courts in Bengal, and devise means for the amelioration thereof, with the legal acuteness and the luminous precision which mark all the writings of Mr. John Peter Grant. But he has shewn a wonderful aptitude for mastering so much of the multifarious details of Indian business, as was necessary to enable him to arrive at just conclusions on any one great question ; and his sagacity, sharpened by long practice, has enabled him to pierce through the obscurity caused by Indian nomenclature, official technicalities, and strange forms. Nor is this knowledge of detail confined to mere civil duties. Lord Dalhousie has made military subjects, such as the organization of troops, and their equipments, his peculiar study. We do not mean by this that he has been prone to meddle with subjects which only professional men can deal with—on the contrary, we are certain that he would be the very last man to lecture Hannibal on the art of making war, and no one ever thought of saying of him, pretty much what was said of Lord John Russell, that he would command the *Fox* or the *Feroze* to-morrow. But in every thing that touches on the clothing, transport and housing of troops, the raising and arming of irregular levies, in all that concerns the Ordnance or the Commissariat, the efficiency or the health of the sepoy and the soldier, the Governor-General has manifested a clearness of comprehension, and a soundness of judgment, which have commanded the admiration of distinguished military officers. Several of his suggestions were found very valuable at the time



when the Irregular regiments were organized for the Punjab, after its annexation ; and it has been truly said, that in the conduct of the Burmese campaign, he has acted as his own war minister.

We shall endeavour to close this imperfect sketch of a splendid and successful Administration, by summing up the merits of Lord Dalhousie as an administrator in the East. Great sagacity in foreseeing events, and great energy and vigour in dealing with them : inflexible determination in the cause of humanity, justice, or due subordination : a happy selection of instruments to carry out purposes happily devised : no undue shrinking from responsibility : hearty devotion of time and labour to the manifold duties of his position : a high sense of honor, a love of candour and truth—these are the qualities which have characterized his six year's rule. It may be thought, that placed in a position towering above other men, with success waiting on his plans, with a will to which that of Councillors and Directors has often yielded, he has not invariably remembered how thin a partition divides firmness from obstinacy, justice from harshness, and manly independence from pride.

The “adjacent vices,” as they are termed, are often more dangerous than those most opposed to virtue. But however this may be, we are quite sure that Lord Dalhousie has tact enough to remember that the management of parties at home requires greater delicacy and lightness of touch than we are wont to see applied in the direction of the public service in this country. A Governor-General crushing Boards, and wiggling Generals without the chance of a reply, is in a different position from the member of a ministry at home. These are not the days when even what Junius termed the “imposing superiority” of Lord Chatham's talents would command the Cabinet and awe the House. But we have no fear that Lord Dalhousie will be declared “impracticable” by any party in England.

With one exception, which after all may have better results than what appears likely, complete success has hitherto attended every political or social measure originating with Lord Dalhousie. A great kingdom, on the shores of the five rivers, acknowledges him as the author of a splendid revolution, a brilliant metamorphose, a bloodless change. Vast and comprehensive reforms have been devised, prosecuted, and are now being carried out under his rule. To him the greatest state in the Deccan owes a change in its political relations with the British Government, which removes only the evil and leaves the good untouched. The wily ruler of Cashmere, to the astonishment of the Khalsa, the Bidee and the Mussulman fanatic, has

paid him personal homage. The son of the last great ruler of the Punjab has, under his very eyes as it were, renounced the religion of his fathers, for the one true faith. The productions of the Governor-General's pen have well nigh reminded some of their readers of the State papers of Canning. The clear tones of his voice have told exiles in India, that the race of English crators is not yet extinct. In the midst of war, he has quietly proclaimed to the world the solvency of the Company's Government, and he has been the first Governor who has really made a reduction in our debt. He has visited countries which other rulers had never even dreamt of visiting, and has analysed subjects which had dropped as too heavy from their hands. Annexation, postal reform, the acceleration of intercourse, the promotion of sound education, the reduction of expenditure by direct and indirect measures—he has tried his hand at most things, and has succeeded in all he has tried. The whole, too, has been accomplished before the meridian of life. It may yet be only an episode in his personal history that he was once Governor-General of India. He still wants five years of the time of life which Aristotle fixed as that of the maturity of the intellectual powers. In the period which must yet elapse before he retires from the Indian arena, he may accomplish ends, adequately to describe which, it will require more space than we have already filled. And at home it will not readily be imagined that he is to be *donatus rube*. No retirement at a country seat, no occasional appearance in the Upper House, no contentment with past triumphs, should be the lot of this perfect man of business, this experienced statesman, this successful viceroy. The knowledge which he has acquired is, moreover, of two different and opposite kinds, which may be brought to bear wonderfully on the same ends. He has known what it is to hold office in England, to receive deputations, to watch the working of factories, and to appreciate some of those hundred influences which regulate the course of public affairs at home. He has wielded the whole power of an Eastern Government, absolute but not despotic, where so much depends on the will of a single individual. Two extremes are to him equally familiar. He can tell on the one hand how, in England, great interests are to be won over, how privilege is to be reconciled with labour, how the tactics of party are to be judiciously arrayed, how the minister must seem to express the will of the nation, while acting out his own. And on the other, he can say where the State in the East should take the initiative: he knows the amount of evil which arises, both from the absence of respect

for law, and from laws perverted to mischief : he can well understand how ill-suited are representative institutions, chartered debating clubs, and Anglo-Saxon theories, to a people whose whole history is the usual dull record of rapid conquest, temporary vigour, eventual degeneracy and decay. He has acquired this double knowledge at a time when other rulers had only just begun to turn their faces to the East. In the prime of life he has been the first servant of the great Company. He may again, yet in his vigour, be amongst the foremost ministers of the crown. He may give a practical contradiction to the assertion, that exiles in the East have dropped behind the age, that English ideas and associations are opponent to their nature, that they come back amongst Englishmen of keen intellect and refined perceptions, like the mummies of Egypt, or like massive statues exhumed from the depth of some cave temple. His shining talents, his great and diversified experience, may yet find, in the bustle of English politics, or the stirring events which are agitating Europe, their appropriate employment and scope. Retaining a lively remembrance of that marvellous Indian Empire, to the growth of which scarce any historian has done justice, and adding thereto a just appreciation of the symmetry of the British constitution, which surpasses even the dreams of the wisest of Greek philosophers, Lord Dalhousie, Governor-General of India, may gracefully descend from his vantage ground to a struggle with his compeers—and whether in the ranks of the opposition, he supports measures without undue subserviency, and denounces them without personal rancour, or whether he adds the weight of his influence, his name and his talent, to some high official conclave, he may contribute hereafter, for many a day, to maintain our England in her position as the Empress of every useful art and ennobling science, as the Herald of philanthropy, as the Messenger of Truth to the farthest regions of the earth, and as the Island Queen in the great congress of the world.

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## FOREFATHERS OF MAHOMET, AND HISTORY OF MECCA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammed.* By A. Sprenger. M. D. Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sirat Wâckidi.* (Arab. MS.)
4. *Sirat Tabari.* (Arab. MS.)
5. *Sirat Hishâmî* (Arab. MS.)

IN a previous article upon the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia, we endeavoured to give a connected view of the progress of events at Mecca, from the most remote period to which our knowledge extends, down to the middle of the fifth century of our era; and about that period we left Cossai in the possession of all the important dignities of the city, both religious and political.

The social institutions of Mecca did not essentially differ from those of the wandering Bedouins. They were, to some extent, modified by the requirements of a settled habitation, and the peculiarities of the pilgrimage and local superstition; but the ultimate sanctions of society, and the springs of political movement, were in reality the same at Mecca then, (so wonderfully have they survived the corroding effects of time), as exist in the desert at the present day, and have been so graphically portrayed by the pen of Burkhardt.

It must be borne in mind that at Mecca there was not, before the establishment of Islam, any *Government* in the common sense of the term.\* No authority existed whose mandate must be put into execution. Each tribe formed a republic of opinion, and the opinion of the aggregate tribes, who chanced to be acting together, was the sovereign law; but there was not any recognized exponent of the popular will; each tribe was free to hold back from that which was clearly decreed by the rest; and no individual was more bound than his collective tribe to a compulsory conformity with the desire of the public. Honor and revenge supplied the place of a more elaborate system: the former prompted the individual, by the desire of upholding the name and influence of his clan, to a compliance with its wishes; the latter provided for the respect of private right, by the prospect of an unrelenting pursuit of the injurer. In effect the will of

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\* See remarks by Sprenger (*Life of Mohammed*, pp. 20, 23.)

the majority" did form the general rule of action for all,\* although there was a continual risk that the minority might separate, and assume an independent, if not opposing, course. The law of revenge, too, though in such a society necessary, was then, even as now, the curse of the Arabs. Blood once shed was not easily effaced: its price might be rejected by the heir, and life for life demanded. Retaliation followed retribution: the friends, the family, the clan, the confederated tribes, one by one in a widening circle, took up the claims of the sufferer, and identified them as their own; and thus an insignificant quarrel or unpremeditated blow not unfrequently involved whole tracts of country in a protracted and bloody strife. Still, in a system which provided no magisterial power to interfere with decisive authority in personal disputes, it cannot be doubted that the law of retaliation afforded a check (however defective) upon the passions of the stronger; and that acts of violence and injustice were repressed by the fear of retribution from the friends or relatives of the injured party. The benefit of the custom was further increased by the practice of *patronage* or guardianship. The weak resorted to the strong for protection; and when the word of a chief or powerful man had once pledged him to grant it, the pledge was fulfilled with chivalrous scrupulosity.

At first sight it might appear that, under this system, the chiefs possessed no shadow of authority to execute either their own wishes or those of the people. But in reality their powers, though vague and undefined, were large and effective. Their position always secured for them an important share in forming and giving expression to the public opinion, so that, excepting in rare and unusual cases, they swayed the councils and the actions of their tribes. It was chiefly by the influence gained from the local offices of the Kaaba and the pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of Mecca differed from their brethren of the desert, and exercised a more systematic and permanent rule. It is important, therefore, carefully to trace downwards the history of these offices, which Cossai, with the hope of establishing a stable government, concentrated, first in his own person, and then in that of his eldest son. The offices are commonly reckoned five in number: I. *Sicdya* and *Rifda*; the

\* We meet with few instances of *punishments* inflicted by society upon offenders before Islam. In one case a robber's hands were cut off for the theft of treasure belonging to the Kaaba: another man was exiled for ten years on suspicion of connivance at the theft. (*Tabari*, p. 73.)

exclusive privilege of supplying water and food to the pilgrims. II. *Kiyâda*; the command of the troops in war. III. *Livâ*; the standard, or right of mounting the banner, and presenting it to the standard-bearer. IV. *Hijâba*; the charge of the Kaaba. V. *Dâr al Nadiwa*; the presidency in the Hall of Council.\*

Cossai had four sons, the two most distinguished of whom are called ABD AL DÂR, and ABD MENÂF;† (the latter born about 430 A. D.) The narrative of the patriarch's last days is thus simply told by Wäckidi. In process of time Cossai became old and infirm. Abd al Dar was the oldest of his sons, but he lacked influence and power; and his brethren raised themselves up against him. Therefore Cossai made over all his offices to his first-born, saying—"Thus wilt thou retain thine authority over thy people, even though they raise themselves up against thee; let no one enter the Kaaba, unless thou hast opened it unto him; nor let any banner of the Coreish be mounted for war, but thou be the one who mountest it with thine own hands; let no man drink at Mecca, but from thy drawing; nor any pilgrim eat therein, except of thy food; and let not the Coreish resolve upon any business, but in thy Council Hall." So he gave him up the Hall of Council, and the custody of the Holy House, and the giving of drink and of food, that he might unite his brethren unto him. And Cossai died, and was buried in Al Hajûn.‡

\* See *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 6—*C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 237 et seq. Some make the *Livâ*, or Standardship, to imply the *Leadership* also; but we find these offices held separately by different persons. But supposing that they are reckoned as one, then the *Sicâya* and *Rifâda* might be regarded as distinct, to make up the five offices.

It has been already stated that Cossai did not keep in his own hands the lesser ceremonial offices of the pilgrimage, as the *Isfâda* and *Ijdâ*, or right of dismissal, and heading the procession on the tour to Arafat; but this tour was conducted under his superintendence, as he then gave the pilgrims water and food; and we read that he used to kindle a great fire at Muzdalifa, to guide the pilgrims on the night of their return thither from Arafat—"a practice," says Wäckidi, "continued up to the present day." (*Wäckidi*, p. 124)

† Cossai called two of his sons after his gods, *Abd Menâf* and *Abd al Ozza*; one after his house, *Abd al Dâr*; and one, who died young, after himself, *Abd al Cossai*. Abd Menâf was named *Al Camr* from his beauty; but it is said that his proper name was *Al Mughîra*; his mother however dedicated him to Menâf, the greatest idol at Mecca; so that name prevailed over the other. (*Tabari*, pp. 25-26.) From Abd al Ozza descended Khadij, Mahomet's first wife.

‡ This is from *Wäckidi*, p. 12.—See also *Tabari*, p. 35. *Al Hajûn* is a hill "near Mecca, which became henceforth the burial-ground of the Quorayshites, (if, indeed, it was not so before.)" (*Sprenger*, p. 26.)

Through the careful providence of his father, Abd al Dar contrived, notwithstanding his weakness, to retain at least a nominal supremacy. But he enjoyed little influence in comparison with his brother Abd Menâf, on whom the real management of public affairs devolved, and who laid out fresh quarters for the growing population of Mecca,\* Upon the death of Abd al Dar, the whole of the offices of State and Religion passed into the hands of his sons; but they all died within a few years after, and his grandsons, who then inherited the dignities of the family, (500 A. D.) were of too tender years effectually to maintain their rights.

Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menâf had grown up, and continued in possession of their father's influence. The chief of them were Al Muttalib, Hâshim, Abd Shams, and Naufal.† These conspired to seize from the descendants of Abd al Dar the hereditary offices bequeathed by Cossai. Hâshim took the lead, and grounded his claim on the superior dignity of his branch of the family. But the descendants of Abd al Dar, headed by Amir, his grandson, refused to cede any of their rights; and an open rupture ensued. The society of Mecca was equally divided by the two factions, one portion of the Coreish siding with the claimants, and the other with the actual possessors of the dignities; while but few remained neutral. Both parties swore that they would prosecute their claim, and be faithful among themselves, so long as there remained water in the sea sufficient to wet a tuft of wool. To add stringency to their oath, Hâshim and his faction filled a dish with aromatic substances, and having brought it close to the Kaaba, they thrust their hands therein as they swore, and rubbed them upon the Holy House. The

\* This seems to be the real state of the case, although the accounts differ. Thus Wâckidi says, that after Cossai's death, Abd Menâf succeeded to his position and to the Government of the Coreish; *ربا عا بعد الذي كان قصي قطع لدومه*

*و اختط بمكة* A tradition is given by Azracki, that Cossai himself divided the offices between Abd al Dâr and Abd Menâf, and allotted to the latter the giving of drink and food, and the leadership. But had it been so, then the descendants of Abd Menâf would have had no necessity to fight for those offices.

† He had six sons and six daughters. The eldest of the sons was Al Muttalib. (*Wâckidi*, pp. 13-14.) The three first mentioned in the text above were by one mother, Atika, of the Bani Cays Aylân. Naufal was by a female of the Bani Sâssâa. Wâckidi mentions a third wife. C. de Perceval makes Abd Shams the eldest son. (See also *Tubari*, p. 22.)

opposite party similarly dipped their hands into a bowl of blood.\*

The opponents now made ready for a bloody contest; and the ranks were already marshalled in sight of each other, when by an unexpected turn of events, they mutually called for a truce, upon condition that Hâshim and his party should have the offices of providing food and water for the pilgrims, and that the descendants of Abd al Dar should as hitherto retain the custody of the Kaaba, the Hall of Council, and the Bannership. Peace was restored upon these terms.†

HASHIM, (born A. D. 464, ‡) thus installed in the office of entertaining the pilgrims, fulfilled it with a princely magnificence. He was himself possessed of great riches, and many others of the Coreish had also by trading acquired much wealth. He appealed to them as his grandfather Cossai had done:—"Ye are the neighbours of God, and the keepers of his house. The pilgrims who come honoring the sanctity of his temple are his guests, and it is meet that ye should entertain

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\* Hence the former were called *المطيبين* | the "sweet scented," or "those who pledged themselves in perfumes;"—the latter, *لعقة الدم*—"the lickers of blood." (*Wâkidi*, f. 13½.)

Sprengr calls the former party the *Liberals*, the latter the *Conservatives*. But on the part of the latter there was no greater conservatism than the natural desire to retain the dignities and power they already possessed: on the part of the former there was no greater liberalism than the assertion of their pretensions to a portion of those dignities and power. The principles of both were the same. Neither had any intention of effecting a change in the religious or political system. Both recognized the patriarchal-oligarchical form of the constitution, and both would continue it, without any intention of adopting a more efficient and enlightened régime. It was a simple struggle for power on the part of two branches of the dominant family. But Sprengr's principle of a spirit of enquiry and advance towards the truth, before Mahomet's time, prepared him to recognize in the stock of Abd Menâf the seeds of liberalism, which (as it appears to us) were no more there than in the stock of Abd al Dar.

† The *Leadership* is not here specified, and the inference might thence be drawn that it followed the *Bannership*. But we know from subsequent history, that the leadership actually fell to the lot of Abd Shams, and from him was inherited in regular descent by Omeiya, Harb, and Abu Sofîân. (See *Sprengr*, p. 26, note i.) The three offices retained by the descendants of Abd al Dar remained in that line. The custody of the Kaaba was generously continued by Mahomet to the party in possession at the opening of Islam, though hitherto one of his opponents. The Hall of Council was sold by Ikrima, who had inherited it, to the Caliph Mo'awia.

who made it the House of Government *دارالامارة*,—"and so," adds Wâkidi, "it continues in the hands of the Caliphs even unto this day" (p. 13½.)

‡ This is according to C. de Perceval's calculations, which have our confidence as near approximations to fact. Sprengr places Hâshim's birth, A. D. 442. (*Vide Asiatic Journal*, No. CCXXI., p. 352.)



them above all other guests. God hath specially chosen and exalted you to this high dignity: wherefore honor his guests and refresh them: For, from distant cities, on their lean and jaded camels, they come unto you fatigued and harassed, with hair dishevelled, and bodies covered with the dust and filthiness of the long way. Invite them, then, with hospitality, and furnish them with water in abundance." Hâshim set the example by a munificent expenditure from his own resources, and the Coreish were forward to contribute, every man according to his ability. A fixed cess was also levied upon all.\* Water sufficient for the prodigious assemblage of pilgrims was collected in cisterns by the Kaaba from the wells of Mecca; and in temporary reservoirs of leather at the stations on the route to Arafat. The feeding commenced upon the day before the pilgrims started for Minâ and Arafat, and continued until the assemblage dispersed.† During this period they were entertained with pottage of meat and bread, of butter and barley, variously prepared, and with the favorite national repast of dates.‡

Thus Hâshim supported the credit of Mecca. But his name is even more renowned for the splendid charity, by which he relieved the necessities of his fellow-citizens, reduced by a long continued famine to extreme distress. § He proceeded to Syria, and purchased an immense store of bread, which he packed in panniers, and conveyed upon camels to Mecca. There the victuals were cooked for distribution; the camels were slaughtered and roasted; and the whole parted among the people. Destitution and mourning were suddenly turned

\* *Wâkidi*, pp. 13-14. The fixed cess is noted at 100 Heraclian Mitheals. Sprenger thinks that this may mean the *aureus* of Constantine, which Gibbon calculates at 11 shillings. The fixed contribution from each would thus exceed £50. The richer of the merchants may have given so much. It is certain that mercantile projects had begun to revive at Mecca, and especially among the Coreish. The profits of each expedition are stated to have generally doubled the capital stock employed. And as the ostentatious Arabs would generally expend all that they could on the occasion of the annual pilgrimage, the sum specified is not an unlikely one for the more extensive traders. But as a general and uniform cess on each person or head of a family, it appears excessive and improbable. The period alluded to, however, is early in the sixth century, and we cannot look for any great certainty of detail in such matters at that remote era.

† The day before starting is called *يوم التروية* and falls on the 8th of Dzul Hijj. The ceremonies concluded, and the multitude dispersed on the 12th of the same month.

‡ The foregoing account is chiefly from *Wâkidi*, p. 14.

§ On the liability of Mecca still to famine from long drought, see *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, p. 240.

into mirth and plenty ; and it was, (the historian adds,) "as it were the beginning of new life after the year of scarcity." \*

The foreign relations of the Coreish were managed solely by the sons of Abd Menâf. With the Roman authorities and the Ghassânide ruler, Hâshim himself concluded a treaty ; and he received from the Emperor a rescript, authorizing the Coreish to go to and fro in security.† He also gained the friendship of the inhabitants on the road, by promising to carry their goods without hire.‡ His brother Abd Shams made a treaty with the Najâshy, in pursuance of which they traded with the land of Abyssinia : his other brothers, Naufal and Al Muttalib, concluded alliances, the former with the King of Persia, who allowed them to traffic in Irâc and Fars, the latter with the Kings of Himyar, who encouraged their operations in Yemen. Thus the affairs of the Coreish prospered in every direction.§

To Hâshim is ascribed the credit of regulating the mercantile expeditions of his people, so that every winter a caravan set out regularly for Yemen and Abyssinia, while in the summer a second visited Ghazza, Ancyra, and the other Syrian marts.||

The success and the glory of Hâshim exposed him to the envy of Omeiya the son of his brother, Abd Shams. Omeiya was opulent, and he sought to expend his riches in a vain attempt to rival the splendour of his uncle's munificence.

\* *Wâkidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22 It is added by all the Mahometan historians, that this is the origin of the name *Hâshim*, i. e., he that broke up the victuals :—

هشم الثريد But the meaning of the word is more likely to be a mere coincidence, and not the origin of the name of Hâshim, which was already in existence. Thus the leading opponent of our Hâshim, in the struggle for the offices, was Amr, son of *Hâshim*, son Abd al Dar ; so that already there was a cousin styled by the same name. The Arab poets, however, delighted in the pun upon the name ; and we have fragments of poetry referring to it, handed down to us in the traditions. Hâshim's proper name is said to have been Amr.

† It is added that so often as he went to Anckira (*Ancyra*.) he was admitted into the presence of the Emperor, who honored and esteemed him ; but the legend, no doubt, originated in the desire to glorify this ancestor of the prophet. (*Wâkidi*, pp. 13-14—*Tabari*, p. 23.) The former says, that both the Caysar and the Najâshy honored and loved him.

‡ وهو الذي اخذ الحلف لقريش من قيصر لان تخلف  
 آمنة واما من على الطريق فالفهم غلي ان تحمل قريش بضايهم  
 ولا كرا علي اهل الطريق وكتب له قيصر كتابا

(*Wâkidi*, p. 14.) The meaning of this passage seems to be as we have given it in the text.

§ *Tabari*, p. 23.

|| *Wâkidi*, p. 13—*Tabari*, p. 22.

The Coreish perceived the endeavour, and turned it into ridicule. Omeiya was enraged. "*Who is Hâshim?*" said he, and he defied him to a trial of superiority.\* Hâshim would willingly have avoided a contest with one so much his inferior both in years and in dignity; but the Coreish, who loved such exhibitions, would not excuse him; so he was forced to consent, with the stipulation, however, that the vanquished party should lose fifty black-eyed camels, and be ten years exiled from Mecca. A Khozâite soothsayer was appointed umpire; and having heard the pretensions of both, pronounced Hâshim to be the victor. Then Hâshim took the fifty camels, and slaughtered them in the vale of Mecca, and fed with them all that were present. But Omeiya set out for Syria, and remained there the full period of his exile.†

Hâshim was now advanced in years, when on a mercantile trip to the north, he visited Medina with a party of Coreish. As he traded there in the *Nabathean market*,‡ he was attracted by the soft figure of a female, who from a lofty position was directing her people how to buy and sell for her. She was discreet, and withal comely; and she made a tender impression upon the heart of Hâshim. He enquired of the people whether she was married or single; and they answered that she had been married to Oheihâ, and had borne him two sons, but that he had then divorced her. The dignity of this lady, they added, was so great in her tribe, that she would not marry

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\* It is difficult to express in any language, but the Arabic, the idea conveyed by منافرة. It was a vain-glorious practice of the Arabs, in which one party challenged another, claiming to be more noble and renowned, brave and generous, than he. Each brought forward his ambitious pretensions, and the arbiter judged accordingly.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 134. - *Tabari*, p. 14. The Mahometan historians add: "This was the beginning of the enmity between Hâshim and Omeiya," meaning between the Omeiyads and Abbassides. To give a mysterious and a sort of predestined appearance to this conclusion, it is pretended that Hâshim and Abd Shams (Omeiya's father) were twins; that the one first born came forth with his finger adhering to the forehead of his fellow; and that on being severed, blood flowed from the wound. The soothsayers were consulted, and declared that there would be bloodshed between them or their descendants. (*Tabari*, p. 23.) Wâkidi does not give this legend. It is an evident Abbasside fable. The envy of Omeiya, and the rivalry between the branches of Hâshim and Abd Shams, need no such recondite explanation. They were the natural result of the retention of power and office by one of two collateral lines. The Hâshimites had the chief dignities of giving food and drink to the pilgrims. The Omeiyads possessed only the leadership in battle. What more natural, than that the latter should envy the former?

‡ That one of the marts at Medina should have been then currently called by this name, is proof that the Nabatheans long before had extensive mercantile dealings so far south as Medina.

any one, unless it were stipulated that she should remain mistress of her own concerns, and have the power of divorce if she disliked her husband. This was Salma, the daughter of Amr, a Khazrajite of the Bani Najjâr.\*

So Hâshim demanded her in marriage; and she consented, for she was well aware of his nobility and renown. And he married her; and made a great feast to the Coreish, of whom forty were present with the caravan: he also invited some of the Khazrajites. After a few days' rest, the caravan proceeded onwards to Syria; and on its return, Hâshim carried his bride with him to Mecca. As the days of her pregnancy advanced, she retired to her father's house at Medina, and there (A. D. 497) brought forth a son, who, from the white hair which covered his infantile head, was called *Shîba* al Hamd. Not long after, Hâshim made another expedition to the north, and while at Gezsa (*Gaza*), he sickened and died. The event occurred early in the sixth century of our era.†

\* We have already made mention of Obeïda as one of the leaders of Medina, and also of Salma, in a former article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia."

† *Wâkidi*, p. 14—*Tabari*, p. 15. The account of the latter varies somewhat from Wâkidi. Tabari makes Hâshim, on his visit to Medina, to abide in the house of Amr, Salma's father, where he saw and fell in love with the comely widow. She made the stipulation that she was not to bring forth a child except in her father's house. Hâshim, after contracting the alliance, proceeded on his journey to Syria, and the marriage was not consummated till his return, when he carried Salma to Mecca. These facts, and the birth of Shêba at Medina, are not mentioned by Wâkidi.

Hâshim's death could not have occurred very immediately after the birth of Shêba, as he is said to have had another child by Salma, a daughter called Ruckeyyâ, who died in infancy; but it is possible she may have been born before Shêba. Hâshim has also another daughter of the same name by another wife; he appears to have had in all five wives, by whom four sons and five daughters were born to him. (*Wâkidi ibidem*.) But the only child of any note was Shêba or Abd al Muttalib.

Hâshim was probably between fifty and sixty when he died. Sprenger has satisfactorily shown that the absurd tradition of his being at death only twenty or twenty-five years old, originated in a corrupt copy of a tradition in Wâkidi, where it is stated that *Abu Ruhm*, who carried back the property left by Hâshim at Gaza to his family at Mecca, was then only twenty years old.

Sprenger, however, seems to be wrong in attributing the name of Shêba to Hâshim's being grey-headed when Salma bore him a son. The view taken in the text is that of native authority, and is besides the most natural.

C. de Perceval considers that Hâshim died A. D. 510, and supposes Shêba to have been then thirteen years old (having been born A. D. 497.) But Tabari makes the lad only seven or eight years of age, when some time later, he quitted Median (p. 15.) Hâshim may therefore have died earlier.

We follow C. de Perceval in placing Shêba's (Abd al Muttalib's) birth in 497 A. D. He died aged eighty-two, in 579 A. D. Sprenger, by lunar years brings the calculation of his birth to 500 A. D., but we prefer the luni-solar system of C. de Perceval.

Hâshim left his dignities to his elder brother, Al Muttalib,\* who conducted the entertainment of the pilgrims in so splendid a style, as to deserve the epithet *Al Faidh*, "the munificent." Meanwhile his little nephew, Shêba, was growing up, under the care of his widowed mother, at Medina. Several years after his brother's death, Al Muttalib chanced to meet a traveller from Medina, who described, in glowing terms, the noble bearing of the young Meccan. Al Muttalib's heart smote him, because he had so long left his brother's son in that distant locality, and he set out forthwith to bring him to Mecca. Arrived at Medina, he enquired for the lad, and found him practising archery among the boys of the city. He knew him at once from his likeness to his father: he embraced and wept over him and clothed him in a suit of Yemen raiment. His mother then sent to invite him to her house, but he refused to untie a knot of his camel's accoutrements, until he had carried off the lad to Mecca. Salma was taken by surprise at the proposal, and was passionate in her grief; but Al Muttalib reasoned with her, and explained the advantages which her son was losing by his absence from his father's house. Salma seeing him determined, at last relented; and thus, after Al Muttalib had sojourned with her three days, he set out for home with his nephew. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day; and as the inhabitants from their houses saw him return with a lad by his side, they concluded it was a slave he had purchased, and they exclaimed, *Abd Al Muttalib!*—"Lo, the servant of Al Muttalib!" "Out upon you," said he; "it is my nephew, Shêba, the son of Amr (Hashim.)" And as each scrutinized the features of the boy, they swore—"By my life! it is the very same."

In this incident is said to have originated the name of ABD AL MUTTALIB, by which the son of Hâshim was ever after called.†

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\* Al Muttalib and Hâshim, and their descendants, kept together on the one hand; as did Abd Shams and Naufal, and their descendants, on the other. Each body, Wâkidi adds, acted in all their proceedings "as one hand."

† Wâkidi, *pp.* 14-15—*Tabari*, *pp.* 15-17. The accounts vary considerably. The former makes Thâbit, father of the Poet Hassân, to give the tidings of his nephew to Al Muttalib: the latter, makes a Meccan of the Bani al Hârith to do so. Tabari also varies (*p.* 16) in representing Al Muttalib as carrying off his nephew clandestinely, and thus omits the interview with his mother; but at page 17 he gives another account more like Wâkidi's. He also makes Al Muttalib at first represent his nephew at Mecca to be *really* his slave, and then surprise the Coreish by leading him about the streets of Mecca well dressed, and proclaiming that he was Hashim's son. There seems some reason to doubt this origin, or Abd al Muttalib's name: however, as it is universally received by Mahometan

Al Muttalib proceeded in due time to instal his nephew in the possession of his father's property: but Naufal, another uncle, interposed, and violently deprived him of his paternal estate. Abd al Muttalib, (who would appear now to have reached the years of discretion,) appealed to his tribe to aid him in resisting these unjust pretensions; but they declined to interfere. He then wrote to his maternal relatives at Medina, who no sooner received the intelligence, than eighty mounted men of the Bâni Najjâr with Abu Asâd at their head, started for Mecca. Abd al Muttalib went forth to meet them, and invited them to his house, but Abu Asâd refused to alight until he had called Naufal to account. He proceeded straight to the yard of the Holy House, and found him seated there among the chiefs of the Coreish. Naufal arose and welcomed the stranger; but he refused his welcome, and drawing his sword, sternly declared that he would plunge it into him, unless he forthwith reinstated the orphan in his rights. The oppressor was daunted and agreed to the concession, which was ratified by oath before the assembled Coreish.\*

Some years after, Al Muttalib died on a mercantile journey to Yemen; † and then Abd al Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But for a long time he was devoid of power and influence; and having but one son to assist him

writers, we have thought it as well to adopt it in the text. There is a good deal of fragmentary poetry on the subject. The following lines describe Al Muttalib's emotion when he recognized his nephew at Medina:—

- عرفت شيبه والنجا رقد † حلفت ابنا وها حوله بالنبيل تدنصل  
عرفت اجداده مناشي—مته ففاض منى عليه و ابل س—يل

Wâkidi p. 140.

See *Tabari*, pp. 17—21. These incidents are not given by Wâkidi; and there is ground for suspecting at the least exaggeration in them, arising from the Abbasside desire of casting disrepute upon the Omeyyad branch. Abd al Muttalib being represented as himself asserting his rights and sending a message to his Medina relatives (which is given by *Tabari* as a poetical fragment, p. 20.) we must regard him as now grown up. But we do not see any ground for holding the rights of which he was dispossessed to be those of entertaining the pilgrims, as Sprenger supposes. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 30.) In that case we should have to consider his uncle, Al Muttalib, as dead, which from the narrative does not appear likely. They whole story, however, may be regarded, for the reason specified above, with some degree of doubt.

† Tradition states that Hâshim was the first of Abd Menâf's sons who died; then Abd Shams, at Mecca, where he was buried, at Ajyâd; then Al Muttalib as above; and lastly, Naufal at Salmân in Irâc. (See *Tabari*, p. 25)

\* Var read. حومت

in the assertion of his claims, he found it difficult to cope with the opposing faction of the Coriesh. It was during this period that he discovered the ancient well of Zamzam. Finding it irksome to procure water from the scattered wells of Mecca, and store it in cisterns by the Kaaba, and perhaps aware by tradition of the existence of a well in the vicinity, he made diligent search, and at last came upon the circle of its venerable masonry.\* It was a remnant of the palmy days of Mecca, when an unfailing stream of commerce flowed through it: centuries had elapsed since the trade had ceased, and with it followed the desertion of Mecca, and the neglect of the well. It became choked either by accident or design, and the remembrance of it was now so uncertain, that its very position was unknown. Mecca had again arisen to a comparatively prosperous state, and the discovery of the ancient well was an auspicious token of increasing advancement.

As Abd al Muttalib, aided by his son, Harith, dug deeper and deeper, he came upon two golden gazelles, with some swords and suits of armour. The rest of the Coriesh envied these treasures, and demanded a share in them: they asserted also their right to the well itself, which they declared had been possessed by their common ancestor Ismael. Abd al Muttalib was not powerful enough to resist this oppressive claim: but he agreed to refer their several pretensions to the decision of the arrows of HOBAL, the god whose image was within the Kaaba.† Lots were therefore cast for the the Kaaba and for the respective claimants: the gazelles fell to the share of the Kaaba, and the swords and suits of armour to Abd al Muttalib, while the

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\* *Hishāmi*, p. 21—*Wāckidi*, p. 15. The event is encircled by a halo of miraculous associations. Abd al Muttalib receives in a vision the heavenly behest to dig for the well, couched in enigmatical phrases, which after being several times repeated, he at last apprehends. The Coriesh assemble to watch his labours; his pick-axe strikes upon the ancient masonry, and he utters a loud *Takbir* (Allāhu Akbar—Great is the Lord!) The Coriesh then insist on being associated with him in the possession of the well. Abd al Muttalib resists the claim, which they agree to refer to a female soothsayer in the highlands of Syria. On their journey thither, their water is expended in a wild desert, where no springs are to be found. They prepare to dig graves for themselves and await death, when lo! the camel of Abd al Muttalib strikes her hoof on the ground, and a fountain straightway gushes forth. The Coriesh, with a flood of thanks giving, acknowledge that God has by this miracle shown that the well Zamzam belonged solely to Abd al Muttalib, and all return to Mecca. The dispute about the gazelles and other property is represented as following the above incident. After an absurd story of this sort, what reliance is to be placed on Wāckidi's judgment or common sense? Sprenger has rightly thrown the whole of these fables into his legendary chapter. (*Life of Mohammed*, p. 58.)

† The image of Hobal was over the well or sink within the Kaaba. In this sink were preserved the offerings and other treasures of the Temple. (*Tabari*, p. 6.)

arrows of the Coreish were blank.\* The latter acquiesced in the divine decision, and relinquished their pretensions to the well. Abd al Muttalib beat out the gazelles into plates of gold, and fixed them by way of ornament to the door of the Kaaba.† He hung up the swords before the door as a protection to the treasures within; but at the same time added a more effectual guard in the shape of a lock and key, which (they say) were made of gold.

The plentiful flow of fresh water, soon apparent in the well Zamzam, was a great triumph to Abd al Muttalib. All other wells in Mecca were deserted for supplies to quench thirst, and this alone resorted to.‡ From it alone he carried water for the

\* Wäckidi is the only authority who states the number of the weapons, viz., seven swords, and five suits of armour (p. 15.) The story of their being cast here by Modhiâl, the last Jorhomite king, has been related in a former Article—"Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia." In casting the lots on this occasion, six arrows were used; two yellow for the Kaaba; two black for Abd al Muttalib; and two white for the Coreish. (*Ihshâm*, p. 23.) The mode of casting the arrows is described by Tabari (pp. 6-7) and by C. de Perceval (*Essai*, Vol. I., pp. 261-265.) There were fixed responses written upon the several arrows, from which some sort of oracle could be gathered in any matter, domestic, social, or political:—either in digging for water, circumcising a lad, fixing his paternity, taking a wife, going to war, concluding a treaty, &c., &c.

† These were soon after stolen by three Coreishites, but recovered. (*Wäckidi*, p. 154.) Tabari (p. 73) gives an account of a sacrilegious theft, which we understand to be this one. On account of it, the supposed offender had his hands cut off, and one of the Coreish was expatriated for ten years.

‡ See note at page 50 of the Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," in No. XXXIX. of this *Review*. Burkhart is there quoted as stating that the water of Zamzam is "perfectly sweet, and differs very much from that of the brackish wells dispersed over the town." The names of some of these other wells, and their diggers, are mentioned by C. de Perceval (Vol. I., p. 262.) The statement of Ali Bey somewhat differs. He makes the water to be "a little brackish and heavy, but drinkable;" and he says that the wells in the city are of the same depth, and their "water of the same temperature, taste, and clearness, as that of Zamzam." He therefore believes them all to originate in "one sheet," supplied by the filtration of rain water. But his testimony is mingled with some degree of religious fervour. The city wells, he says, "spring from the same source as the water of Zamzam; they have the same virtue in drawing down the divine favour and blessing as the miraculous well. God be praised for it!" (Vol. II., p. 98.) We prefer the calm and impartial testimony of Burkhart. In another part of his work, the latter repeats, that excepting Zamzam, the well-water throughout Mecca "is so brackish, that it is used only for culinary purposes;" and he adds, that even the fresh water of Zamzam "is heavy to the taste and impedes digestion." (*Travels*, p. 106.) Elsewhere he says:—"It seems probable that the town of Mecca owes its origin to this well; for many miles round, no sweet water is found, nor is there, in any part of the country, so copious a supply." (*Ibid*, p. 145.) But as the whole of Mecca cannot be supplied from this well, a stream of good water is now brought by a conduit from the hills about Arafat. This, however, is often out of repair, and then "during the pilgrimage sweet water becomes an absolute scarcity; a small skin of water (two of which a person may carry), being then often sold for one shilling—a very high price among Arabs." (*Ibid*, p. 107.) This proves that all the other wells, but Zamzam, must be unfit for drinking.



pilgrims to Arafat and Minâ; and it soon acquired the renown of sacredness in connection with the rites of the Kaaba. The fame and influence of Abd al Muttalib now began to wax greater and greater; a large family of powerful sons added to his dignity; and at last he became, and continued to his death, the virtual chief of Mecca.\*

But during his early troubles, while supported by his only son, Harith, he had experienced such weakness and inferiority in contending with the large and influential families of his opponents, as led him to vow, that if Providence should ever grant him ten sons, he would devote one of them to the Deity. Years rolled on, and the rash father at last found himself surrounded by the longed-for number, the sight of whom daily reminded him of his vow. He bade his sons accompany him to the Kaaba: each was made to write his name upon a lot, and the lots were made over to the intendant of the temple, who cast them in the usual mode. The fatal arrow fell upon ABDALLAH, the youngest and the best beloved of Abd al Muttalib's sons. The vow devoting him to the Deity must needs be kept, but how else shall it be fulfilled than by the use of the sacrificial knife? His daughters wept and clung around the fond father, who was willingly persuaded to cast lots between Abdallah and a ransom of ten camels, the current fine for the blood of a man. If the Deity should accept the ransom, what scruple need the father feel in sparing his son? But the lot a second time fell upon Abdallah: again, and with equal fortune, it was cast between him and twenty camels. At each successive cast, as Abd al Muttalib added ten camels to the stake, the Deity appeared inexorably to refuse the vicarious offering, and require the blood of the son. But at the tenth throw, when the ransom had now reached 100 camels, the lot fell upon them. The father joyfully released Abdallah from his impending fate; and taking the camels, he slaughtered them between Safa and Marwa. The inhabitants of Mecca feasted upon them; and the residue was left to the beasts and to the birds: for Abd al Muttalib's family refused to taste of them. It was this Abdallah who became the father of the prophet.†

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\* Sprenger, however, considers that the Omeiad family had the pre-eminence. "It is certain that Harb, and after him Abu Sofân, surpassed the family of Hâshim in wealth and influence, and that they were the chiefs of Mecca" (p. 31.) Notwithstanding Sprenger's great authority, we believe Abd al Muttalib to have been the virtual chief of Mecca; after his death, there was a dead uniformity among the several families, and no real chief or first man.

† The above account is from *Wâkiki*, p. 16. See also a paper in the *Zeitschrift Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, VII. I. p. 34. Abd al Muttalib had six daughters, and it was one of them who made the proposal to cast lots for the camels.

The prosperity and fame of Abd al Muttalib attracted the envy of the rival branch of Omeya, whose son Harb challenged him to a trial of their respective merits. The Abyssinian king having declined to be the umpire, the judgment was committed to a Coreishite, who declared that Abd al Muttalib was in every respect the superior. Harb was deeply mortified, and

Wäckidi, however, gives another account, which is that commonly received. (*Conf. Hishâmî, p. 24—Tabari, pp. 6-11—C. de Perceval, vol. I. pp. 264-267—Weil, p. 8.*) According to this version, the Coreish held back Abd al Muttalib just as he was about to plunge the knife into his son, and offered to give a ransom, but he would not listen; and they at last persuaded him to refer the matter to a divineress at Kheibar, who indicated the plan of ransom described in the text. Whatever may have been the facts of the case, they have been greatly over-coloured and distorted by tradition, so much so, that Sprenger has placed the entire incident in his legendary chapter (p. 56.) But we believe the story to be founded on real facts. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine an adequate motive for the entire invention of such a tale, because the Mahometans regard the vow as a sinful one, the illegality of which rendered it null and void. (*Tabari, p. 5.*) No doubt they afterwards dressed the incident in exaggerated and meretricious colors, and pretended a resemblance between it and Abraham's intended sacrifice of Ismael; and thus they make Mahomet to say that he was "the son of two sacrifices!"—

ابن ذئبىكى But (had there been *no* facts to found the story on) the desire to establish such an analogy would have led to a very different fiction; for Abraham was *commanded* to offer up his son, and the Mahometans believe he acted piously in obeying; whereas they hold Abd al Muttalib to be wrong both in the vow, and in his attempt to fulfil it.

We must doubt whether the vow was really to *immolate* a son, and whether there was eve: any attempt to put a sacrifice of human life into execution. We believe that human sacrifices to the Deity were unknown in Mecca. The truth we suppose to be, that Abd al Muttalib vowed he would *devote* a son to Hobal

*Nadzar*, راند would probably be the word employed; and the idea of a son devoted to the service of God might have become known among the Arabs from its currency among the Jews. But the custom, however natural to the Judaical system, would not mould itself to the mongrel and idolatrous creed of the Kaaba. How was the devotion of a son to the service of God to be carried out at Mecca? The question was referred to the idol, who simply chose one of the sons. In this difficulty, recourse may have been had to a divineress. But the warm imagination of the tradition-ists has conjured up a theatrical appeal to the sacrificial knife, which we believe never existed.

The sacrifice of human beings in Arabia was only *incidental*, and in the case of violent and cruel tyrants, where it is alleged to have been done *uniformly and on principle*, the authority seems doubtful. Of the former class, are the immolation of a Ghassanide Prince to Venus by Mundzir, king of Ilira (*C. de Perceval, Vol. II. p. 101—Article on the "Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia," p. 28. note 4*); and the yearly sacrifice by the same prince on his "evil day," in expiation of the murder of two friends, (*Ibid, p. 104, et seq.—Pococke's Spec. History of Arabia, p. 73.*) Of the second description is the uncertain tale of one *Naaman* sacrificing, with his own hand, men to his deities (*Evagrius vi. 21—Pococke's Specimen, p. 87*); and the story of Porphyry that at Dumaetha (Dumat al Jandal?) κατ' ἐρος εκαστον παῖδα ἐθύον. See two notes of Gibbon on this subject (Chap. L.) He appears to believe in the practice of human sacrifice in Arabia (as it seems to us, however, on insufficient grounds); but with philosophical discrimination he adds: "the danger and escape of Abdullah is a tradition rather than a fact."

abandoned the society of his rival, whose companion he had previously been \*

Abd al Muttalib gained an important increase of stability to his party, by concluding a defensive league with the Khozâite inhabitants of Mecca. They came to him and represented, that as their quarters adjoined the advantages of such a treaty would be great for both parties. These advantages Abd al Muttalib was not slow in perceiving. With ten of his adherents he repaired to the Kaaba, where they met the Khozâites and mutually pledged their faith. The league was then reduced to writing, and hung up in the Holy House. None of the descendants of Abd Shams or Naufal were present, or indeed knew anything of the transaction until it was thus published.† The combination was permanent, and, in after times, proved of essential service to Mahomet.

In the year 570 A. D., or about eight years before the death of Abd al Muttalib, occurred the memorable invasion of Mecca by Abraha, the Abyssinian viceroy of Yemen.‡ It has been already related how the despoil done to the cathedral of Abraha made him resolve to attack Mecca and raze its temple to the ground. He set out with a considerable army—in its train was led an elephant, a circumstance so singular and remarkable, that the commander, his host, the invasion, and the year, are to this day denominated as those “of the Elephant.”§ A prince of the old Himyar stock, with

\* *Wâckidi*, p. 16—*Tâbari*, p. 25—*Sprenger*, p. 31. Nofail was of the stock of the Bani Adi, and an ancestor of Omar. The story much resembles that of Hâshim's contest with Omeiya, and one is half tempted to think it may be a spurious reproduction of it, the more strongly to illustrate the enmity of the two branches; but the suspicion is not sufficiently great to deprive the narrative of a place in our text. When Harb gave up the society of Abd al Muttalib, “he took to that of Abdallâh ibn Jodâân of the branch of Taym, son of Murra.”

Another contest of a somewhat similar nature is related between Abd al Muttalib and a chief of Tâif, on account of a spring of water claimed by the former. An Oulzarite soothsayer, in the south of Syria, decided in favor of Abd al Muttalib; but the story is accompanied by several marvellous and suspicious incidents. Thus, on the journey northwards, a fountain of water gushed from a spot struck by the heel of Abd al Muttalib's camel—an evident reproduction of the legend of Abd al Muttalib's similar journey to adjudicate the claims of the Coreish against him.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 15‡—*Sprenger*, p. 31. There were present seven of the immediate family of Abd al Muttalib, Arcam, and two other grandsons of Hâshim.

‡ The authorities are *Wâckidi*, pp. 16‡-17, and *Hishâmi*, pp. 15—19. C. de Perceval has given the circumstances of this expedition in more detail than the character of the traditions warrant. (Vol. I. pp. 268-279.)

§ *Wâckidi* gives a tradition (p. 19) that there were thirteen elephants with the army, besides this famous one called Mahmûd; and that the latter was the only one that escaped death from the shower of stones. But this would seem to oppose the drift of tradition generally on the subject. *Wâckidi* adds that Abraha sent expressly for the famous elephant Mahmûd to join his expedition.

an army of Arab adherents, was the first to oppose the advance of the Abyssinian. He was defeated, but his life was spared, and he followed the camp as a prisoner. Arrived at the northern limits of Yemen, Abraha was attacked by the Bani Khuthâm (descendants of Modhar), under the command of Nofail; but he too was discomfited, and escaped death on condition of guiding the Abyssinian army. Thence the conqueror proceeded to Tâif, three days' march from Mecca; but the Bani Thackîf, its inhabitants, deputed men to say that they had no concern with the Kaaba which he had come to destroy, and that so far from opposing the project of Abraha, they would furnish him with a guide.\* For this purpose they sent him a man called Abu Rughâl, and the viceroy moved onwards. At Mughammis, between Tâif and Mecca, Abu Rughâl died; and centuries afterwards, the Meccans marked their abhorrence of the traitor by casting stones at his tomb as they passed.

From Mughammis, Abraha sent forward an Abyssinian with a body of troops to scour the Tehâma, and carry off what cattle they could find. They were successful in the raid, and among the plunder, secured 200 camels belonging to Abd al Muttalib. An embassy was then despatched to the inhabitants of Mecca:—"Abraha" (such was the message) had no desire "to do them injury; his only object was to demolish the Kaaba: "that performed, he would retire without shedding the blood of "any one." The Meccans had already resolved, that it would be vain to oppose the invader by force of arms; but to the destruction of the Kaaba, they refused to give their assent. The embassy, therefore, prevailed on Abd al Muttalib and the chieftains of some of the other Meccan tribes† to return, repair to the Viceroy's camp, and there plead their cause. There Abd al Muttalib was treated with distinguished honor. To gain him over, Abraha restored his plundered camels, but obtained for him no satisfactory answer regarding the Kaaba‡

\* They had a goddess, *Iat*, of their own, which they honored nearly in the same way as the Meccans did that at the Kaaba. (*Hishami*, p. 16.)

† Of these the chiefs of the Bani Bakr and Hodzeil are mentioned. The Bani Bakr here mentioned are not the tribe collateral with the Taghlibites, but the stock descended from Bakr, son of Abd Monât, son of Kinana, and nearly allied to the Coreish.

‡ He is said to have descended from his masnad and seated himself by Abd al Muttalib. But many of these details were probably invented by the traditionist to glorify the grandfather of the prophet. Abraha is said to have asked him what favour he could do him: Abd al Muttalib replied, to restore to him his camels. The Viceroy was mortified. "I looked upon you," said he, "at first with admiration; but now you ask as a favour the return of your own property, and make no solicitation regarding the Holy House, which constitutes your glory, and is the pillar of your own religion and that of your forefathers." Abd al Muttalib answered:—"Of the camels I am myself the master, and therefore I asked for them: as for the Kaaba, another is its master, who will surely defend it, and to him I leave its defence." The speech of Abraha is convenient as affording

The chiefs who accompanied him, offered a third of the wealth of the Tehâma, if he would desist from his designs against their temple, but he refused. The negotiation was broken off, and the chieftains returned to Mecca. By Abd al Muttalib's advice, the people made preparations for retiring in a body to the hills and defiles in the vicinity, which they did the day before the expected attack. As Abd al Muttalib leant upon the ring of the door of the Kaaba, he is said to have prayed to God aloud, that he would defend his own house, and not suffer the cross to triumph over the Kaaba. This done, he relaxed his hold, and betaking himself to the neighbouring heights, watched what the end might be.\*

Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had shewn itself in the Viceroy's camp. It broke out with deadly pustules and frightful blains, and was probably an aggravated form of small-pox. In confusion and dismay the army commenced its retreat. Their guides abandoned them, and it is pretended that the wrath of Heaven further manifested itself in a flood which swept off multitudes into the sea. But the pestilence alone is a cause quite adequate to the effect produced.† No one, they say, smitten by it, ever recovered; and

an occasion for Abd al Muttalib's prophetic defiance; but it is not the speech of a Prince who came to destroy the Kaaba, and whose object would be to depreciate and not to extol it. We regard the conversation as fabricated. It is enough in this narrative to admit the main events, without holding to the details of every speech and conversation, as the effort throughout is patent to magnify Abd al Muttalib, Mecca, and the Kaaba.

Some accounts represent Abd al Muttalib as gaining admittance to Abrahâ through Dzû Nafas, the Himyar prisoner noticed above, whose friendship he had formed in his mercantile expeditions to Yemen. (See *C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 241.) It was on one of these expeditions that Abd al Muttalib is said to have learnt in Yemen to dye his hair black: the people of Mecca were delighted with his appearance, and the custom was thus introduced there. (*Wâkidi*, p. 15½ *Spengler*, p. 86.) Wâkidi represents Abd al Muttalib as withdrawing from Mecca, on Abrahâ's approach to Hira, (afterwards Mahomet's sacred retreat;) and from thence letting loose his zoo recovered camel, as devoted to the Deity, in the hope that some one of the enemy might injure them in the Tehâma, and the Deity be thereby prompted to revenge the insult upon the enemy's army.

\* No doubt these events, too, are highly colored by legendary growth, or traditional fiction, in order to cast a mysterious and supernatural air over the retreat of Abrahâ.

† No one appears to have pursued the retreating army. They sought Nofail to guide them back; but in the confusion he escaped to one of the surrounding heights, whence, it is pretended, he devided the fugitives in these words—

\* **ابن المفر والاله الطالب \* والاشرم المغلوب ليس العالب**

"Whither away, do ye flee, and no one pursuing! Al Ashram (Abrahâ) is the vanquished one, not the vanquisher." (*Hishâmî*, p. 18.)

A contemporary poet, a Coreishite, named Abdulla, son of Zibara, estimates the killed at 60,000, in these exaggerated verses.

**ستون الفالم يو وبوا ارضهم \* بل لم يعيش بعد الاياب سقيما**

*C. de Perceval*, Vol. p. I. 280.

Abraha himself, a mass of malignant and putrid sores, died miserably on his return to Sanâ.\*

The unexpected disappointment of the hostile designs and grand preparations of Abraha increased the reverence with

\* His body was covered with pustules, and as they dropped off, matter flowed forth, followed by blood: "he became like an unfledged bird; and did not die until his heart separated from his chest." (*Hishâmi*, p. 18.) This is no doubt overdrawn.

The accounts of Wâckidi and Hishâmi leave no room to question the nature of the disease as having been a pestilential form of small-pox. Wâckidi, after describing the calamity in the fanciful style of the Coran, adds—

فكان ذاك اول ما كان الجذري والحصبة والاشجار المرة

"And that was the first beginning of the small-pox, and the pustular disease, and a kind of bitter trees" (p. 17.) Similarly Hishâmi, ان اول ما رايت الحصبة

والجذري بارض العرب ذاك العام وانه اول ما راى مرابر الشجر والجرمل والحنظل والعثر The word الحصبة signifies likewise small stones,

and the name as applied to the small-pox is probably derived from the gravelly appearance and feeling of the hard pustules: (such a feeling is believed to be common at some stages of the disease, so much so that the patient on setting his foot to the ground, feels as if he were standing on gravel.) The name, coupled with this derivation, without doubt, gave rise to the poetical description of the event in the Coran:—"Hast thou not seen how thy Lord dealt with the army of the Elephant? Did he not cause their stratagem to miscarry? And he sent against them flocks of little birds, which cast upon them small clay stones, and made them like unto the stubble of which the cattle have eaten." (*Sura CV.*—See No. XXXVII of this Review, p. 61.—*Canon iii.* B.) This passage, as Gibbon well says, is "the seed" of the marvellous details given regarding Abraha's defeat.

Hishâmi describes the stones showered upon the enemy as being like grains of corn and pulse امثال الحمص والعدس (p. 18); and it is remarkable that the latter expression signifies also a species of deadly pustule. It would seem that not all who were struck (or sickened) died; for Ayesha says that she saw at Mecca the *mahout* and the driver of the elephant, وقايد الفيل وسائيسه both blind, and sitting, begging food of the people. (*Hishâmi*, p. 19.) The story is the more likely: for blindness is a very common effect of small-pox.

The other miraculous part of the story is, that when the army was about to advance upon Mecca, Nofail, the Khuthamite guide, whispered in its ear: it forthwith sat down, and no persuasion or compulsion would induce it to stir a step towards Mecca, while it would readily proceed in every other direction. The germ of this story lies in a saying of Mahomet's at Hodeibia. His camel sat down there fatigued; and as the place was at such a convenient distance from Mecca, as to prevent a collision between the Meccans and his army, Mahomet took advantage of the circumstance and said:—"Nay! Al Cuswa (that was his camel's name)\* is not worn out; but he that restrained the elephant from advancing upon Mecca, the same hath held her back also." (*Wâckidi*, p. 118;—*Hishâmi*, p. 321.) Hence the traditionists invented a variety of stories illustrative of the manner in which God was supposed to have "held back the elephant." Yet Mahomet's meaning seems to have been simply metaphorical:—"He who by his providence restrained the elephant, or the possessor of the elephant, from advancing upon Mecca, the same," &c. It is possible that the fable of the elephant's unwillingness to move against Mecca may have been current in Mahomet's time; but it is incomparably more likely to have been the fiction of the traditionists, grounded on the saying of Mahomet alluded to.

which the Arab tribes regarded the Coreish and the other inhabitants of Mecca. These became vain-glorious, and sought to mark their superiority over all others by special duties and exemptions. "Let us," said they, "release ourselves from "some of the observances imposed upon the common mass ; "and forbid ourselves some of the things which to them are "lawful." Thus (say the Arab historians) they gave up the yearly pilgrimage to Arafat, and the ceremonial return therefrom, although they still acknowledged those acts to be an essential part of the religion of Abraham, and binding upon all others : they also denied themselves the use of cheese and butter, while in the pilgrim-state, and abandoning tents of camels' hair, restricted themselves to leather ones. Upon pilgrims who came from beyond the sacred limits (*haram*), they imposed new rules for their own aggrandisement. Such visitors, whether they came for the great or the little pilgrimage, were to eat no food brought with them from without the sacred boundary ; and they were forbidden to perform the ceremonial circuits of the Kaaba, unless naked, or clothed in vestments provided by the Meccans alone, who formed the league.\* This association, called the *Homs*, included the Coreish, a collateral branch, the Bani Kanâna, and the Khozâites. To them the privileges of the league were restricted. All others were subjected to the dependence on them, involved in the solicitation of food and raiment.†

There appears to be some doubt as to the period when these innovations were introduced ; ‡ but under any circumstances

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\* If persons of rank came as pilgrims, and no Meccan garments were available, they were permitted to go through the ceremony in their own vestments ; but they were to cast them off immediately after, and never again to use them.

The common pilgrims, who could not get clothes, made the circuits of the Kaaba entirely naked : the women with only a single loose shift.

† The word *Homs*, says Wäckidi, refers to something *new* added to a religion, (p. 124.) Its etymological derivation seems to be the bringing into play a *fresh stringency* in the pilgrim ceremonial. Sprenger gives its meaning as the "alliance of certain tribes by religion" (p. 36.) This was no doubt an incidental feature of the imposition of the new practices, though it would not appear to be the main and original idea.

‡ Hishâmi says, "I know not whether the Coreish introduced the innovation before or after the attack of Abrahâ" (p. 43.) Wäckidi places his account of the *Homs* league, under the chapter of Cossai, but he does not say that it was introduced in his time : he mentions the practice *incidentally*, and rather in connection with the meaning of the word "Coreish," and as showing that they formed a portion of the league : hence no chronological deduction can be surely drawn from the position of the narrative, such parenthetical episodes being often introduced, thus irregularly in the Arab histories. Sprenger does not therefore go upon certain ground when he quotes Wäckidi, as assigning the beginning of the custom to the era of the Cossai (p. 36, note i.) He supposes that the *Homs* practices being then introduced, were again *revived* in the year of the Elephant ; but the supposition appears to us unnecessary.

they give proof that the Meccan superstition was active and vigorous, and that its directors possessed over the Arabs a prodigious influence.\* The practices then begun were superseded only by Islam; and (adopting the latest date of their introduction) they must have continued in force above half a century. The reverence for the Meccan system, which suffered the imposition of such oppressive customs, must needs have been grossly superstitious, as well as universally prevalent. But the effect of the new practices themselves may perhaps have been adverse to the Meccan system. If the pilgrimage were really of divine appointment, what human authority could grant a dispensation to relax any part of its observances; and in a country where the decent morals of Christianity and Judaism were known and respected, what could be gained by the outrage of society in causing the female sex to perform a public ceremony in an insufficient dress, and the men entirely naked? Here were fair points for the reformer to take exception at, and they would avail either for the denunciation of the entire superstition, or for insisting upon a return to the practices of a purer and more scrupulous age.†

Let us now glance for a moment at the state of parties in Mecca, towards the latter days of Abd al Muttalib.

\* We cannot understand on what principle Sprenger regards this league as a symptom of the declining power of the Meccan superstition, a vain effort which sought "a remedy in reforming the faith of the Haram," \* \* \* "the last spark of the life of whose confederation seemed to be on the point of being extinguished" (p. 36.) To us, the facts convey a conclusion totally the reverse.

† Mahomet was not slow in availing himself of the last of these arguments. He abolished all the restrictions, as well as the relaxations of the Homs league. These practices are indirectly reprobated in Sura II., vv. 199-200 (where he enforces the necessity of the pilgrimage to Arafat,) and in Sura VII., vv. 28 and 32, (where proper apparel is enjoined, and the free use of food and water). It is said that Mahomet himself, before he assumed the prophetic office, used to perform the pilgrimage to Arafat, thus disallowing the provisions of the association.

Besides the Homs, there were other Practices, some of them with less likelihood said to be modern innovations. Such were the arbitrary rules regarding the dedication of camels as hallowed and exempt from duty, when they had come up to a certain standard of fruitfulness; involving some curious rules as to their flesh being wholly illicit, or lawful to men only in certain circumstances, to women only in others. The dedicated mother camel was called *Sâiba*, (and in some cases *Wastla*, which included goats or ewes); the eleventh, or dedicated female young one, *Baktra*; *Hdmi*, the dedicated stallion. But Ibn Ishâc and Ibn Hishâm are not agreed on the details of these customs. It is pretended that Amr Ibn Lohay (in the third century A. D.) introduced the practice; but it, no doubt, grew up long before that time, and is founded, as C. de Perceval says, in the Arab affection for the camel, and reverence for such animals as greatly added to the breed (Vol. I, pp. 225-226.—*Salé, Prel. Disc.*, pp. 151—153.—*Hishâmî*, pp. 29-30.)

Mahomet inveighed strongly against these arbitrary distinctions which God had not enjoined. (See *Sura V.*, v. 112; *Sura VI.*, v. 144; *Sura X.*, v. 59)



There had formerly been two leading factions, the descendants of Abd al Dar, and those of Abd Menâf, the two sons of Cossai. The former were originally possessed of all the public offices; but since the struggle with Hâshim, about seventy years before, when they were stripped of several important dignities, their influence had departed, and they had sunk into a subordinate and insignificant position. The offices retained by them were still undoubtedly valuable; but they were divided among separate members of the family; the benefit of combination was lost; and there was no steady and united effort to improve their advantages towards the acquisition of social influence and political power.\*

The virtual chiefship of Mecca was thus in the hands of the descendants of Abd Menâf. But amongst these, two parties had arisen: the families, to wit, of the two brothers, Hâshim and Abd Shams. The grand offices of giving of food and water to the pilgrims secured to the Hâshimites a commanding and a permanent influence, vastly increased by the able management of Hâshim, of Al Muttalib, and now of Abd al Muttalib; and the latter, like his father Hâshim, appears to have been regarded as the chief of the Meccan Sheikhs. But the Abd Shams family, with their numerous and powerful connexions, were jealous of the power of the Hâshimites, and (as we have seen) repeatedly endeavoured to humble them, or to cast a slur upon their high position. One office, that of the leadership in war, was secured by this family, and contributed much to its splendour. It was, moreover, rich and successful in merchandise, and by some is thought to have exceeded in influence and power even the Hâshimite branch.†

But the "year of the Elephant" had already given birth to a personage, destined, within half a century, to eclipse all the distinctions either of Hâshimite or Omeyyad race. To the consideration of this momentous event, we hope in a future article to recur.

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\* The custody of the Holy House, the presidency in the Hall of Council, and privilege of binding the banner on the leader's spear, offices secured to the branch of Abd al Dar, might all have been turned to important account, if the advice of their ancestor Cossai had been followed. But division of authority, want of ability, and adverse fortune, appear all along to have depressed this family.

† *Sprenger's Life of Mohammed*, p. 31.

## THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF MAHOMET.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes. Par A. P. Caussin de Perceval.* Paris, 1847. Vol. I.
2. *Life of Mohammad.* By A. Sprenger, M D., Allahabad, 1851.
3. *Sîrat Wâkidi, Arabic MS.*
4. *Sîrat Tabari, Ditto Ditto.*
5. *Sîrat Hishâmi, Ditto Ditto.*

**I**N previous papers we have traced the history of Mecca, and of the ancestors of Mahomet, from the earliest times of which we have any account, down to the famous *year of the elephant* (570 A. D.) which marks the deliverance of the sacred city from the invading army of Abraha, the Abyssinian Viceroy of Yemen. Before proceeding farther, we propose to take a survey of the valley of Mecca, and the country immediately surrounding it.

Within the great mountain range which skirts the Red Sea, and about equidistant, by the caravan track, from Yemen and the Gulf of Akaba, lies the holy valley. The traveller from the sea-shore, after a journey of fifty or sixty miles, reaches it by an almost imperceptible ascent, chiefly through sandy plains, and defiles hemmed in by low hills of gneiss and quartz, which rise in some places to the height of 400 or 500 feet.\* Passing Mecca, and pursuing his eastward course, he would proceed, with the same gentle rise, and between hills partly composed of granite, through the valley of Minâ, and in five or six hours reach the sacred eminence of Arafat. From thence the mountains begin to ascend to a great height, till about eighty miles from the sea, the granite peaks of Jebel Kora crown the range, and Taïf comes in sight, thirty miles farther eastward. Between Jebel Kora and Taïf, the country is fertile and lovely. Rivulets every here and there descend from the hills, and the plains are clothed with verdure, and adorned by large shady trees. Taïf is famous for its fruits: the grapes are of a "very large size and delicious flavour;" and there is no want of variety to tempt the appetite; for figs, peaches and pomegranates, apricots, quinces, apples and almonds, grow in abundance and perfection. Far different is

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\* *Burkhardt's Arabia*, pp. 58—62. The journey was performed in nineteen hours on a camel. Burkhardt, however, rode it upon an ass in thirteen hours. He estimates the distance at sixteen or seventeen hours walk, or about fifty-five miles from Jedda. For the characters of the rocks, see *Burkhardt*, p. 62 and *Ali Bry*, Vol. II., p. 118.

it with the frowning rocks and barren valleys, which for many a mile surround Mecca. Stunted brushwood and thorny acacias occasionally relieve the eye, and furnish scanty repast to the hardy camel; but the general features are only rugged rocks and sandy or stony glens, from which the peasant in vain looks for the grateful returns of tillage. Even at the present day, when the riches of Asia have for twelve centuries poured into the city, and a regular supply of water is secured by a canal of masonry from the mountains East of Arafat, Mecca can hardly boast a garden or a cultivated field, and only here and there a tree.\*

In the vicinity of Mecca the hills are formed of quartz and gneiss: but eastward strata of granite appear, and within one or two miles of the city, lofty and rugged peaks (as the *Jabal Nûr* or *Hûâ*),† begin to shoot upwards in grand and commanding masses. The valley of Mecca is a little more than a mile and a half in length: the general direction is from north to south;

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\* Burkhardt p. 127) noticed a few acres to the North of the town "irrigated by means of a well, and producing vegetables." Some trees also grow in the extreme southern quarter, where Burkhardt first took up his abode:—"I had here," he says, "the advantage of several large trees growing before my windows, the verdure of which, among the barren and sun-burnt rocks of Mecca, was to me more exhilarating than the finest landscape could have been under different circumstances." (p. 101.) But of the town generally, he says:—"it is completely barren and destitute of trees." (p. 103;) and "no trees or gardens cheer the eye." (p. 104.) So Ali Bey;—"I never saw but one flower the whole of my stay at Mecca, which was upon the way to Arafat." (Vol. II., p. 99.) "It (Mecca) is situated at the bottom of a sandy valley surrounded on all sides by naked mountains, without brook, river, or any running water, without trees, plants, or any species of vegetation. (Vol. II., p. 112.) Again;—"the aridity of the country is such that there is hardly a plant to be seen near the city, or upon the neighbouring mountains. .... We may not expect to find at Mecca any thing like a meadow, or still less a garden. .... They do not sow any grain, for the too ungrateful soil would not produce any plant to the cultivator. The soil refuses to yield even spontaneous productions, of which it is so liberal elsewhere. In short, there are but three or four trees upon the spot, where formerly stood the house of Abu Taleb, the uncle of the prophet; and six or eight others scattered here and there. These trees are prickly, and produce a small fruit similar to the jujube, which is called nebbak by the Arabs." (Vol. II., p. 110.)

And of its environs, Burkhardt writes;—"As soon as we pass these extreme precincts of Mecca, the desert presents itself; for neither gardens, trees, nor pleasure-houses, line the avenues to the town, which is surrounded on every side by barren sandy valleys, and equally barren hills. A stranger placed on the great road to Taif, just beyond the turn of the hill in the immediate neighbourhood of the sheriff's garden house would think himself as far removed from human society, as if he were in the midst of the Nubian desert." (p. 131.) This, however, he ascribes to indolence and apathy, seeing that water "can be easily obtained at about thirty feet below the surface." But there must, nevertheless, be some natural defect in the gravelly and sandy soil of Mecca, else the munificence of the Moslem rulers, and the notorious avarice of its inhabitants, would long ere this have planted trees and gardens to produce a profit, or to beautify the town,

† *Burkhardt*, p. 175, and note.

but at the upper or northern extremity, where the way leads to Arafat and Tâif, it bends to the eastward; and the southern or lower end, where the roads branch off to Yemen, Jedda, and Syria,\* there is a still more decided bend to the westward. At the latter curve the valley opens out to a breadth of about half a mile, and it is in the spacious amphitheatre thus shut in by rocks and mountains, that the kaaba, and the main portions of the city, both ancient and modern, were founded. The surrounding rocks rise precipitously two or three hundred feet above the valley, and on the eastern side they reach a height of five hundred feet. It is here that the craggy defiles of *Abu Cobeis*, the most lofty of all the hills encircling the valley, overhang the quarter of the town in which Abd al Muttalib and his family lived. About three furlongs to the north-east of the kaaba, the spot of Mahomet's birth is still pointed out to the pious pilgrim as the *Sheb Maufid*; and hard by is the *Sheb Ali*, (or quarter in which Ali resided,) built, like the other, on the declivity of the rock.†

Though within the tropics, Mecca has not the usual tropical showers. The rainy season begins about December; the clouds do not discharge their precious freight with continuousness or regularity; but sometimes the rain descends with such excessive violence as to swamp the little valley with the floods from Arafat. Even in the summer, rain is not unfrequent. The seasons are thus very uncertain, and the horrors of a continued drought are occasionally experienced. The heat, especially in the months of autumn, is very oppressive.‡ The surrounding ridges intercept the zephyrs that would otherwise reach the close and sultry valley; the sun beats with violence on the bare and gravelly soil, and reflects an intense and distressing glare. The native of Mecca, acclimated to the narrow valley, may regard with complacency its inhospitable atmosphere,§

\* The high road to Medina and Syria takes this southerly circuit. A direct road has been made through a dip in the mountain to the north-west of the city. This is facilitated by steps cut out of the rock:—a modern work, ascribed to one of the Barmecide family. (See *Burkhardt*, p. 129.)

† The above description is taken from *Burkhardt* and *Ali Bey*, chiefly from the former.

‡ *Burkhardt* says it is most severe from August to October. He mentions a suffocating hot wind in September. (p. 240.) *Ali Bey* says, "It may be imagined how great must be the heat in summer, when in the month of January, with the windows open, I could scarcely endure the sheet of the bed upon me, and the butter, at the same period, was always liquid like water." (Vol. II., p. 112.)

§ Some years after the Hegira, the refugees began to long for their native Mecca, and some touching verses are preserved, expressive of their fond affection for its sterile soil, and the springs in its vicinity.

but the traveller, even in the depth of winter, complains of a stifling closeness and suffocating warmth.

Such is the spot, barren and unpromising though it be, on which the Arabs look with a fond and superstitious reverence, as the cradle of their destiny, and the arena of the remote events which gave birth to their Faith. Here Hagar alighted with Ishmael, and paced with troubled steps the space between the little hill of Safâ, (a spur of Abu Cobeis,) and the eminence of Marwâ, which, on the opposite side of the valley, is an offshoot of the lower range of Keyckâân. Here the Jorhomites established themselves upon the falling fortunes of the ancestors of the Coreish; and from hence they were expelled by the Khozâa, the new invaders from the south. It was in this pent-up vale that Cossay nourished his ambitious plans, and in the granite defiles of the neighbouring Minâ, asserted them by a bloody encounter with the Bani Sâfa: and here he established the Coreish in supremacy. It was hard by the Kaaba that his descendants, the Bani Abd al Dâr, and Bani Abd Menâf, were drawn up in battle array to fight for the sovereign prerogative. It was here that Hâshim exhibited his glorious liberality, and on this spot that Abd al Muttalib toiled with his single son till he discovered the ancient well Zamzam. Thousands of such associations crowd upon the mind of the weary pilgrim, as the minarets of the Kaaba rise before his longing eyes; and in the long vista of ages, reaching even to Adam, his imagination pictures multitudes of pious devotees from all quarters and in every age, flocking to this little valley, to make their seven circuits of the holy house, to kiss the mysterious stone, and drink of the sacred water. Well, then, may the Arab regard the fane, and its surrounding rocks, with awe and admiration.

At the period of the retreat from Mecca of Abraha,\* with his Abyssinian army, Abd al Muttalib (as we have seen in a previous article) now above seventy years of age, enjoyed the rank and consideration of the foremost chief of Mecca. Some little time previous to this event, he had taken his youngest son, ABDALLAH,† (born 545, A. D.) then about four and twenty years of age, to the house of Wuheib, a distant kinsman of

\* By Caussin de Perceval's calculations, this event occurred in June 570 A. D.

† Abdallah, *servant of God*, (corresponding with the Hebrew *Abdiel*.) was a name common among the ante-Mahometan Arabs. (*Conf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 126, Vol. II., p. 286, 434 and 436.) Mahomet's nurse, Halima, was the daughter of a person called Abdallah, and had a son of the same name: (*Vide Wâkidi*, p. 28½.)

the Coreishite stock, (being descended from Zohra, brother of the famous Cossay :) and there affianced him to AMINA, the daughter of Wahn, brother of Wuheib, under whose guardianship she lived. At the same time Abd al Muttalib, notwithstanding his advanced age, bethought him of a matrimonial alliance on his own account, and married Hālah, daughter of Wuheib and cousin to Amina. The famous Hamza was the first fruit of this marriage.\*

As was customary, when the marriage was consummated at the home of the bride, Abdallah remained with her there for three days.† Not long after, he set out, during the pregnancy of his wife, on a mercantile expedition to Ghazza (Gaza,) in the south of Syria. On his way back he sickened at Medina, and was there left behind by the caravan, with his father's maternal relatives of the Bani Najār.‡ Abd al Muttalib, learning of Abdallah's sickness from his comrades, despatched his son Hārith to take care of him: but on reaching Medina, he found that his brother had died about a month after the departure of the caravan, and was buried in the house of Nābigha, in the quarter of the Bani Adī.§ And his father and brethren grieved sore for him. Abdallah was five and twenty years of age at his death, and Amina had not yet been delivered.|| He left behind him five camels fed on wild shrubs,¶ a flock of goats, and a slave girl called *Omm*

\* Hamza is said to have been four years older than Mahomet. (*Vide Wākidī*, p. 20, *margin.*) This would either imply that Abdallah was married at least four years to Amina before Mahomet's birth, which is not likely, and is opposed to the tradition of Amina's early conception; or that Abd al Muttalib married Hālah at least four years before his son married Amina, which is also opposed to tradition.

† We reject the absurd story (of which there are many versions inconsistent with each other;) of a woman offering her embraces, without success, to Abdallah, while on his way to Wuheib's house, but declining his advances on his return thence, because the prophetic light had departed from his forehead. It falls under the Canon II. D. Some make this woman to be a sister of the Christian Waraca, who having heard from her brother tidings of the coming prophet, recognized in Abdallah the prophetic light, and coveted to be the mother of the prophet! This fable perhaps gave rise to the later legend that many Meccan damsels died of envy the night of Abdallah's marriage. (See *Calcutta Review*, No. XXXIV., p. 430.)

‡ It will be remembered that Abd al Muttalib's mother (Hāshim's wife,) belonged to Medina, and to this tribe.

§ The Bani Adī were the family to which Solmā, Abd al Muttalib's mother, belonged.

|| This account is from Wākidī, (p. 18); he mentions other accounts, such as that Abdallah went to Medina to purchase dates; that he died eighteen months (others say seven months,) after Mahomet's birth: but he gives the preference to the version transcribed in the text

¶ خمس اجمال او اراك فتني تاكن اراك (*Wākidī*, p. 18½.); that is to say, camels not reared and fed at home, and therefore of an inferior kind.

*Ayman* (and also *Baraka*, who tended the infant born by his widow. This little property, and the house in which he dwelt, were all the inheritance Mahomet received from his father; but, little as it was, the simple habits of the Arab required no more, and instead of being evidence of poverty, the possession of the female slave is rather an indication of prosperity and comfort.\*

Passing over, as fabulous and unworthy of credit, the marvellous incidents related of the gestation of the prophet, and his first appearance in the world, † it suffices to state that the widowed Amina gave birth to her infant in the autumn of the year 570 A. D. It is a vain attempt to fix with certainty the precise date of the birth, for the materials we possess are too vague and discrepant to be subjected to so close and stringent a calculation. We may be content to know that the event occurred about fifty-five days after the attack of Abrahā,‡ and may accept, as an approximation, the date of M. Caussin de Perceval (in whose calculations we have already expressed our general concurrence,) viz., the 20th of August, 570 A. D. §

\* See *Sprenger*, p. 81. The house was sold by a son of Abu Tālib, to one of the Coreish, for twenty dinars. (*Tabari*.)

† Specimens of these are given in No. XXXIV., Article vi. of this *Review*, p. 404 *et seq.* The stories there narrated are however modern; but the most ancient biographies likewise contain many absurd tales. They say that at the moment of the birth, a light proceeded from Amina which rendered visible the palaces and streets of Bostra, and the necks of the camels there. Wāckidi, p. 18½—*Hishāmi*, p. 30.) This evidently originated in the mistaken application of some metaphorical saying, such as, that, "light of Islam to proceed hereafter from the infant now born, has illuminated Syria and Persia." It is remarkable that the "honest," but credulous Wāckidi leaves Hishāmi far behind in his relation of these miracles. Thus his traditions make Mahomet as soon as born to support himself on his hands, seize a handful of earth, and raise up his head to heaven. He was born clean, and circumcised, whereas Abd al Muttalib greatly marvelled. So of Amina, it is said, that she felt no weight or inconvenience from the embryo: that heavenly messengers came to her, and saluted her as the mother elect of him who was to be the prophet and lord of his people: that she was desired by them to call the child *Ahmed*; that, alarmed by these visions, she, at the advice of her female acquaintance, hung pieces of iron as charms on her arms and neck, &c. (*Wāckidi*, p. 18) Sprenger infers from these traditions, that the mother had a weak and nervous temperament, which descended to her son. But we discard the traditions themselves as utterly untrustworthy, both on account of the *period*, and the *subject matter* of which they treat. (See *Canons I. A., and II. D., in Article I., No. XXXVII. of this Review*.)

One tradition makes Amina say, "I have had children, but never was the embryo of one heavier than that of Mahomet." Wāckidi (p. 18) rejects this tradition, because he says Amina never had any child except Mahomet; but its very existence is a good illustration of the recklessness of Mahometan traditionists.

‡ Vide *Wāckidi*, p. 18½.

§ We know accurately the date of Mahomet's death, but we cannot calculate backwards with certainty, even to the year of his birth, because his life is variously stated as extending from sixty-three to sixty-five years. and, besides this, there

No sooner had Amina given birth to the infant, than she sent to tell Abd al Muttalib. And the messenger carrying the good tidings of a grandson, reached the chief while he sat in the sacred enclosure of the kaaba, in the midst of his sons and the principal men of his tribe: and he was glad, and arose, and they that were with him. And he went to Amina, and she told him all that had come to pass. So he took the young child in his arms, and went to the kaaba. And as he stood beside the holy house, he gave thanks to God. Now the child was called MOHAMMAD.

is a doubt whether the year meant is a lunar, or a luni-solar one. See note on p. 49. *Calcutta Review*, No. XLI.

The Arab historians give various dates, as the fortieth year of Kesra's reign, or the 880th of the Seleucid Dynasty, which answered to 570 A. D.: others the forty-first, the forty-second or the forty-third of Kesra's reign, or the 881st, 882nd, and 883rd of Alexander. M. de Sacy fixes the date as the 20th of April A. D. 571; on the principle that the lunar year was always in force at Mecca. But he adds,—“En vain chercheroit-on à déterminer l'époque de la naissance de Mahomet d'une manière qui ne laissât subsister aucune incertitude.” (See the question discussed, p. 43 et seq. *Memoire des Arabes avant Mahomet*, Tome XLVIII. *Mem. Acad. Inscrit. et Belles Lettres*.)

Herr v. Hammer fixes the birth in 569 A. D.; and Sprenger notes two dates as possible, viz., 13th April, 571, and 13th May, 567 A. D. (*Life*, p. 74.)

The common date given by Mahometan writers is the 12th of Rabi I; but other authorities give the 2nd, and others again the 10th of that month (*Wäckidi*, p. 184.). It is scarcely possible to believe that the date could, under ordinary circumstances, in Meccan society, as then constituted, have been remembered with scrupulous accuracy.

There are two circumstances affecting the traditions on this head which have not attracted sufficient notice. The first is that *Monday* was regarded as a remarkable day in Mahomet's history, on which all the great events of his life occurred. Thus an old tradition:—“the prophet was born on a *Monday*; he elevated the black stone on a *Monday*; he assumed his prophetic office on a *Monday*; he fled from Mecca on a *Monday*; he reached Medina on a *Monday*; he expired on a *Monday*.” (*Tabari*, p. 214—*Wäckidi* p. 37—*Hishâmi*, p. 173. *marc. gloss.*) Nay, Wäckidi makes him to have been conceived on a Monday! (p. 18.) This conceit no doubt originated in Mahomet's death, and one or two of the salient incidents of his mature life, really falling on a Monday; and hence the same day was superstitiously extended backwards to unknown dates. When Monday was once fixed upon as the day of his birth, it led to calculations thereon (see *Sprenger*, p. 75. note) and that to variety of date.

Secondly; something of the same spirit led to the assumption that the prophet was born in the same month and on the same day of the month, as well as of the week on which he died; and thus the popular tradition is that which assigns Monday, the 12th of Rabi I., as his birth-day. But that such minutæ as the day either of the month or week, were likely to be remembered so long after, especially in the case of an orphan, is inconsistent with Cannon I. A. of the Article in No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, above quoted.

\* The above account is given in the simple words of Wäckidi (p. 19.) Though some of the incidents are perhaps of late growth (as the visit to the kaaba), yet they are introduced because possible. In the original, however, are several palpable fabrications: as, that Amina told Abd al Muttalib of her visions, and the command of the angel that the child should be called *Ahmad*. The prayer of Abd al Muttalib at the kaaba is also apocryphal, being evidently composed in a Mahometan strain.



This name was rare among the Arabs, but not unknown. It is derived from the root *Hamd* [حمد] and signifies "The Praised." Another form of it is AHMAD, which having been erroneously employed as the translation of *The Prælete* in some Arabic version of the New Testament, became a favorite term with Mahometans, especially in addressing Jews and Christians: for it was (they said,) the title under which their Prophet had been predicted.\* Following the established usage of Christendom, we speak of Mohammad as MAHOMET.

It was not the custom for the higher class of women at Mecca to nurse their own children. They procured nurses for them, or gave them out to nurse among the neighbouring Bedouin tribes, where was gained the double advantage of a

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\* It may be of some importance to show to the Mahometans, that the name was known and used in Arabia before Mahomet's birth. We have seen that his grandfather was called Sheba al *Hamd* which is the same word. The precise form of Ahmad was very rare, but we find it in use among the Bani Bakr ibn Wail, about thirty or forty years before Mahomet. (Vide C. de Perceval, Vol II., p. 378.) We have a *Mohammad*, son of Sofian, of the Tamim tribe, born before 500 A. D. (*Idem*, p. 297.) We meet also with a *Mohammad*, of the tribe of Aws, born about 530 A. D. (*Idem* Table VII.) and among the followers of the prophet killed at Kheibar, we find a *Mahmud* ibn Maslama (elsewhere called *Mohammad* ibn Maslama,) whose name could not have had any connexion with that of Mahomet; he was also an Awsite. (*Hishami*, p. 341. — *Wackidi*, p. 121.) *Wackidi*, in a chapter devoted to the subject, mentions *five* of the name before the Prophet; 1. *Mohammad* ibn Khoazya, of the Bani Dzakwan, who went to Abrahah, and remained with him in the profession of Christianity: a verse by the brother of this man is quoted, in which the name occurs; 2. *Mohammad* ibn Saffin, of the Bani Tamim; 3. *Mohammad* ibn Joshamf, of the Bani Suwaat; 4. *Mohammad* al Asiyadi; 5. *Mohammad* al Focklmi. But with the usual Mahometan credulity, and desire to exhibit anticipations of the prophet, *Wackidi* adds, that these names were given by such Arabs as had learnt from Jews, Christians, or soothsayers, that a prophet was about to arise in Arabia so called, and the parent in the fond hope that his child would turn out to be the expected one, called him by that name! In the second instance, this intelligence is said to have been imparted by a Christian Bishop.

The word Ahmad, it appears, occurred by mistake in an Arabic translation of John's Gospel for "the Comforter," *περικλυτος* for *παράκλητος* or was forged as such by some ignorant or designing man in Mahomet's time. Hence the partiality for this name, which was regarded as the fulfilment of a promise or prophecy.

*Wackidi* has a chapter devoted to the titles of the prophet. Among these are

ماهي, عاقبو حاشر خاتم the last of these means "obliviator," or "blotter out:" and is thus interpreted من اتبعه ممي قان الامحابة سات ممي قان "because God blots out through him the sins of his followers:" or as farther explained, "blot out through him unbelief." (*Wackidi*, p. 74.)

robust frame, and the pure speech and free manners of the desert.\*

The infant Mahomet, shortly after his birth, was made over to Thueiba, a slave woman of his uncle Abu Lahab, who had lately nursed Hamza. † Though he was suckled by her only for a few days, he retained in after life a lively sense of the connection thus formed. Both Mahomet and Khadija used to express their respect for her, and the former continued to make her presents and gifts of clothes, until the seventh year of the Hegira, when, upon his return from Kheibar, he had tidings of her death; and he asked after her son Masrûh, his foster-brother, but he, too, was dead, and she had left no relatives. ‡

After Thueiba had suckled the child for probably not more than a few days, § a party of the Bani Saâd (descended from the Hawazin stock, ||) arrived at Mecca with ten women of their tribe, who offered themselves as nurses for the Meccan infants. They were all soon provided with children, excepting Halima, who at last consented to take the orphan Mahomet; for it was to the father the nurses chiefly looked for a liberal reward, and the charge of the fatherless child had been before declined by

\* Burkhardt states that this practice is common still among the Shereefs of Mecca. At eight days old, the infant is sent away, and excepting a visit at the sixth month, does not return to his parents till eight or ten years of age. The Hodheil, Thakif, Coreish, and Harb, are mentioned as tribes to which the infants are thus sent; and (which is a singular evidence of the stability of Arab tribes and customs,) to these is added the *Bani Saâd*, the very tribe to which the infant Mahomet was made over. (*Burkhardt's Travels*, pp. 229-231.) Weil assigns another reason for this practice, *viz.*, the anxiety of the Meccan mothers to have large families, and to preserve their constitutions. (*Life of Mahomet*, p. 24, note 7.)

† Foster-relationship was regarded by the Arabs as a very near tie, and therefore all those are carefully noted by the biographers who had been nursed *with* Mahomet, (or as Sprenger puts it, "with the same milk.") Ali, when at Medina, proposed to Mahomet that he should marry Hamza's daughter, and praised her beauty to him: but Mahomet refrained, saying that a daughter of his foster-brother was not lawful for him. (*Wâkidi*, p. 20.)

‡ These pleasing traits of Mahomet's character will be found at page 20 of *Wâkidi*. It is added that Khadija sought to purchase her, that she might give her liberty, but Abu Lahab refused. After Mahomet, however, had fled from Mecca, he set her free. The credulous traditionists relate that on this account Abu Lahab experienced a minute remission of his torments in hell.

§ So *Wâkidi* (٢١) (p. 20. Weil, p. 25, note 8) adduces traditions, but appa-

rently not good ones, for a longer period. If the nurses used (as is said,) to come to Mecca twice a year, in spring and in harvest, they must have arrived in autumn, not long after the date which we have adopted as that of Mahomet's birth.

|| Descended from Khasafa, Cays Aylân, Modhar, and Maâdd, and therefore of the same origin as the Coreish.

the party. The legends of after days have encircled Halima's journey homewards, with a halo of miraculous prosperity, but this it does not lie within the object of our story to relate.\*

The infancy, and part of the childhood of Mahomet, were spent with Halima and her husband,† among the Bani Saâd. At two years of age she weaned him, and took him to his mother, who was so delighted with the healthy and robust appearance of her infant, (for he looked like a child of double the age,) that she said, "take him with thee back again to the desert, for I fear the unhealthy air of Mecca." So she returned with him. When another two years were ended, some strange event occurred to the boy which greatly alarmed Halima. It was probably a fit of epilepsy; but the Mahometan legends have invested it with so many marvellous features, that it is difficult to discover the real facts.‡ It seems clear, however, that Halima and her husband were uneasy, and the former desiring to get rid of a charge which Arab superstition regarded as under the influence of an evil spirit, carried the child back to its mother. With some difficulty, Amina obtained from her an account of what had happened, calmed her fears, and entreated her to resume the care of her boy. Halima

\* Thus Amina said to the nurse that for three nights she had been told in a vision, that one of the family of Abu Dzeuib was destined to nurse her infant: when, to her astonishment, Halima said, *that is my husband's name!* Neither Halima nor her camel had any milk for her own child on their journey to Mecca, but no sooner had she received the infant Mahomet, than she had abundance for both, and so had the camel. Her white donkey could hardly move along to Mecca for weakness, but on their way home it outstripped all the others, so that their fellow travellers marvelled exceedingly. It was a year of famine, yet the Lord so blessed Halima for the little Mahomet's sake, that her cattle always returned fat and with plenty of milk, while those of every other were lean and dry:—and many such other stories. See the legend as given by Sprenger, p. 143; Wäckidi, p. 204; and Hushâmi (who here indulges more in the marvellous than Wäckidi,) p. 31.

† Wäckidi makes the husband's name Abu Dzeuib, (p. 204); but some call him Hârith, and name Halima's father Abu Dzeuib.

‡ The following is the account of Wäckidi, who is more concise than the other biographers on the subject.

"When he had reached four years of age, he was one morning playing with his (foster) brother and sister among the cattle, close by the encampment. And there came to him two angels, who cut open his body and drew forth from thence the black drop, and cast it from them, and washed his inside with water of snow, which they had in a gold platter. Then they weighed him against a thousand of his people, and he out-weighed them all together: and the one of them said unto the other, "let him go, for verily if thou wert to weigh him against the whole of his people, he would out-weigh them all." His (foster) brother seeing this, ran screaming to his mother, who with her husband hastened to the spot and found the lad pale and affrighted (Wäckidi, p. 204.)

loved her foster-child, and was not unwillingly persuaded to take him once more to her encampment. There she kept him for about a year longer, and never suffered him to go far out of her sight. But her apprehensions were renewed by fresh symptoms of an unusual nature, and she set out to restore the boy to his mother, when he was about five years of age.\* As she reached the upper quarter of Mecca, the little Mahomet strayed from her, and she could not find him. Abd al Muttalib, to whom in this difficulty she repaired, sent one of his

Hishāmi, and other later writers add that her husband concluded he had "had a fit," (اصيب) and advised her to take him home to his mother. Arrived at Mecca, she confessed after some hesitation what had occurred. "Ah!" exclaimed Amina, "didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?" — عليّة الشيطان — she proceeded to say that such could never be the case with a child whose birth had been preceded and followed by so many prodigies, recounting them in detail. Then she added, "leave him with me, and depart in peace, and heaven direct thee!" From this Sprenger rightly concludes (p. 78,) that according to Hishāmi the child did not return with Hālīma: but Wāckidi explicitly states the reverse.

This legend is closely connected with Sura XCIV. v. I. "Have we not opened thy breast?"—i. e., given thee relief. These words were afterwards construed literally, into an actual opening, or splitting up of his chest; and, coupled with other sayings of Mahomet as to his being cleansed from the taint of sin, were wrought up into the story given above.

It is possible, also, that Mahomet may have himself given a more developed nucleus for the legend, desiring thereby to enhance the superstitious attachment of his people, and conveniently referring the occasion of the cleansing and its romantic accompaniments to this early fit. But we can not, with any approach to certainty, determine whether any, and if so, what part of the legend, owes its paternity to Mahomet directly; or whether it has been entirely fabricated upon the verse of the Coran referred to, and other metaphorical assertions of cleansing construed literally.

\* When Hālīma took back the child to Mecca after its first attack, she told Amina that nothing but the sheerest necessity would make her part with it:—

انا لا ترة الا عاي جله ع انفا (Wāckidi, p. 204). She then took him

back with her, and kept him close in sight. She was, however, again startled (as the legend goes,) by observing a cloud attendant upon the child, sheltering him from the sun, moving as he moved, and stopping when he stopped. This alarmed her:—

فا فزعها ذ لك ايضا من امره If there be any thing in the tradition,

it probably implies a renewal of symptoms of the former nature.

It appears extremely probable that these legends originated in some species of fact. One can hardly conceive their fabrication out of nothing, even admitting that the 94th Sura, and other metaphorical expressions may have led to the marvellous additions.

We have given in the text what appears to us the probable narrative, but it must be confessed that the ground on which we here stand is vague and uncertain.

family to the search, who discovered him wandering in Upper Mecca, and restored him to his mother.\*

If we are right in regarding the attacks which alarmed Halîma as fits of a nervous or epileptic nature, they exhibit in the constitution of Mahomet the normal marks of those excited states, and ecstatic swoons, which perhaps suggested to his own mind the idea of inspiration, as by his followers they undoubtedly were taken to be evidence of it. It is probable that in other respects, the constitution of Mahomet was rendered more robust, and his character more free and independent, by his five years' residence among the Bani Saád. At any rate his speech was thus formed upon one of the purest models of the beautiful language of the peninsula; and it was his pride in after days to say, "Verily, I am the most perfect Arab amongst you; for I come of the Coreish, and my tongue is that of the Bani Saád."† When his success came to depend in great measure upon his eloquence, a pure language, and an elegant dialect, were advantages of essential moment.

Mahomet ever retained a grateful impression of the kindness he had experienced as a child among the Bani Saád. Halîma visited him at Mecca after his marriage with Khadija; "and it was" (the tradition runs) "a year of drought, in which much cattle perished; and Mahomet spake to Khadija, and she gave to Halîma a camel accustomed to carry a litter, and forty sheep; so she returned to her people." Upon another occasion he spread out his mantle (a token of special respect,) for her to sit upon, and placed his hand upon her in a familiar and affectionate manner.‡ Many years after, when, on

\* *Wäckidi*, p. 20½ and 21. Hishâmi makes the person who found him to be the famous Waraca: but *Wäckidi* represents Abd al Muttalib as sending one of his grandsons to the search. The latter also gives some verses purporting to be Abd al Muttalib's prayer to the deity at the Kaaba to restore the child; but they are apocryphal.

أنا أعربكم أنا من قریش ولسانی لسان بنی سعد ابن بكر†

*Wäckidi*, p. 21.—See *Hishâmi*, p. 34. Sprenger translates the opening verb: "I speak best Arabic," (p. 77); but it has probably a more extensive signification.

ادخل برة بي ثيابها وضعها علي صدرها وقضي حاجتها‡

† *Wäckidi*, p. 21. It is added that Abu Bakr and Omar treated

her with equal honor, omitting, however, the actions of familiar affection referred to in the extract just quoted. But to what period this refers is not apparent; she could hardly have survived to their caliphate: indeed, we understand her to have been dead before the taking of Mecca and siege of Tâif.

the expedition against Tâif, he attacked the Bani Hâwâzin, and took a multitude of them captive, they found a ready access to his heart by reminding him of the days when he was nursed among them.\* About the same time a woman called Shima (by others Judâma) was brought in with some other prisoners to the camp, and when they threatened her with their swords, she declared that she was the prophet's foster sister. Mahomet enquired how he should know the truth of this, and she replied:—Thou gavest me this bite upon my back, once upon a time, when I carried thee on my hip." The prophet recognized the mark, spread his mantle over her, and made her to sit down by him. He gave her the option of remaining in honor and dignity with him, or of returning with a present to her people, and she preferred the latter.†

The sixth year of his life (575-6 A. D.) Mahomet spent at Mecca under the care of his mother. When it was nearly at an end, she planned a visit to Medîna, where she longed to show her boy to the maternal relatives of his father. So she departed with her slave girl Omm Ayman (Baraka,) who tended her child; and they rode upon two camels.‡ Arrived at Medîna, she alighted at the house of Nâbigha, where her husband had died and was buried. The visit was of sufficient duration to imprint the scene and the society upon the memory of the juvenile Mahomet. He used often to call to recollection things that had happened on this occasion; and seven and forty years afterwards, when he entered Medîna as a refugee, he recognized the lofty quarters of the Bani Adî:—"In this house," said he, "I used to sport with Aynasa, a little girl of Medîna; and with my cousins, I used to put to flight the birds that alighted upon its roof." And as he gazed upon the house, he added;—"here it was my mother lodged with me; and in

\* • *Wâkidi*, pp. 21 and 131—*Hishâmî* p. 379. The deputation from the Hawâzin contained Mahomet's foster uncle Abu Burkan. Pointing to the enclosure in which the captives of their tribe were pent up, they said:—"there are three (foster) fathers and (foster) mothers of thine, and those who have fondled thee in their bosom, and we have suckled thee from our breasts. Verily we have seen thee a suckling, and never a better suckling than thou, and a weaned child, and never a better weaned child than thou; and we have seen thee a youth," &c., &c. *Wâkidi*, p. 21.

† *Hâkîsî*, p. 204—*Hishâmî*, p. 379. It is added, "the Bani Saâd say, he also gave her a male and a female slave; and that he united them in marriage, but they left no issue."

‡ The number of the party is not stated; but there would be one, if not two camel drivers, and perhaps a guide besides.

"this very house is the tomb of my father ; and it was there in  
"that well (or pond,) of the Bani Adî, that I learnt to swim,"

After the sojourn of about a month, Amina bethought her of returning to Mecca, and set out in the same manner as she had come. But when she had reached about half way, a spot called Abwâ, she sickened and died, and there she was buried. The little orphan was carried upon the camels to Mecca, by his nurse Baraka (Omm Ayman,) who, although then quite a girl, seems to have been a faithful nurse, and continued to be the child's constant attendant.

The early loss of his mother, around whom his constant heart and impressible affections had entwined themselves, no doubt imparted to the youthful Mahomet something of that pensive and meditative character, by which he was afterwards distinguished. In his seventh year he could appreciate the bereavement, and feel the desolation of his orphan state. In the Coran he has alluded touchingly to the subject. While re-assuring his heart of the divine favour, he recounts the mercies of the Almighty ; and amongst them, this is the first ;—" *Did he not find thee an orphan, and furnished thee with a refuge ?*" (*Sura XCIII.*, 6.) On his pilgrimage from Medina to Hodeibia, he visited his mother's tomb, and he lifted up his voice and wept, and his followers likewise wept around him ; and when he was asked regarding it, he said ;—"the tender memory of my mother came over me, and I wept."\*

The charge of the orphan was now undertaken (576 A. D.) by his grandfather Abd al Muttalib, who had by this time reached the patriarchal age of four-score years ; and by whom he was treated with a singular fondness. A rug used to be spread under the shadow of the kaaba, where the aged chief reclined in shelter from the heat of the sun ; and around his

\* The whole of this account is from *Wâckidi* (p. 21½) ; where is added the following tradition :—"After the conquest of Mecca, Mahomet sat down by his mother's tomb and the people sat around him, and he had the appearance of one holding a conversation with another. Then he got up, weeping ; and Omar said, '*Oh thou to whom I could sacrifice both my father and my mother ! Why dost thou weep ?*' He replied, '*This is the tomb of my mother : The Lord hath permitted me to visit it, and I asked leave to implore pardon for her, and it was not granted : so I called her to remembrance ; and the tender recollection of her overcame me, and I wept.*' And he was never seen to weep more bitterly than he did then. But Wâckidi's Secretary says this tradition is a mistake ; for it supposes the tomb of Mahomet's mother to be in Mecca, whereas it is at Abwâ. The prohibition, however, against praying for his mother's salvation, is given in other traditions, and it forms a singular instance of the sternness and exclusive severity of the dogmas of Mahomet's faith.

carpet, but at a respectful distance, sat his sons. The little Mahomet used to run up close to the patriarch, and unceremoniously take possession of his rug, and when his sons would drive him off, Abd al Muttalib would say, "Let my little son alone," and stroke him on the back, and delight to watch his childish prattle.\*

He was still under the care of his nurse Baraka; but he would ever and anon quit her, and run into the apartment of his grandfather, even when he was alone or asleep.

The guardianship of Abd al Muttalib lasted but two years, for he died eight years after the attack of Abraha, at the age of fore-score years and two: (578 A. D.) The orphan child bitterly felt the loss of his indulgent grandfather; as he followed the bier to the cemetery of Hajjān, he was observed to be weeping; and when he grew up, he retained a distinct remembrance of his death.† The gentle, warm, and confiding heart of Mahomet was thus again rudely wounded, and the fresh bereavement would be rendered the more poignant by the dependent position in which it left him. The nobility of his grandfather's descent, the deference with which his voice was listened to throughout the little vale of Mecca, and the splendid liberality displayed by him in discharging the annual offices of feeding the pilgrims and giving them drink, while they were witnessed with satisfaction by the thoughtful child, left, after they had passed away, a proud remembrance, and formed the seed perhaps of many an ambitious thought, and many a day-dream of power and domination.

The death of Abd al Muttalib left his family (*i. e.*, the progeny of Abd Menāf,) without any powerful head, and enabled the

\* • *Hishāmi*, p. 35.—*Wāckidi*, p. 22. Many incidents are added to the narrative taken evidently from the point of view of later years. Thus Abd al Muttalib says "Let him alone for he has a great destiny, and will be the inheritor of a kingdom":—

نه ايونس ملكا | *Wāckidi* adds the injunction the nurse Baraka used to receive from him, *not to let him fall into the hands of the Jews and Christians, who were looking out for him, and would injure him!*

† *Wāckidi*, p. 22, where it is said that Mahomet was eight years of age, when his grandfather died aged eighty-eight years. Others make Abd al Muttalib to have been 110, and some even 120 years old at his death. Caussin de Perceval has shown the futility of these traditions, which would make the patriarch to have begotten Hamza when above 100 years old. (*Vol. I.*, p. 290, note 4.)



other branch, descended by Omeya from Abd Shams (*i. e.*, the Omeyad stem,) to gain an ascendancy. Of the latter family the chief at this time was Harb, the father of Abu Sofîân, to whom belonged the "leadership" in war, and who possessed a numerous and powerful body of relations.

Of Abd al Muttalib's sons, Harith the eldest was now dead, and the chief of those who survived were Zobeir\* and Abu Tâlib (both by the same mother as Abdallah the father of Mahomet,) Abu Lahab, Abbâs, and Hamza. The two last were very young. Zobeir was the oldest, and to him Abd al Muttalib bequeathed his dignity and offices.† Zobeir, again, left them to Abu Tâlib, who finding himself too poor to discharge the expensive and onerous task of providing for the pilgrims, waived the honor in favor of his younger brother Abbas. But the family of Hâshim had fallen from its high estate; for we find that Abbâs was able to retain only the *Sickaya* (or giving of drink, while the *Rifâda*, (or furnishing of food,) passed into the rival branch, descended from Noufal, son of Abd Menâf.‡ Abbâs was rich, and his influential post, involving the constant charge of the well Zamzam, was retained by him till the introduction of Islam, and then confirmed to his family by the prophet; but he was not a man of strong character, and never attained to any commanding position at Mecca. Abu Tâlib, on the other hand, possessed many noble qualities, and enforced a greater respect; but whether from his poverty, or other cause, he, too, remained in the back ground. It was thus that in the oscillations of phylarchal government, the prestige of the house of Hâshim waned and disappeared; while a rival branch had risen into importance. This phase of the political state of Mecca began with the death of Abd al Muttalib, and continued until the conquest of Mecca by Mahomet himself.

\* *Wâckidi*, p. 17.

† *Wâckidi ibidem*, and p. 154. Zobeir evidently held a high rank at Mecca, but how long he survived is not apparent. *Wâckidi* says of him;

وكان شاعرا و شريفا و ائمه ارضي عبدالمط

‡ *Hishâmi* (p. 35.) specifies that Abbâs inherited the *Sickaya*; and the subsequent history gives proof that he held nothing more. The authority for stating that the branch of Noufal possessed the *Rifâda*, is given by M. C. de Perceval as derived from D' Ohsson. We have not traced it to any early Arabic writer. Abbâs, no doubt, did not inherit the *Sickaya* till Zobeir's death, when he would be old enough to manage it. M. C. de Perceval makes him succeed to it immediately after Abd al Muttalib's death; but this is opposed to tradition as well as probability, for he was then only twelve years of age.

To Abu Tâlib, the dying Abd al Muttalib consigned the guardianship of his orphan grandchild; and faithfully and kindly did he discharge the trust.\* His fondness for the lad equalled that of Abd al Muttalib himself: he made him sleep by his bed, eat by his side, and go with him when he walked abroad: and this tender treatment was continued until Mahomet emerged from the helplessness of childhood.†

It was during this period that Abu Tâlib, accompanied by Mahomet, undertook a mercantile journey to Syria. At first he intended to leave the lad behind him, for he had reached twelve years of age, and was able to take care of himself. But when the caravan was now ready, and Abu Tâlib prepared to mount his camel, his nephew was overcome by the prospect of so long a separation, and clung by his protector. Abu Tâlib was moved, and carried the boy along with him. The expedition extended to Bostra and perhaps farther. The journey lasted for several months, and afforded to the young Mahomet opportunities of observation, which were not lost upon him. He passed near to Petra, Jerash, Ammon, and other ruinous sites of former mercantile grandeur; and their sight, no doubt, deeply imprinted upon his reflective mind the instability of earthly greatness. The legends of the valley of Hejer, with its lonely deserted habitations hewn out of the rock, and the tale of divine vengeance against the cities of the plain, over which now rolled the billows of the Dead Sea, would excite apprehension and awe, while their strange and startling details would win and charm the childish heart ever yearning after the marvellous. On this visit, too, he came into contact with the national profession of Christianity in Syria, and passed through several

\* *Wâkidî*, p. 22. The disposition, however, to magnify the prophet is manifest here, as in the case of Abd al Muttalib: and there is added this marvellous incident connected with Abu Tâlib's scanty means, that the family always rose from their frugal meal hungry and unsatisfied if Mahomet were not present, but if he were there, they were not only satisfied, but had victuals to spare. So, too, the other children used to run about with foul eyes and dishevelled hair, whereas the little Mahomet's head was always sleek and his eyes clean. There thus appears so continuous a tendency to glorify the nascent prophet, that it becomes hard to decide what, amidst these statements, to accept as facts, and what to reject. Vide *Canons I. C.* and *II. D.* in No. XXXVII. above quoted.)

† The reason given for Mahomet being entrusted to Abu Tâlib, is, that his father Abdallah was brother to Abu Tâlib by the same mother, (*Tabari*, p. 59; but so was Zobeir also.

Jewish settlements. The former he never before had witnessed, for he could as yet have been acquainted only with occasional and isolated specimens of the Christian faith. Now he saw its rites in full performance by the whole people of the land. The national and the social customs founded upon Christianity, the churches with their crosses, images or pictures, and other symbols of the faith; the ringing of bells; the frequent assemblages for worship, the accounts (and, possibly, the glimpse by himself,) of the continually repeated ceremonial, must have effected a deep impression upon him, which would be made all the more practical and lasting by the sight of whole tribes, Arab like himself, converted to the same faith and practising the same observances. However fallen and materialized was the Christianity of that day in Syria, it cannot be doubted that it would strike the thoughtful observer in favourable and wonderful contrast with the gross and unspiritual idolatry of Mecca. Once again, in mature life, Mahomet visited Syria, and whatever reflections of this nature were then excited, would receive an intenser force, and a deeper color, from the bright scenes and charming images which childhood had pictured upon the same ground.\*

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\* The account of this journey is given by all the biographers with the many ridiculous details anticipative of Mahomet's prophetic dignity. The following is the gist of them:—

The youthful Mahomet, along with the rest of the caravan, alighted at a monastery or hermitage on the road, occupied by a monk called Bahira. The monk perceived by a cloud which hovered over the company, the bending of boughs to shelter one of their number, &c., that it contained the prophet expected shortly to arise. He therefore invited the party to an entertainment; but when they had assembled, he perceived that the object of his search was not amongst them; he enquired where the wanting guest was, and they sent for the lad Mahomet, who, on account of his youth, had been left to watch the encampment. Bahira questioned him and examined his body for the seal of prophecy, which he found upon his back; he then referred to his sacred books, found all the marks to correspond, and declared the boy to be the expected prophet. He proceeded to warn Abu Tâlib against the Jews, who would at once recognize the child as the coming prophet, and moved by jealousy, seek to slay him. Abu Tâlib was alarmed, and forthwith set out for Mecca with his nephew.

The fable is so absurd, that a feeling of contempt and mistrust is excited with respect to the entire traditional collections, which, every here and there, give place to such tales. A clue to the religious principle which engendered these stories is attempted in the Article of No. XXXVII. of this *Review*, *Canon II. G.*

Dr. Sprenger thinks that Abu Tâlib sent back Mahomet under charge of Bahira to Mecca; (*Life*, p. 79) and grounds his deduction on the phrase **طالب معه**

**رداه** —at p. 22½ of Wäckidi. But this expression may equally signify, "Abu Tâlib took him back *with himself*" to Mecca; and this meaning is undoubtedly the one intended.

The subject has been discussed in the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen gesellschaft*, Vol. III., p. 454; IV. p. 188, and IV. p. 457; where professors Fleischer

No farther incident of a special nature is related of Mahomet, until he had advanced from childhood into youth.\*

and Wustenfeld oppose Dr. Sprenger's view. Dr. Sprenger has written a further paper on the subject in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for 1853, where he has given the various authorities in original, bearing upon the point. I. *Tirmidzi* says that Abu Tâlib sent Mahomet back from Syria by Abu Bâkr and Bill: which (as Sprenger shows,) is absurd, seeing that the former was two years younger than Mahomet, and the latter then not born. II. *Hishâmî* makes Abu Tâlib himself return with Mahomet, after concluding his business at Bosra. III. *Wâckidi* gives several traditions; one in which the monk immediately after warning Abu Tâlib to make Mahomet return with ut loss of time to Mecca, expires: (*Wâckidi*, p. 22½) and a second, that, viz., quoted above, upon which Dr. Sprenger so much relies (*Ibid*). But he has omitted a third detailed account of the journey which is given in the same volume, on the authority of Muhammad ibn Omar (i. e., Wâckidi himself:) it is full of marvellous statements, and ends with distinctly saying that Abu Tâlib re-

turned to Mecca with Mahomet. روجعه أبو تالِب This may have escaped D. Sprenger's notice, as it occurs under another chapter in Wâckidi, i. e., the "marks of prophetic rank in Mahomet." (p. 28½.) So also (*Tabari*, p. 60.) فخرج

به عمه سريعا

Dr. Sprenger goes further. He suspects that the monk not only accompanied Mahomet to Mecca, but remained there with him: and as he finds the name *Bahira* in the list of a deputation from the Abyssinian King to Mahomet at Medina, forty years later, he concludes the two to have been one and the same person; and he thinks that the early Mahometan writers endeavoured to conceal the fact, as one discreditable to their prophet. The conjecture is ingenious, but the basis on which it rests is wholly insufficient. It is besides quite inconsistent with our theory of the rise of traditions, in which *design* is not evapent. Omissions, no doubt, occurred, and stories died out, but on different grounds. (See Canon II. L in the article on the Sources for the Biography of Mahomet, also quoted.)

Some Arabs will have it that this monk was called Iergis (*Georgius*), Christian apologist c. II him S. Georgius.

\* Weil (p. 29) states that in his sixteenth year Mahomet journeyed to Yemen with his uncle Zobeir on a mercantile trip. Dr. Sprenger (p. 79, note 3.) says that there is no good authority for this statement, nor can we find any original authority for it at all. The expression with respect to Abu Tâlib لا

كان معه "that he never undertook a journey, unless

Mahomet were with him," might possibly imply that he undertook several; but in the absence of any express instance, it can hardly be pressed to prove that he did. So (*Wâckidi*, p. 29) it is said that Abu Tâlib never took him again on a journey after this Syrian expedition, fearing lest injury should befall him

(و رجع به أبو طالب فما خرج به سفرا بعد ذلك خوفا عليه)

—but the sentence is mere pendant to the absurd story of the Jews recognizing in Mahomet the coming prophet, and seeking to lie in wait for his life, and is therefore equally futile with it.

The chief reason which leads us to suppose that this was Mahomet's only mercantile journey (besides that taken for Khadija,) is that, had he undertaken any other, we should indubitably have had special notice of it in Wâckidi, Hishâmî, or Tabari.



## EARLY SPREAD OF ISLAM AT MECCA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Strat Wākidi*. Arab M. S.
2. *Strat Hishāmi*. Arab M. S.
3. *Strat Tabari*. Arab M. S.
4. *Life of Mohammad*. By A. Sprenger, M. D., Allahabad, 1851.

THE weary field of uncertainty and speculation, which we lately sought to explore, has been left behind ; and, towards forty-fourth year of his age, we find Mahomet, now emerged from doubt and obscurity, clearly and unequivocally asserting that he had been ordained a prophet to call the Arabs to the Lord,—reciting his warnings and exhortations as messages that emanated direct from the mouth of God, and implicitly believing (to all outward appearance) his inspiration and mission to be divine. We find him, also, already surrounded by a little band of followers, animated by an ardent devotion to himself, and an earnest belief in God as his guide and inspirer.

It strongly corroborates the sincerity of Mahomet, that the earliest converts were his bosom friends and the people of his household ; who, intimately acquainted with his private life, could not fail to have detected the discrepancies that must, more or less, always exist between the professions of the hypocritical deceiver abroad, and his actions at home.

The faithful KHADIJA has already been made known to the reader, as the sharer in the enquiries of her husband, and probably the earliest convert to Islam. " So Khadija believed," (thus runs the simple tradition,) " and attested the truth of that which came to him from God. Thus was the Lord minded " to lighten the burden of His prophet ; for he heard nothing that grieved him touching his rejection by the people, but he " had recourse unto her, and she comforted and supported him " and re-assured his confidence " \*

ZEID, the former slave, and his wife Omm Ayman, (Baraka) the nurse of Mahomet, have also been noticed. Though Zeid was now a free man, yet being the adopted son of Mahomet,

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\* *Hishāmi*, p. 63. He is said to have promised her a house in Paradise, formed of a gigantic pearl hollowed into the form of a palace.

and his intimate friend, it is probable, that he lived in close connexion with his family, if not actually an ostensible member of it. He, too, was one of the earliest believers.\*

The little ALI had now reached the age of thirteen or fourteen years, and had begun to display that wisdom and judgment which distinguished his after life. Though possessed of indomitable courage, he was, like his uncle, meditative and reserved, and lacked the stirring energy which would have rendered him a more valuable propagator of Islam. He grew up from a child in the faith of Mahomet, and his earliest associations strengthened the convictions of matured age. It is said, that as Mahomet was once engaged with the lad in prayer, in one of the glens near Mecca, whither they retired to avoid the jeers of their neighbours. Abu Tâlib chanced to pass by ; and he said to Mahomet, "My nephew ! what is this "new faith I see thee following ?" "Oh my uncle ! This is the "religion of God, and of His angels, and of His prophets,—the "religion of Abraham. The Lord hath sent me an Apostle "unto His servants ; and thou, my uncle, art the most worthy "of all that I should address my invitation unto, and the most "worthy to assist the prophet of the Lord." And Abu Tâlib replied :—"I am not able, my nephew, to separate from the "religion and the customs of my forefathers ; but I swear that "so long as I live, no one shall dare to trouble thee." Then turning to the little Ali, who had professed a similar faith, and the resolution to follow Mahomet, he said :—"Well, my son, "he will not invite thee to aught but that which is good : "wherefore thou art free to cleave unto him."†

To the family group it is hardly necessary to add the aged cousin of Khâdîja Waraca, whose profession of Christianity and support of Mahomet have been already alluded to ; because it is agreed upon all hands that he died before Mahomet had entered upon his *public* ministry.

But in the little circle there was one, belonging to another branch of the Coreish, who, after Khâdîja, may be ranked perhaps as the earliest convert. ABU BAKR, of the Bani Taym, had long been a familiar friend of Mahomet ; with him had probably lamented the gross darkness of Mecca, and had

\* *Hishâmî*, p. 66.

† *Hishâmî*, p. 66 ; *Tabarî*, p. 108. This conversation, like most of the stories of the period, is of a type moulded by subsequent Mahometan prepossession. The tale is, however, in itself not improbable, the facts being at any rate in accordance with Abu Tâlib's character, and constant support of Mahomet.

sought after a better faith. He lived in the same quarter of the city as Khadija;\* when Mahomet removed thither, the intimacy became closer, and the attachment of Abu Bakr was soon rivetted by an implicit faith in his friend as the apostle of God. Ayesha, his daughter, (born about this period, and destined, while yet a girl, to be the prophet's bride) could not remember the time when both her parents were not true believers,† and when Mahomet did not daily visit her father's house both in the morning and evening.‡ Of Abu Bakr, the Prophet used to say: "I never invited any to the faith who displayed not cogitation, examination, perplexity—excepting only Abu Bakr, who, when I had propounded unto him Islam, tarried not, neither was perplexed."§

The character and appearance of this chief of Islam, and bosom friend of Mahomet, demand further description. Abu Bakr was about two years younger than the prophet; short in stature, and of a small spare frame; the eyes deeply seated under a high projecting forehead. His complexion was fair, and his face so thin, that you could see the veins upon it.|| Shrewd and intelligent, he yet wanted the originality of genius; his nature was mild and sympathetic, but not incapable of a firm purpose where important interests were concerned. Impulse and passion rarely prompted his action; they were guided by reason and calm conviction. Faithful and unvarying in his attachment to the prophet, he was known, (and is to the present day familiar, throughout the realms of Islam,) as AL SADICK, "*the True*",¶

\* Both Abu Bakr and Khadija lived in the quarter now called *Zuckack al Hajar*, or "Street of Stone." See the plan of Mecca in *Burkhardt's Travels*, p. 102. This street "comprises the birth place of Fâtima, the daughter of Mahommed, and of Abu Bakr, the prophet's successor." (Idem, p. 126.)

† *Wâckidi*, p. 211½. Asmâ, Ayesha's sister, (but by another mother) is stated by tradition to have said the same thing of her father, Abu Bakr. (Ibidem.)

‡ Ibidem.

§ *Hishâmi*, p. 67.

|| This description is from *Wâckidi*. It must, however, be remembered (as has already been remarked in the case of Mahomet,) that the personal details preserved by tradition are those of his old age. The "loose clothes" and "flaccid hips," described in *Wâckidi*, were\* probably not characteristic of his manhood, and have therefore not been adopted in the text. He had little hair on his body, and the joints of his fingers were small and fine. At the emigration to Medina, his hair was the whitest among Mahomet's followers; but he used to dye it.

¶ Some say he was so called because he bore testimony to the truth of Mahomet's heavenly journey. He was called also *Al Aitck*, as *Hishâmi* says, from his handsome countenance. (p. 67) but *Wâckidi*, because Mahomet named him so as one preserved from hell-fire. His proper name was Abdallah, son of Othmân or Abu Cahâfa. It is not clear when he obtained the name of *Abu Bakr*. If, as appears probable, it was given him because his daughter Ayesha was Mahomet's only virgin



he was also styled *Al Awwâh*, "the Sighing," from his tender and compassionate heart.

Abu Bakr was a diligent and successful merchant, and possessed, at his conversion, about 40 000 dirhems. His generosity was rare, his charity unwearying. The greater part of his fortune was expended in the purchase of slaves, who, from their inclination to the new faith, were persecuted by the Meccans ;—so that but 5,000 dirhems were left when, ten or twelve years after, he emigrated with the prophet to Medina. He was unusually familiar with the history of the Coreish, who often referred to him for genealogical information. His judgment was good, his conversation agreeable, his demeanour affable and engaging: wherefore his society and advice were much sought after by the Coreish, and he was popular throughout the city.\*

To gain such a man as a staunch adherent of his creed, was for Mahomet a most important step. His influence was entirely given up to the cause, and five of the earliest converts are attributed to his exertions and example. Three of these were but striplings. *Sâd*, the son of Abu Wackkâs, converted in his sixteenth or seventeenth year, was the nephew of Amina.† *Zobeir*, son of Al Awwâm, probably still younger, was at once the nephew of Khadija, and the son of Mahomet's aunt, Safia.‡ About the same age was *Talha*,

wife, then it could not have been till after the emigration to Med'na, when the prophet, by marrying many widows, had given a distinction and peculiarity to his marriage with Aye-sha.

\* The authorities for these details of Abu Bakr are *Wâkidi*, pp. 211½, 215; *Hishâmî*, p. 67; *Tabari*, p. 112. Sprenger (pp. 170, 171.) has ably and faithfully drawn his character; and we agree with him in considering "the faith of Abu Bakr the greatest guarantee of the sincerity of Mohammed in the 'beginning of his career;' and, indeed, in a modified sense, throughout his life.

† See *Wâkidi*, pp. 205—207½. Sâd pursued at Mecca the trade of manufacturing arrows. He died at Al Aclack, ten Arabian miles from Medina, whether he was carried to be buried, A.H. 50 or 55, aged about seventy. These dates would make him still younger at the period of conversion than is represented in the text. But throughout this stage we must bear in mind the Canon ii. c. (p. 48 of the "*Sources*" for *Mahomet's Biography*); the tendency of tradition is to place the conversion of the leaders of Islam earlier than it actually occurred. It is therefore not improbable that Sâd's conversion may have been actually a few years later than the period referred to in the text:—or, occurring at the age specified, he may have died more advanced in years than is admitted by tradition.

‡ Zobeir was the grandson of Khuweilid, Khadija's father. He was also the grandson of Abd al Muttalib by his daughter Safia. He was assassinated, A.H. 36, aged sixty-four, others say sixty-seven. (See *Wâkidi*, pp. 197½—200.) He was a butcher, and his father a grain merchant, or as others have it, a tailor.

the renowned warrior of after days, related to Abu Bakr himself.\*

The fourth was *Othmân*, son of Affân (the successor of Abu Bakr in the Caliphate :) who, though of the Ommeyad stock, was a grandson, by his mother, of Abd al Muttalib. Rockeya being now, or shortly after, free from her marriage with Otba, the son of the hostile Abu Lahab, Mahomet gave her in marriage to Othmân, whose wife she continued until her death some ten or twelve years afterwards. Othmân was at this period between thirty and forty years of age.† The fifth was *Abd al Rahmân*, the son of Awf, a Zohrite (the same tribe as Amina, the mother of Mahomet,) about ten years younger than the prophet, and a man of wealth and character. Abd al Rah-

\* Talha was a Coreishite of the Taym branch. His grandfather was a brother of the grandfather of Abu Bakr. He was killed in the battle of the Camel, A. D. 36, aged sixty-two or sixty-four. He would thus be at the period referred to in the text, fifteen or sixteen years old. Wäckidi tells an absurd story of his having been at Bostra with a caravan, of which a monk enquired whether "Ahmed" had yet appeared at Mecca. "And who is Ahmed?" they asked. "He is the son of Abdallah, the son of Abd al Muttalib," replied the monk; "this is the month of his appearance, and he will emigrate from Mecca to the country of date trees, and the story salt land (Medina,) ; ye should haste away to meet him." Talha set forth at once for Mecca, and was told on his arrival that Mahomet had set up prophetic claims, and that Abu Bakr had declared for him. So Talha believed, and accompanied Abu Bakr to Mahomet, whom he caused to rejoice by narrating the story of the monk.

Talha may possibly have heard from some Syrian monk of the evil of idolatry, &c., and been thus prepared to follow Mahomet's doctrine; but the details of the story are too absurd to need refutation.

Nowfal a brother of Khadija, persecuted Abu Bakr and Talha, and bound them together with a rope, whence they received the soubriquet of *Al Carancin* "the Bound." (*Wäckidi*, p. 220½; *Hishâmî*, p. 75.) The latter calls Nowfal one of the devils of the Coreish; the former, their lion. He was killed at Badr.

† The account given by Wäckidi of Othmân's conversion, is that he and Talha followed Zobeir into the house of Mahomet, who propounded to them the principles of Islam, and recited the Coran; whereupon they believed. And Othmân said, "Oh Prophet! I have come lately from Syria, and as I was asleep between Al Mâân and Al Zuraka, one cried to me, *Arise, thou sleeper! Verily, Ahmed hath appeared at Mecca*; so we arrived and heard the tidings of thee. This is of a piece with the story of Talha, the one probably invented to rival the other."

He is said to have been early exposed to persecution. His uncle, Al Hakam, grandson of Omeiyed, seized and bound him, saying, "Dost thou prefer a new religion over that of thy fathers? I swear I will not loose thee until thou givest up this new faith thou art after." Othmân said, "By the Lord, I will never abandon it!" So when Al Hakam saw his firmness in the faith, he let him go. (*Wäckidi*, p. 189.)

He was subsequently called Abu Abdallah, after a son by Rockeya, who, when about six years of age, having his eye pecked out by a bird, fell sick and died, four years after the Hegira.

He was murdered, A. H. 36, aged seventy-five (according to others eighty-two :) which would make him at the time of the emigration to Medina, thirty-nine or forty-six years of age.

mân, Othmân, and Talha, were like Abu Bakr, merchants or traders; and the pursuit of the same profession may have occasioned some community of interest among them.

Four persons are related to have accompanied Abd al Rahmân on his first visit to the house of Mahomet, and simultaneously with him to have embraced Islam. *Obeida*, the son of Mahomet's uncle, Hârith; \* *Abu Salma*, a Makhzumite; † *Abu Obeida*, son of Al Jarrâh, subsequently a warrior of note; ‡ and *Othmân*, son of Matzûn. The latter is said to have already abandoned wine before his conversion, and to have been with difficulty persuaded by Mahomet, to renounce the asperities of an ascetic life. § Two brothers, a son, and other relatives of this Othmân, are likewise mentioned among the early believers. ||

Of the slaves ransomed by Abu Bakr from the persecution of their unbelieving masters, the foremost is BILAL, the son of an Abyssinian slave-girl. He was tall, dark, and gaunt, with negro features and bushy hair; but Mahomet honored and distinguished him as "*the first fruits of the Abyssinians*;" and to this day he is renowned throughout the Moslem world as the first Müadzzin, or crier to prayer, ¶ *Amr ibn Fohcira*, after being purchased and released from severe trial, was employed by Abu Bakr in tending his flocks. \*\* *Abdallah ibn Masûd*, "small in body, but weighty in

\* Obeida was killed at Badr; he was ten years older than Mahomet. (*Wackidi*, p. 188.)

† He emigrated twice to Abyssinia with his wife *Omm Salma*. He was wounded at the battle of Uhod, and died shortly after, when Mahomet married his widow. (*Wackidi* p. 2254.)

‡ *Wackidi*, p. 261.

§ He belonged to the Coreishite stock of the Bani Jumh. He wished to renounce the privileges of conjugal life; but Mahomet forbid him, recommending his own practice to his adoption and saying that the Lord had not sent His prophet with a monkish faith. (*Wackidi*, p. 258). The particulars there given are strongly illustrative of Mahomet's character, but we are precluded from entering into further detail by the grossness of language and idea which pervades the passage.

|| His brothers were Abdallah and Cudâma; his son emigrated to Abyssinia. Numir, another Jumhite, is also mentioned as converted at this stage. The whole family of Othmân ibn Matzûn, with their wives and children, emigrated to Medîna, at the Hegira.

¶ He belonged to the Bani Jumh. (*Wackidi*, p. 224.)

\*\* He was possessed by a son of Abu Bakr's wife (the mother of Ayesha) by a former husband. (*Wackidi*, p. 2234.)

faith," the constant attendant of Mahomet at Medîna,\* and *Khobâb*, son of Aratt, a blacksmith, were also converted at this period.† The slaves of Mecca were peculiarly accessible; as foreigners, they were familiar with, perhaps adherents of, Judaism or Christianity; isolated from the influences of hostile partizanship, persecution alienated them from the Coreish, and misfortune made their hearts susceptible of spiritual impression.‡

Twenty persons have now been noticed as among the first confessors of the new faith. At least *thirteen* others are enumerated by Wäckidi as having believed "*before the prophet's entry into the house of Arcam*," the expression of biographers to mark the few earliest years of Islam. Among these, we observe the youthful son, *Sâid* § and several of the relatives of the aged enquirer Zeid already some time dead, but whose remarkable life, as possibly paving the way for Mahomet, has been already alluded to. The wife of Sâid, *Fâtima*, a cousin of the same family, and her brother *Zeid*, || son of Khattâb, were among the early converts. There was also *Obeidallah*, the son of

\* He was of the Bani Tamîm, and attached to the Bani-Zorah, but whether in the capacity of an attendant or confederate, is not stated. He was once at Medîna climbing up a date tree, and his companions were indulging in pleasantry at the expense of his spare legs, when Mahomet used the expression quoted in the text. He was sallow, with his hair smoothed down. (*Wäckidi*, p 207½) On what authority Weil (p. 50) calls him a dwarf, "Der Zwerg," is not stated.

† He was of the Bani Tamîm, having been sold as a prisoner at Mecca to Omm Ammâr, (or Omm Saba) whose trade (*feminarum circumcisatrix*) was so offensively proclaimed at Ohod, by Hanîza, when he challenged Khobâb. It is related of this man, that when he claimed a debt from Al As ibn Wâil, the latter a denier of the resurrection, deferred him ironically for payment to the judgment day. (*Wäckidi*, p. 210½)

‡ Sprenger says—"The excitement among the slaves, when Mahomet first assumed his office, was so great, that Abdallah ibn Jodâân, who had one hundred of these sufferers, found it necessary to remove them from Mecca, lest they should all become converts." (p. 159.) This, however, appears to be an exaggerated statement, as well as the preceding, that "two of them died as martyrs." We do not believe that there was any martyr before the Hegira. We shall consider below the only case of martyrdom alleged by early authority during that period.

§ *Wäckidi*, p. 255½. He died A. H. 50 or 51, aged above seventy; so that at this period he was little more than a boy.

|| *Idem*, 254½. He was an elder brother of the famous Omar. *Khuneis*, the husband of Omar's daughter, Hafa, is also noted as a believer of this time. He has one of the emigrants to Abyssinia. He died about two years after the Hegira, when Mahomet married his widow. (*Wäckidi*, p. 257½.) *Wäckid*, a confederate of the same family, (*ibidem*) and Amir ibn Rabia, the freedman and adopted son of Khattâb, Omar's father, are likewise among the earliest converts. The latter shortly after emigrated with his wife to Abyssinia. (*Idem*, p. 256½.) These facts show the close connection between the family and relatives of the "enquirer" Zeid, and the new religion.

Jahsh, himself one of the "four enquirers." On the persecution becoming hot, he emigrated with his wife Omm Habiha (subsequently married to Mahomet,) and others of his family, to Abyssinia, where he was converted to Christianity, and died in that faith.\* It is interesting to notice likewise among these converts, *Abu Hoizeifa*,† son of Otba, the father-in-law of Abu Sofîân, a family inveterately opposed to Mahomet. There is also the name of *Arcam*, whose house will shortly be mentioned as memorable in the annals of Islam.‡

Besides these *three* and *thirty* individuals the wives and daughters of some of the converts are mentioned as faithful and earnest professors of Islam.§ It is, indeed, in conformity

\* Obeidallah was a cousin by his mother to Mahomet. He belonged to the Bani Dûdân, a collateral branch of the Coreish. Two of his brothers, Abdallah and Abu Ahmed, are also specified as converted "before the entry into Arcam's house." He was the brother of the famous Zeinab, married to Zeib, Mahomet's freedman, and afterwards divorced by him, that the Prophet himself might take her to wife. His mother was Omeima, daughter of Abd al Muttalib.

The whole family of the Bani Dûdân were very favourable to Islam, for it is related of them at the Hegira, they all emigrated to Medina, men, women and children, locking up their houses. (*Wâkidi*, p. 195½.) It is remarkable that this tribe were *confederates* of Harb and Abu Sofîân, the opponents of Mahomet :—the religious influence thus frequently over-riding and baffling the political combinations of Mecca.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 194¼. He challenged his father at Badr to single combat. His sister Hind (wife of Abu Sofîân) retorted in satirical verses, taunting him with his squint, and with the barbarity of offering to fight with his father. He was an ill-favored man, with projecting teeth. He twice fled to Abyssinia with the Moslem emigrants, and his wife Shala there bore him a son whom he called Muhammad.

‡ He was of the Bani Makhzum. Besides the above, it will be as well to enumerate the remaining names given by *Wâkidi* as converts before the entry into Arcam's house :—" *Khâlid ibn Sûd* and his brother *Amr* : they emigrated to Abyssinia, the former with his wife Hamaniya. (*Tabari*, p. 113.) Sprenger (p. 172) makes *Khâlid* the fifth convert ; but there is so great a tendency in each party and family to run up vain gloriously its own representatives as the earliest believers, that little dependance can be placed on such assertions of priority. *Hatib ibn Amr* (of the Bani Amr ibn Loway) was a convert of the same period. (*Wâkidi*, p. 260.) Two others descended from stocks allied to the Coreish, *Amr ibn Abasa*, and *Abu Dzarr Ghifârî*, are also said to have been converted at this period, but to have left Mahomet and returned to their tribes. They rejoined Mahomet after the retreat of the Meccans from the siege of Medina. The accounts, however, are so vague that we doubt their reality. They were probably imagined or fabricated by some descendants who wished to assume for their family a priority in the faith.

§ The following are mentioned by Hishâmi :—*Fâtima*, wife of Sâid, already noticed in the text ; *Asmâ* and *Aysha*, daughters of Abu Bakr, the latter, however, if actually born, could have been only an infant at this period. *Asma*, wife of Ayâsh ibn Rabia ; *Asmî*, wife of Jafar, Mahomet's cousin ; *Fâtima*, wife of Hâtib, mentioned in the preceding note ; *Fokeiha*, wife of Hattâb, his brother ; *Ramlah*, wife of Muttalib ibn Azhar ; *Amina*, wife of Khâlid, in the preceding note (p. 68.) Some of these, indeed, (as *Aysha*) belong to later dates. But it is probable that the list is incomplete. Arab ideas of feminine worth lead the biographers chiefly to mention the women only in connexion with their more famous husbands or fathers.

with the analogy of religious movements in all ages, that the female sex should take a forward part, if not in direct and public acts of assistance, yet in the encouragement and exhortation which lead<sup>d</sup> thereto. On the other hand, in estimating the number of the early converts, we must not forget that their ranks have been unduly swelled by the traditions of those whose piety or ambition sought priority in the faith for their ancestors or patrons. Weighing both considerations, we shall not greatly err, if we conclude that, in the first three or four years of the assumption by Mahomet of his prophetic office, the converts to his faith amounted to nearly forty souls.

By what degrees, influenced by what motives or arguments, and at what precise periods, these individuals, one by one, gave in their adhesion to the claims of Mahomet, we can scarcely determine, farther than in the general outline already before the reader. It is usual among traditionists, to assign to the prophet three years of secret preaching and private solicitation, after which an open call was published to the Coreish at large; but we hardly find grounds for this theory, when we bring it to the sure test of the Coran. It is probable that the preparatory term of doubt and enquiry (which we have in a previous paper endeavoured to trace,) has been confounded by them with the actual assumption of prophetic office. An interval of pious musing, and probably of expostulation with others, preceded the fortieth year of Mahomet's life. It was about that year, we conceive, that the resolution to "recite" in God's name—in other words, *the conviction of inspiration*, was fully adopted. For some succeeding period, his efforts would be naturally directed to individual persuasion and personal entreaty; but we cannot believe that the prophetic claim once assumed, was ever held *a secret* not to be divulged to the people of Mecca. It was at this time the prophet received (as he imagined) the command to preach:\* and

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\*That is, Sura LXXIV. The tradition that the passage, Sura XXVI, v. 213, was the first call to preach, (*Wackidi*, pp. 13 and 88; *Tabari*, p. 114) appears entirely erroneous. That verse is not only contained in a late Sura, but itself bears evidence of persecution, and of believers already numerous. It was probably revealed while the prophet with his relatives was shut up in the "Sheb," or quarter of Abu Talib, and his preaching necessarily confined to them. So the stories of his taking his stand upon Mount Safa, and after summoning his relatives, family by family, and addressing to them the divine message; of the contemptuous reply of Abu Lahab; of the miraculous dinner at which Mahomet propounded his claim to his relatives, and Ali alone stood forth as his champion and "Vizier," &c.; are all to our apprehension apocryphal, and owe their origin to the above, or other passages in the Coran, which it was desired to illustrate, or to Alijite prepossessions. See some of these accounts in *Tabari*, pp. 115—118. At the miraculous dinner, food sufficient only for one, served to their content for a company of forty.

forthwith his appeal was made to the whole community of Mecca. Gradually his followers increased, and the faith of each (though little more than the reflection of *his own* conviction,) was accepted by Mahomet as a new and independent evidence of his mission, emanating from Him who alone can turn the heart. Success expanded before him the sphere of Islam; and that which was primarily intended for Mecca and Arabia, soon embraced, in the ever-widening circle of its call, the human race.

A new phase, however, now appeared. The hostility of the Meccans was aroused, and believers were subjected to persecution and indignity. The positive element of opposition was simply an hereditary attachment to the established system of idolatry. There was no antagonism of a privileged caste, or a priesthood supported by the temple; no "craftsmen of Diana" deriving their livelihood from the shrine. But there was the universal and deep-seated affection for practices associated from infancy with the life of the Meccan, and the pride of a system which placed his city at the head of Arabia. These advantages he would not lightly abandon.

Whether the idolatry of Mecca would not have crumbled without an effort before such preaching as Mahomet's, *sustained by reasonable evidence*, may be matter for question. That which now imparted to it strength and obstinacy, was the equally weak position of its antagonist. Amidst the declamation and rhetoric of the Arabian prophet, there was absolutely no proof, (excepting his own convictions,) ever advanced in support of the divine commission. Idolatry might be wrong, but what guarantee had the idolater that Islam was not equally fallacious? This was the sincere, and long the invincible, objection of the Meccans; and, though, no doubt, mingled with hatred and jealousy, and degenerating often into intolerance and spite, it was the real spring of their opposition.

Persecution, though it may sometimes have deterred the timid from joining his ranks, was of unquestionable service to Mahomet. It eventually furnished a plausible excuse for casting aside the garb of toleration, for opposing force to force against those who "obstructed the ways of the Lord;" and at last, for the compulsory conversion of unbelievers. Even before the Hegira, it forced the adherents of the prophet, in self-defence, into a closer union, and made them stand forth with a bolder aim and more resolute front. The severity and injustice of the Meccans, over-shooting the mark, aroused personal and family sympathies; unbelievers sought to avert

or to mitigate the sufferings of the Moslems, and in so doing were sometimes even gained over to their ranks.\*

It was not, however, till three or four years of his ministry had elapsed, that any general opposition was organized against Mahomet. Even after he had begun publicly to preach, and his followers had multiplied, the Coreish did not gainsay his doctrine. They would only point at him as he passed, and say :—*There goeth the man of the children of Abd al Muttalib, to speak unto the people of the Heavens.* But, adds tradition, when the prophet began to abuse their idols, and to assert the perdition of their ancestors, who had died in unbelief, then they were displeased, and began to treat him with hostility and contempt.†

Hostility once excited, soon showed itself in acts of violence. Sáad having retired for prayer with a group of believers to one of the glens near Mecca, a party of his neighbours passed unexpectedly by, when a sharp contention arose between them, followed by blows ; Sáad struck one of his opponents with a camel goad ; and this, they say, was " the first blood shed in Islam "‡

It was probably about this time, the fourth year of his mission, (A. D. 613), that in order to prosecute his endeavours peaceably and without interruption, Mahomet took possession of the house of Arcam, (one of the converts noticed above,) a short distance to the south of his own, upon the gentle rise of Safâ. It was in a frequented position, fronting the Kaaba to the east ; and all the pilgrims, in the prescribed walk between the two eminences, must needs pass often before it.§ Thither

\* The instance of Hamza is one in point, who was led to embrace Islam through indignation at the manner in which Abu Jahl abused Mahomet.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 38 ; *Hishâmi*, p. 69 ; *Tabari*, p. 120.

‡ *Hishâmi*, p. 70. *Tabari*, p. 114. The story is not given by *Wâckidi*, and is open to some suspicion. Sáad is famous as " the first who shot an arrow " in the Mussulman wars, (*Wâckidi*, p. 984-2054.) His friends, desirous to show that he was the first to shed blood, too, for Islam, may have supposed, magnified, or invented this tale.

§ The house possesses so peculiar an interest in the earliest annals of Islam, that we shall note the particulars given by *Wâckidi* regarding it : page 226—

وكانت دار بمكة علي الصفا وهي دار التي كان النبي فيها  
في أول الاسلام وفيها دعا الناس الى الاسلام واسلم فيها قوم كثير\*

\* His (Arcam's) house in Meca was on Safâ, the same which the prophet occupied in the beginning of Islam ; and in it he invited the people to Islam ; and therein believed a great multitude.



were conducted all who showed any leaning towards the doctrine of Mahomet. Thus of one and another of the believers, it is recorded that "he was converted after the entry into the house of Arcam, and the preaching there,"—or, that "he was brought to Mahomet in the house of Arcam, and the prophet recited the Coran unto him, and expounded the doctrines of Islam, and he was converted and embraced the faith." So famous was it as the birth-place of conversion, that it was afterwards styled *the house of Islam*.\*

Four sons of Abul Bokeir, a confederate of the family of Khattâb, were the first to believe, and "*swear allegiance to Mahomet* in this house.† Though Omar, the son of Khattâb,

In after days, Arcam devoted it to the Lord in a deed, which Wäckidi saw, and of which the following extract contains a copy:—

ودعيت دار الارقم دار الاسلام وتصدق بها الارقم  
علي ولده فقرات نسخه مدقه الارقم بدا رة بسم الله  
الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما قضى الارقم في ربه ما حاز  
الصفا انها محرمه بمكانها من الحرم لا تباع ولا تورث \*

"And the house of Arcam was called *the house of Islam*, and Arcam devoted it (to God) under the trust of his children; and I read the document of consecration. In the name of the Lord, the Compassionate, the Merciful:— *this is what Arcam hath determined regarding the house which bordereth upon Safâ, that it is devoted, as a part of the sacred place. It shall not be sold, neither shall it be inherited.* Witnessed by Hishâm ibn al As and his freedman."

The descendants of Arcam continued to possess the house, either occupying it themselves, or taking rent for it, until the Caliphate of Abu Jâfar. When Moham-mad Hasan's grandson rebelled in Medîna, Abdallah, the grandson of Arcam sided with him, and Abu Jâfar caused him to be put in prison and in irons. Then the Caliph sent a message to Abdallah, now above eighty years of age, promising him a full pardon if he would sell to him the house of Arcam. He objected that it was devoted property:—but at last, partly through intimidation, partly tempted by the large price, he sold his share in it for 17,000 dinars, and his relatives did likewise. Thus it became the property of the Caliph. Then Mahdî gave it to Kheizaran (the slave girl, the mother of Mûsâ and Hârûn,) who enlarged it, and it was called after her name.

There is nothing to show clearly on what footing Mahomet occupied this building;—whether continuously with his family, or only as a place of retreat, where, sheltered from the observation and annoyances of the Meccans, he could pursue his teaching unmolested. From several incidental notices of converts remaining there concealed during the day, and slipping away in the evening, the latter appears to be the more probable view.

\* Dar ul Islam : دار الاسلام

† Abul Bokeir was descended from Kinâna by an off-shoot more ancient than the Coreish. This family is included among the Dûdân branch, which emigrated *en masse* to Medîna at the Hegira. (*Wäckidi*, pp. 196-256½.)

The remarkable expression in the text is the same as for doing homage or swear-

was not yet converted, the leaven of the new doctrine was doubtless spreading rapidly among his connexions.

The story of *Musab* ibn Omeir, a great grandson of Hāshim, will illustrate some of the obstacles to the progress of Islam. His wife was a sister of Obeidalla, son of Jahsh;\* and, probably, through the influence of her family, he was induced to visit the house of Arcam, where he listened to Mahomet and embraced his doctrine. But he feared publicly to confess the change; for his tribe, and his mother, who doted upon him, and through whose fond attention he was noted as the most handsomely dressed youth in Mecca, were inveterately opposed to Mahomet. His conversion being at last noised abroad, his family seized and kept him in durance: but he effected an escape, and proceeded to Abyssinia with the first Moslem emigrants. When he returned from thence, he was so changed and miserable in appearance, that his mother had not the heart to abuse him. At a later period, having been deputed by Mahomet to teach the enquirers at Medīna, he revisited Mecca in company with some of them. His mother being told of his arrival, sent the message:—"Ah, disobedient son! dost thou enter a city in which thy mother dwelleth, and not first visit her?" "Nay, verily," replied he, "I shall never visit the house of any one before the prophet of God." So after he had greeted Mahomet, he went to his mother, who accosted him: "Well! I suppose thou art still a renegade." "I follow the faith of the prophet of the Lord, Islam." "Art thou then well satisfied with the way thou hast fared in the land of Abyssinia, and now again at Yathreb?" Seeing that she meditated his imprisonment, he exclaimed, "What! wilt thou endeavour to *force* me from my religion? If thou seekest to confine me, I will assuredly slay the first person that layeth hands upon me." His mother said, "then go about your business!" and she began to weep. And Musab was moved and said:—"Oh, my mother! I give thee affectionate counsel. Testify that there is no god but the Lord, and that Mahomet is his servant and messenger." And she replied: "By

ing fealty to a leader or chief. Arkil and his three brothers were converted in the house of Arcam, and they were the first to swear allegiance to Mahomet therein; وهو اول من بايع رسول الله فيها—" It was probably a general declaration of faith and submission to his teaching; but possibly the mere application of a later phrase to a period when there was nothing yet of the kind.

\* Before noticed as the convert who embraced Christianity in Abyssinia.

"the sparkling stars,\* I shall never make a fool of myself by entering into thy religion. I leave thee and thy concerns alone, and steadfastly cleave unto mine own faith." †

There were social causes on the other hand to aid the spread of the new doctrine. Anticipating a year or two, we may illustrate these by the conversion of Tulieb, a cousin, by his mother, of Mahomet. ‡ This lad having been gained over in the house of Arcam, went to his mother and told her that he now believed in the Lord and followed the prophet. She replied that he did very right in assisting his maternal cousin; "And, by the Lord!" she added, "if I had strength to do that which men can, I would myself defend and protect him." "But, my mother! what hindereth thee from believing and following him? And truly thy brother Hamza hath believed." She replied, "I wait to see what my sisters do: I shall verily be like unto them." "But, I beseech thee, mother, by the Lord! wilt thou not go unto him and salute him, and testify thy faith?" And she did so; and thenceforward she would assist the cause of Mahomet by her speech, and by stirring up her sons to aid him and to fulfil his commands §

Shortly after Mahomet began to occupy the house of Arcam, several slaves allied themselves to him. Of these, *Yasâr* and *Jabr* are mentioned by the commentators on the Coran, as the parties accused by the Coreish of instructing the prophet. The latter was the Christian servant of a family from Hadhramaut, and the prophet is said to have sat much at his cell. || The former, better known under the name of Abu Fokeiha, ¶ was subjected to great persecution, but probably

\* Compare Sura LXXXVI. 3, where the same oath will be found.

والسما والطارق وما ادراك ما الطارق | النجم الثاقب

† *Wâkidi*, p. 201 *et seq.* Musâb was killed at Ohod, where he displayed a valour and disregard of suffering almost incredible.

‡ His mother was Orwa, daughter of Abd al Muttalib. (*Wâkidi*, p. 202½).

§ Tuleib was killed in the battle of Ajnadein, A. H. 13, aged thirty-five. At the period of his conversion, say in the sixth or seventh year of Mahomet's mission, he would thus be about sixteen years of age. He went to Abyssinia in the second emigration, but nothing notable is related of him in after life.

|| *Hishâmi*, p. 125; *Sprenger*, p. 162. He must have died before the emigration to Medina, as we do not hear anything farther of him. The imputation of *learning* from *Jabr* is probably of a later date than the events we have arrived at; for at this period there was scarcely any mention of the Sacred Scriptures in the Coran.

¶ Dr. Sprenger seems to have overlooked this, when he states that his name does not appear among the followers of Mahomet. He is frequently mentioned as one of the converts who suffered most severely in the early persecutions. (See *Wâkidi*, p. 227.) We do not find him noticed in the later history. So that he likely died at Mecca during this period.

died some time before the Hegira. His daughter Fokeiha was married to a convert named Hattâb, whom we find, with others of his family, among the subsequent emigrants to Abyssinia. \*

A more important convert, styled by Mahomed "*the first fruits of Greece*," was *Suheib*, son of Sinân. His home was at Mousal, or some neighbouring Mesopotamian village, and his father or uncle had been the Persian governor of Obolla. A Grecian band made an incursion into Mesopotamia, and carried him off, yet a boy, to Syria, perhaps to Constantinople. Bought afterwards by a party of Kalbites, he was sold at Mecca to Abdalla ibn Jodâân, who freed and took him under his protection. A fair and very ruddy complexion marked his northern birth, and broken Arabic betrayed a Grecian education. By traffic he acquired some wealth at Mecca; but having embraced Islam, and being left by the death of Abdalla without any patron, he suffered much at the hands of the unbelieving Coreish. It is probable that Mahomet gained some knowledge of Christianity from him, and he may be the same to whom the Meccans at a later period referred as the source of his Scriptural information;—and, indeed, we know that they say, VERILY A CERTAIN MAN TEACHETH HIM: but the tongue of him whom they intend is foreign, whereas this Revelation is in the tongue of pure Arabic.† At the general emigration to Medina, the people of Mecca endeavoured to prevent his departure; but he bargained to relinquish the whole of his property, if they would let him go free, and Mahomet, when he heard of it, exclaimed, *Suheib, verily, hath made a profitable bargain.*‡

\* Hattâb, (See above page 12.) Hâtib and Mumir are mentioned by Hishâmi (whom Sprenger follows,) as sons of Hârith, of the Bani Juhm. Wâkidi gives this genealogy to Mumir, (p. 259) but makes Hâtib to be the son of Amr, of an entirely different tribe, the Bani Amir ibn Lowey. (p. 260.)

† Sura XVI., 103, which is one of the latest Meccan Suras. The same imputation will be found in Suras of a somewhat earlier date; as Sura XLIV., 4; XXV., 4.

‡ The family of Suheib held that he fled from Constantinople to Mecca, after reach-

The description of Suheib is given in considerable detail. He was a little below middle stature, and had much hair. (*Idem*, p. 222.)

§ (Wâkidi, *Ibid.*) When he was about to emigrate, the Meccans said unto him, *Thou camest hither in need and penury; but thy wealth hath increased with us until thou hast reached thy present prosperity; and now thou art departing, not thyself only, but with all thy property; by the Lord, that shall not be! And he said*

Another freed slave, *Ammar*, used to resort to the house of Arcam, and simultaneously with Suheib, embraced Islam. His father, *Yâsir*, a stranger from Yemen, his mother *Sommeya*, and his brother *Abdallah*, were also believers.\*

The jealousy and enmity of the Coreish, were aggravated by the continued success of the new sect, which now numbered

*If I relinquish my property, will ye leave me free to depart?* And they agreed thereto: so he parted with all his goods: and when that was told unto Mahomet, he said, "VERILY SUHEIB HATH TRAFFICKED 'TO PROFIT.'" Another version states that he was pursued by the Meccans, when he turned round on his camel, and swore, that if they persisted he would shoot every arrow in his quiver at them, and then take to his sword. And they knowing him to be one of the best archers in Mecca, left him and returned.

Suheib had some humour. He reached Medina in the season of fresh dates, and being weary and hungry, he fell upon them. But as he suffered from Ophthalmia in one of his eyes, the prophet asked why he ate dates (they being injurious to that disease): and he replied, *Verily I am eating them only from the side of the eye that is well:* and the prophet smiled thereat. Suheib then asked Abu Bakr, why they had left him at Mecca to be imprisoned, &c.—and that he had been forced to buy his life with his wealth; Mahomet, in reply, is represented as making use of the saying in the text; whereupon was revealed Sura II. 207:—*And of men there is one, who buyeth his life, through the desire of those things that be pleasing unto God, &c.,* (*Wâckidi*, p. 223) He died A. H. 33, aged seventy: and was buried at Backi, the cemetery of Medina.

\* *Yâsir* belonged to a tribe in Yemen of the Madhij or Cahlân stock. He with two brothers visited Mecca to seek out their maternal relatives; and he remained behind with his patrom Abu Hodzeifa, who gave him in marriage to his slave girl *Sommeya*. She bore to him *Ammâr*, freed by Abu Hodzeifa, and *Abdallah*.

After *Yâsir*, *Sommeya* married a Greek slave, *Azrack*, belonging to a man of Tâif, and to him she bore *Salma*. It is not easy to explain this, for at the time referred to in the text (*i. e.*, 614 or 615 A. D.) *Yâsir* was alive, and is mentioned as having with his wife joined Mahomet and suffered severe persecution. The second marriage of *Sommeya*, and the birth of *Salma* were consequently after this period. But *Ammâr*, her son by *Yâsir*, was at least *one* year (perhaps four) older than Mahomet, or about forty-six years of age; and his mother (who had moreover borne to *Yâsir* a son, *Horeith*, older than *Ammâr*, (*Wâckidi*, p. 227.) must therefore have been near sixty years of age. Yet we are to believe that she married, and bore a son after that age.

*Wâckidi* has a tradition that *Sommeya* suffered martyrdom at the hands of Abu Jahl:—

فلما كان العسي جا ابو جهل يشتم سميه ويرث ثم طعنها  
فقتلها فهي ازل شهيد استشهد في الاسلام \*

"And (after a day of persecution,) when it was evening, Abu Jahl came and abused *Sommeya*, and used filthy language towards her, and stabbed (or reviled?) her, and killed her, and she was the first martyr in Islam, except *Bilâl*, who counted not his life dear unto him in the service of the Lord; so that they tied a rope about his neck and made the children run backwards and forwards, pulling him between the two hills of Mecca (Abu Cobeis and Ahmar. *marg-gloss*) and *Bilâl* kept saying, ONE, ONE! (*i. e.*, there is only one God) (*Wâckidi*, p. 224.)

The story of this martyrdom appears to us apocryphal:—I. This is the only place we find it mentioned in the early biographers: whereas had it really occurred, it would have been trumped forth in innumerable traditions and versions.

more than fifty followers. The brunt of their wrath fell upon the converted slaves, and on the strangers and poor believers who had no patron or protector. These were seized and imprisoned; or they were cast, in the glare of the mid-day sun, upon the scorching sand and gravel of the Meccan valley;\* the torment being enhanced by unsufferable thirst, until the wretched sufferers hardly knew what they said.† If under the torture they reviled Mahomet and acknowledged the idols of Mecca, they were refreshed by bags of water upon the spot, and taken to their homes. Bilâl is recorded alone to have escaped the shame of recantation; in the depth of his suffering, his persecutors could force from him but one expression,—AHAD! AHAD!

There is certainly no danger of the perils and losses of the early Moslems being under-estimated or in-ufficiently noticed by tradition. II. The tendency of exaggerating persecution may have led the descendants of the family to attribute Sommeya's death, which happened probably before the Hegira, to Abu Jahl's ill-treatment, with which it had probably little or nothing to do. (See *Cannon II. B. in former Article.*) The manner in which the story subsequently expanded, will be seen by a reference to Sale's note on the Coran, XVI., 106. The double signification of the word طعن (abuse, and stabbing,) may have given its origin

to the story. III. The desire to heap contumely on Abu Jahl, would lead to the same result. (*Cannon II. G.*) IV. Bilâl, in the above extract, is also noticed as a virtual martyr, though he long survived these persecutions; which is not in favor of the exact and literal interpretation of the passage. V. The chronological difficulty still remains. Repeated traditions speak of Yâsir, Sommeya and Ammâr, (father, mother, and son,) being all tormented together, and so seen by Mahomet as he passed by: (*Wâkidi, p. 227*) but they would not be so mentioned unless Yâsir were still married to Sommeya. Yet "after Yâsir," (and apparently after his death,) she married Azrack. How, then, are we to understand that she died under persecution? It may be suggested that her marriage with Azrack may have been an *interlude* in her married life with Yâsir, to whom she again returned as wife, but this is not the natural meaning of the expressions used:—or, that her marriage to Azrack and martyrdom may have occurred at a later period. Yet this could hardly have been, as she bore him a son, and must have survived the period of hot persecution. On the whole, the evidence for the martyrdom is utterly insufficient. Azrack belonged to Tâif, and was one of the slaves who at the siege of that city (some fifteen years later,) fled over to Mahomet's camp. It is natural to conclude that Sommeya, after Yâsir's death, married Azrack, and accompanied him to Tâif.

Some accounts represent Ammâr as having emigrated to Abyssinia, but others state this as doubtful. He was killed in the battle of Siffin, A. H. 37, aged ninety-one or ninety-four. He was at one period appointed by Omar Governor of Cufa.

\* M. Caussin de Perceval in here rendering the two Arabic words *Ramdah* and *Batha* as the names of places, has made a curious mistake, rare in an Orientalist of his attainments. The words signify "gravel," and "valley."

† It is added, that they used to encase them in coats of mail. The torture that would thus be inflicted by the heated metal can be understood only by those who know the power of a tropical sun beating upon the arid sand and rocks. There is, however, a constant tendency to magnify these sufferings, and we have no check. (See *Cannon II. B. in former Article.*)

"One, one, (God alone!)" On such an occasion Abu Bakr passed by, and secured his liberty of conscience by purchasing his freedom.\* Some of the others retained the scars of the sores and wounds thus inflicted to the end of their lives. Khobâb and Ammâr used to exhibit with pride and exultation the marks of their suffering and constancy to another generation, in which glory and success had well nigh effaced the memory of persecution.†

With those who under these trying circumstances renounced their faith, Mahomet exhibited much commiseration. The following anecdote will show that he even encouraged them to dissimulate that they might escape the torment. The prophet happening to pass by Ammâr, as he sobbed and wiped his eyes, enquired of him what was the matter: "Evil; Oh prophet! They would not let me go until I had abused thee, and spoken 'well of their gods.' *But how dost thou find thy heart?*" "Secure and steadfast in the faith." Then, replied Mahomet, *if they repeat their cruelty, repeat thou also thy words.* A special exception for such unwilling deniers of Islam was even provided in the Coran.‡

Mahomet himself was safe under the shadow of the respected and now venerable Abu Tâlib, who, though unconvinced by the claims of the prophet, scrupulously fulfilled those of the nephew, and withstood resolutely every approach of the Coreish to detach him from his guardianship.

\* Abu Bakr paid for him seven (according to others five) *owkeas*. When it was told to Mahomet, he said, "Wilt thou give me a share in him?" To which Abu Bakr replied, that he had already released him. (*Wâckidi*, p. 224.) Hishâmi (p. 89) gives further particulars:—Waraca used to pass by while Bilâl was being tormented, and said that he would buy him. At last Abu Bakr, whose house was in the same quarter, said to his master:—*Dost thou not fear God that thou treatest this poor creature so?* "Nay," replied his master, "it is thou that hast perverted him: it is for thee to deliver him from this plight." So Abu Bakr bargained to give for him another black slave, much stronger than Bilâl.

Abu Bakr bought, and freed besides, six male and female slaves converts to Islam. His father, seeing that they were all poor weak creatures, told him that he had much better redeem able bodied men who would be fit to help his cause: but Abu Bakr replied that he had done as God had minded him to do.

† Besides these two, the names of five others are given amongst those who suffered severe persecution of this nature: viz. Suheib, Amr ibn Fokeira, Abu Fokeira, and the father and mother of Ammâr. For the vain-glorious boasting of Ammâr, see *Wâckidi*, p. 227½; and of Khobâb, who displayed his scars before Omar, when Caliph, *idem*, p. 210½.

‡ The story of Ammâr, is given from various sources by *Wâckidi*, (p. 227½). See Sura XVI., 106, *Whoever denieth God after that he hath believed, (EXCEPTING HIM WHO IS FORCIBLY COMPELLED THERETO, HIS HEART REMAINING STEADFAST IN THE FAITH,) on such resteth the wrath of God.* See also Sura XXXIX., 53, where renegades from Islam ("those who have transgressed against their own souls;") are exhorted not to despair of the mercy of God.

Abu Bakr, too, and those who could claim affinity with the powerful families of Mecca, though exposed perhaps to contumely and reproach, were generally secure from personal injury. The chivalry which makes common cause among the members and connections of an Arab family, and arouses the fiery impetuosity of all against the injures of one, prevented, the enemies of Islam from open and violent persecution.\* Such immunity, however, depended in part on the good will of the convert's family and friends; it would hardly exist where his whole tribe were inimical to the new religion. Thus, when the Bani Makhzûm were minded to chastise some of their number and among the rest Walid, for becoming Moslems, they repaired to his brother Hishâm, a violent opposer of the prophet, and demanded his permission; this he readily gave, but added, *beware of killing him, for if thou dost, I shall verily slay in his stead the chiefest among you.*†

To escape these indignities, and the fear of perversion, Mahomet now recommended such of his followers as were without protection, to seek an asylum in a foreign land. *Yonder, pointing to the West, lieth a country wherein no one is wronged; a land of righteousness. Depart thither, and remain until it pleaseth the Lord to open your way before you.* Abyssinia was well known to the Meccans as a market for the goods of Arabia; and the Court of the *Najâshy* (or king,) was the ordinary destination of one of their annual caravans.‡ In the month of Rajab, the fifth year of Mahomet's prophetic office, § eleven men, some mounted, some on foot, and four of them accompanied by their wives, set out for the port of Shueiba,|| where, finding two vessels about to set sail, they embarked in haste, and were conveyed to Abyssinia for half a dinar a-piece. The Meccans are said to have pursued them, but they had already left the port. Among the emigrants was Othmân, (son of Affân) followed by his wife Rockeya, the prophet's daughter; and Abd al

\* See this state of society described in the paper on the *Forefathers of Mahomet*, p. 2.

† "*Hishâmi*, p. 91. Walid and Hishâm were sons of the famous Walid ibn al Moghira, already mentioned as one of the chief men of Mecca, and a violent opponent of Mahomet.

‡ "Then Mahomet gave commandment to them to go forth to the land of Abyssinia. Now there was there a just king, Al Najâshy. It was a land with which the Coreish used to do merchandize, because they found therein abundance of food, protection, and good traffic." (*Tabari*, p. 127)

§ November, 615 A. D., by the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval.

|| شعيبة the ancient port of Mecca, not far from Jiddah.



Rahmân, both, as merchantmen, already perhaps acquainted with the country. The youths, Zobeir and Musâb, were also of the number. The party was headed by Othmân, son of Matzûn, as its leader.\* They met with a kind reception from the Najâshy and his people. The exile was passed in peace and in comfort.

This is termed the *first* "Hegira," or flight to Abyssinia, as distinguished from the later and more extensive emigration thither. On this occasion the emigrants were few, but the part they acted was of deep importance to Islâm. It convinced the Meccans of the sincerity and resolution of the converts, and proved their readiness to undergo any loss and any hardship, rather than abjure the faith of Mahomet. A bright example of self-denial was exhibited to the believers generally, who were led to regard peril and exile in "the cause of God," as a glorious privilege and distinction. It suggested that the hostile attitude of their fellow citizens, and the purity of their own faith, might secure for them, within the limits of Arabia, a sympathy and hospitality as cordial as the Abyssinian; and thus struck the type of a greater "Hegira," the emigration to Medina. Finally, it turned the attention of Mahomet more closely and more favourably to the Christian religion. If an Arab asylum had not at last offered itself at Medina, the prophet himself might have emigrated to Abyssinia, and Mahometanism might have dwindled, like Gnosticism or Mon-tanism, into one of the ephemeral heresies of Christianity.

To complete our review of this period, it is needful that we should examine the portions of the Coran given forth in it, for their purport, and even their style, will throw an important light upon the inner, as well as the external, struggles of the prophet.

To the two or three years intervening between the commission to preach, and the first emigration to Abyssinia, may be assigned about twenty of the Suras as they now stand. Even in this short time, a marked change may be traced both in the sentiments and the composition.†

\* See Wackidi, p. 38½; *Tabari*, p. 127; *Âishâmî*, p. 91S *prenger*, p. 182; and *Causin de Perceval*, Vol. I., p. 388.

† The Suras of this period consist of about twenty. The supposed order of the preceding twenty-two Suras has been given in a previous article. The following appears, to be the chronological sequence of those in the present stage:—the 23rd in order, LXXXVII.; 24, XC VII.; 25, LXXXVIII.; 26, LXXX.; 27, LXXXI.; 28, LXXXIV.; 29, LXXXVI. 30, CX.; 31, LXXXV.; 32, LXXXIII.; 33, LXXXVIII.; 34, LXXXVII.; 35, LXXXVI.; 36, LXXXV.; 37, LXX.; 38, CIX.; 39, CVII.; 40, LV.; 41, LVI.

At first, like a Himalayan stream, the current dashes headlong—pure, wild, impetuous. Such are the fragments described in a previous article. Advancing, the style becomes calmer and more uniform; yet ever and anon the tumultuous rhapsody, like an unexpected cataract, interposes thrilling words of ardent conviction and fervid aspiration.\* Advancing still, though the dancing stream sometimes sparkles, and the foam deceives the eye, one may trace a rapid decline in the vivid energy of natural inspiration, and even the mingling with it of grosser elements. There is yet, indeed, a wide difference from the turbid, tame, and sluggish course of later days; but the tendency towards it cannot be mistaken. The decay of life is now supplied by artificial expedient. Elaborate periods, and the measured cadence of rhyming prose, convey too often unmeaning truisms, or silly fiction. Though there still occur powerful reasonings against idolatry, and the burning words of a living faith, yet the chief substance of the Coran begins to be composed of legends expanded by the prophet's imagination; of pictures of heaven and hell, the resurrection and the judgment day; and of dramatic scenes in which the righteous and the damned, angles, genii, and infernal spirits, converse in language framed adroitly as argument in the cause of Mahomet.

The Suras gradually extend in length. In the preceding stage a whole Sura seldom exceeds the quarter of a page of Flügel's beautiful quarto edition; in the present period it occupies one, and sometimes two pages.†

The theory of inspiration becomes more fully developed. The Almighty, from whom Revelation alone proceeds, is the sole authority for its collection, recitation and true meaning.

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\* Throughout this period we find the same wild oaths constantly recurring as in the earlier Suras. See Suras LXXXI., LXXXIV., LXXXVI., LXXXV., LXXVII., LXXV., LXX., 40, LVI., 47. In the 86th Sura, the oath used by Musâb's mother, occurs "by the sparkling star!"

† It is interesting to watch the gradual lengthening of the Suras. Flügel's edition forms an excellent standard for doing so. The number of verses, from their varying length, is not an exact test, but that of the lines and pages of the printed volume is. The twenty-two Suras first revealed contain an average of only five lines each; the next twenty Suras, (those referred to in the present Article,) sixteen lines;—some of them being composed of nearly 2 pages, (each page having twenty-two lines.) From this period to the Hegira the average length of fifty Suras is 3 pages and nine lines; some being seven and eight, and one nearly 12 pages. The average length of the twenty-one Medina Suras is 5 pages, the longest is the second, of 22½ pages,—the next the third, fourth and fifth, 14½, 13½ and 11 pages respectively.

Up to nearly the time of the prophet's emigration to Medina, the Suras were produced generally whole at one time as we now find them. Later it became Mahomet's practice to throw together, according to their subject-matter, verses given forth at various time,—which is one reason why the later Suras are of such great length. (See page 5 of *Original Sources for Biography of Mahomet.*)

On these points Mahomet must wait for heavenly direction ; he must not be hasty in repeating the Divine words, for "*the Coran is revealed by a gradual revelation,*"\* and it is the prerogative of the Lord to prescribe what shall be remembered and what forgotten.† How much soever the prophet may have sincerely believed, or persuaded himself to believe, that these functions were executed by the Deity, the doctrine offered an irresistible temptation to suit the substance of the Coran to the varying necessities of the hour, and eventually led to the open assertion (which so damaged his cause in the eyes of unbelievers,) that where two passages are irreconcilably opposed in their meaning, the later *abrogates* the earlier.

Notwithstanding this apparent fallibility, we begin to find a disposition to claim for the Coran a superstitious veneration, by ascribing to it not Divine inspiration only, but a heavenly original. *Truly, it is the glorious Coran, IN THE PRESERVED TABLE.* ‡

"It is an admonition in revered pages ;

Exalted, pure ;

Written by scribes honorable and just."§

It was brought down from Heaven on the

"NIGHT OF POWER, a night which excelleth a thousand months,  
Whereon the Angels and THE SPIRITS descend by the command of their

[Lord, upon every errand ;

It is Peace until the breaking of the Morn "||

\* *Verily, We (the Lord) send down the Coran by degrees unto thee ;* the Oordoo translation of Abd ul Câdir has  
"slowly and gently."

† We shall cause thee to rehearse (the Revelation,) and thou shalt not forget excepting that which the Lord shall please ; for He knoweth that which is public and that which is concealed ; and We shall facilitate unto thee that which is easy." (Sura LXXXVII., 6, 7.)

‡ In another passage Mahomet is thus addressed by the Deity :—"And move not thy tongue therein (in repeating the Coran) that thou shouldst be hasty therewith. Verily upon Us devolveth the collection thereof, and the recitation thereof, and when We shall have recited it unto thee, then follow the recitation thereof. Farther, upon Us devolveth the explanation thereof." (Sura LXXXV., 17—19.)

§ Sura LXXXV., 21. Meaning, according to Sale's paraphrastic translation,—"*the original whereof is written in a table kept in Heaven.*"

§ "Being transcribed from the preserved table, kept pure and uncorrupted from the hands of evil spirits, and touched only by the Angels." Zamakshari as quoted by Sale. The scribes apparently mean the Angels.

|| Sura XCVII. This is the famous *Lailat al Cadr*, of which so much has been made in after days. It probably referred to some special night on which Mahomet conceived that the truth broke full and clear upon his mind ; hence the "Night of Power."

The Sura is a fragment of five verses only, and abruptly opens with the words, "we have caused it to descend on the night of Al Cadr." It may either signify with Sale and the commentators "the Coran," or more probably a clear sense of Divine Truth.

It is not clear what ideas Mahomet at the first attached to "the spirit" here noticed.\* They were perhaps indefinite. It was a phrase he had heard used, but with different meanings, by the Jews and Christians. That it was the "Holy Ghost" (however interpreted) Mahomet intended by the term, is evident from the repeated use, though at a later date, of the expression "*God strengthened Him (Jesus) by the Holy Spirit.*"† But eventually there can be no doubt that the "Holy Spirit" of Mahomet came to signify the Angel Gabriel. He had learned, and he believed, that Jesus was "born of the Virgin Mary, by the power of the Holy Ghost;" and either knowingly rejecting the divinity of that blessed person, or imperfectly informed as to His nature, he confounded Gabriel announcing the conception, with the Holy Spirit that overshadowed Mary. The two expressions became, in the phraseology of the Coran, synonymous.

And Gabriel, the "Spirit," was the Messenger who communicated to Mahomet the words of God, and sometimes appeared to him in a material form. The *traditional* account of the vision of Gabriel at the commencement of his inspiration, has already been noticed. It is perhaps to this apparition the prophet alludes in an early Sura of the present period:—

— And I swear by the Star that is retrograde;  
By that which goeth forward, and that which desapi careth;  
By the Night when it closeth in,  
By the Morn when it breaketh!  
(I swear) that this verily is the word of an honoured Messenger;  
Powerful; and with the Lord of the Throne, of great dignity:  
Obedient there and faithful.  
And your Companion is not mad;  
Truly he hath seen him in the clear Horizon;  
And he entertaineth no suspicions regarding the Unseen;  
Neither is this the word of a rejected † Devil.  
Whether then are ye going?  
Verily this is no other than an admonition to all creatures,  
To him amongst you that willeth to walk uprightly:  
But ye shall not will, unless the Lord willeth;—The Lord of Creation!

SURA LXXXI.

The concluding verses show that Mahomet already contemplated his mission as embracing the whole world. The

\* The only two other places in which "the Spirit" is mentioned in the revelations of *this period*, are Suras, LXXVIII., 37; and LXX, 5; in which it is alluded to in connection with the Angels as present at the day of Judgment.

† See Sura II., 87, 254—*واتينا عيسى ابن مريم البينات*—*وايدناه بروح القدس*. the expression is the same in both passages. So Sura LVIII., 22. He hath strengthened them (believers) with His Spirit. *وايدهم بروح منه*. In later periods of the Coran the same *verb* is used with reference to supernatural help, as by angels in battle, Sura IX., 42; VII., 65; III., 13; VIII., 25.

‡ Literally *driven away*, and thereof unable ever to hear the secrets of Heaven.

vivid conviction of its heavenly origin contrasted strangely with the apathy and unbelief around him ; and hence is springing up a belief in the Divine decree of election and reprobation, which alone could account for these spiritual phenomena,\* yet in the very strength of the asseveration that he was not deceived, and that his inspiration was not that of a "rejected devil," do we not trace the symptoms of a lurking suspicion that all might possibly not be right ?

The teaching of the Coran is, up to this stage, very simple. Belief in the Unity of God, and in Mahomet as His messenger, in the resurrection of the dead, and retribution of good and evil,† are perhaps the sole doctrines insisted upon. The only duties, prayer‡ and charity, honesty in weights and measures,§ truthfulness in testimony, chastity,|| and the faithful observance of covenants.

It is doubtful whether, at this period, Mahomet inculcated the rites of the Meccan system as divine. The absence of allusion to them inclines to the opinion that they formed at least no part of his positive teaching. There was at any rate a clear and conclusive renunciation of idolatry :—

SURA CIX.—SAY, Oh, ye unbelievers !  
I worship not that which ye worship ;  
And ye do not worship that which I worship,  
I will never worship that which ye worship ;  
Neither will ye worship that which I worship.  
To you be your Religion ; to me my Religion.

\* We find the doctrine of predestination appearing in almost the same words in another Sura of this period.—(LXXVI., 29.) *Verily this is a Warning. And whoso willeth taketh the way unto his Lord ; and ye shall not will unless God willeth, for God is knowing and wise. He causeth such as He willeth to enter into His Mercy, but as for the Unjust, He hath prepared for them a grievous punishment,* (v. 29 to end.)

† Sura LXX., 26.

‡ LXXVI., 7, 25 ; LXX. 23—33. The times of prayer are as yet only mentioned generally, as Morning, Evening and Night.

§ Sura LXXXIII., 1—5 ; LV., 8. The former opens with a fine philippic against those who defraud in weights and measures :—" *What ! do they think that they shall not be raised ! On the great day ! The day on which mankind shall stand before the Lord of all creatures !*"

|| Sura LXX., 29—32. It is to be specially noted that at this early period, Mahomet, according to the custom of the country, admitted slave girls to be lawful concubines, besides ordinary wives ; and they are specified by the same phrase afterwards used at Medina, *viz., that which your right hands possess*, signifying female slaves obtained by purchase or conquest. This was at a time when he himself lived chastely with a single wife of advanced age. Though the license was subsequently used for his own indulgence, and as holding out an inducement to his followers to fight, in the hope of capturing females, (who would then be lawful concubines as "that which their right hand possessed"), yet these do not appear to have been the original motives for the rule. It was, in fact, one of the earliest compromises, by which he fitted his system to the usages and wants of those about him.

This Sura is said to have been revealed when the aged Walid pressed Mahomet to the compromise, that his God should be worshipped in conjunction with their deities, or alternately every year.\* Whatever the occasion, it breathes a spirit of uncompromising hostility to the practice of idolatry.

The vivid pictures of heaven and hell, placed, to increase their effect, in close juxtaposition, are now painted in colours of material joy and torment; which, though to us absurd and childish—were well calculated to strike a deep impression upon the simple Arab mind. Rest and passive enjoyment: gardens verdant with murmuring rivulets, wherein the believer clothed in green silk, brocades, and silver ornaments, reposes beneath the wide spreading shade, upon couches with cushions and carpets; and drinks the sweet-waters of the fountain, or quaffs aromatic wine (such as the Arabian loved, and before Islam indulged in) placed in goblets before him, or handed round in silver cups resplendent as glass, by beautiful youths; while clusters of fruit hang close and invite the hand to gather them; such is the oft repeated, and glowing scene, framed to captivate the inhabitant of the thirsty and sterile Mecca.†

And another element is soon added to complete the Paradise of the pleasure-loving Arab:—

Verily for the Pious is a blissful abode;  
Gardens and Vineyards,  
And Damsels with swelling bosoms, of an equal age;  
And a full cup. ‡

In the customary picture of a shady garden "with fruits and meats, and beakers of wine that causeth not the head to ache" "neither disturbeth the reason," we have these damsels of Paradise introduced as "*lovely, large-eyed girls, § resembling pearls hidden in their shells, a reward for that which the faithful have wrought.* \* \* \* \* *Verily, we have created them of a rare creation; we have made them virgins, fascinating, of an equal age.*"

The following extract will illustrate the artificial style and

\* *Hishâmi*, p. 79; *Tabari*, p. 139.

† These descriptions are literally copied from the Coran. (*Cnf. Suras LXXXVIII., 8; LXXXIII., 22; LXXVII 41; LXXVI., 12.*) The wine is in one passage spoken of as sealed with musk, and spiced with ginger.

‡ *Sura LXXXVIII., 30.*

§ *Hûries Sura LII., 20; LVI., 24.* This is the earliest mention of the *Houries*, or black-eyed girls of Paradise, so famous in the Mahometan system, and by which perhaps, more than anything else, Mahometanism is known among other nations. They were not thought of, at least not introduced into the revelation, till four or five years after Mahomet had assumed the office of prophet.

unworthy materialism, into which this fire of early inspiration was now degenerating. It is taken from a psalm with a fixed alternated verse throughout, quaintly addressed in the dual number to men and genii; and to suit the rhyme the objects are all (excepting the damsels) introduced in pairs.

\* \* \* This is Hell, which the wicked deny;  
They shall pass to and fro between the same and Scalding Water;  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
But to him that dreads the appearing of his Lord, shall be two Gardens;  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
Planted with Shady trees,  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
In each of them shall two fountains flow,  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
And in each shall there be of every fruit two kinds,  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
They shall repose on brocade-lined Carpets, the fruits of the two gardens hanging close,  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
In them shall be modest girls, refraining their looks, whom before them no man shall have  
deflowered, neither any genius.  
*Which then of the signs of your Lord will ye deny?*  
Like as if they were rubies or pearls \*

It is very remarkable that the notices in the Coran of this voluptuous Paradise are *almost entirely confined* to a time when, whatever the tendency of his desires, Mahomet was living, chaste and temperate, with a single wife of three-score years of age.† Gibbon characteristically observes that "Mahomet" "has not specified the male companions of the female elect,

\* Sura I.V., 43, &c. The above is the reward of the *highest* class of believers. Another set of gardens and females is immediately after described for the *commoner* class of the faithful;—"And besides these, there shall be two other gardens \* \* \* Of a dark green. \* \* \* in each two fountains of welling water. \* \* \* in each fruits with the palm and the pomegranate. \* \* \* In them shall be damsels amiable and lovely. \* \* \* Large-eyed Hûries, kept within pavillions. \* \* \* Whom no man shall have deflowered before them, nor any genius." Between each verse the fixed verse *which then, &c.*, recurs.

So at a somewhat later date;—"And close unto the believers shall be modest females refraining their looks, like ostrich eggs delicately covered." (Sura XXXVII., 49.) In another passage of the same period the faithful are said to be "married" to these "fair large-eyed girls." (Sura XLIV., 53. See also Sura XXXVIII., 53.)

In four other places of a still later date, and probably after Khadija's death, the *wives* of believers (their *proper* wives of this world apparently) are spoken of as entering into paradise with their husbands. Mahomet may have deemed it possible that the earthly wives might still remain united to their husbands in Paradise, in spite of their new black-eyed rivals. (Suras XXXVI., 55; XLIII., 68; XL., 25; XL., 9.)

† It is very noteworthy that in the Medina Suras, that is. in all the voluminous revelations of the ten years following the Hegira, women are only twice referred to as constituting one of the delights of Paradise; and on both occasions in these simple words;—"and to them (believers.) *there shall be therein pure wives* (Sura II., 25; IV 55.) Was it that the soul of Mahomet had at that period no longings after what he had then the full enjoyment of? Or that a closer contact with Jewish principles and morality, covered with a merited confusion the sensual picture of his Paradise drawn at Mecca?

"lest he should either alarm the jealousy of the former husbands, or disturb their felicity by the suspicion of an everlasting marriage." The remark, made in railery, is pregnant with reason, and aims a fatal blow at the Paradise of Islam. Faithful women will renew their youth in heaven; and their good works merit an equal and analogous reward. But Mahomet shrunk from the legitimate conclusion.

The Hell of Mahomet is no less material and gross than his Heaven. The drink of the damned is boiling water and filthy corruption; on being cast into the pit, they hear it bray wildly like an ass: hell boileth over, it almost bursteth with fury: the smoke, rising in three columns, affordeth neither shade nor protection, but casteth forth great sparks like castles, or as it were yellow camels." \*

\* \* \* \*

And the companions of the Left Hand, how miserable they !  
In scorching Blast, and scalding Water,  
And the shade of Smoke  
That is not cold nor is it grateful,  
Verily before that, they lived in Pleasure,  
And they were bent upon great Wickedness :  
And they used to say,  
*What ! after we have died and become dust and bones, shall we be raised ?*  
*Or our Fathers that preceded us ?*  
Say, yea, verily, the Former and the Latter,  
Shall be gathered at the time of the appointed Day.  
\* Then shall you, oh ! ye that err and reject the Truth ;  
Eat assuredly of the Tree of *Zukhrum*,  
Filling your bellies therewith  
And drinking thereupon boiling water,  
As a thirty Camel drinketh.  
This shall be your entertainment on the Day of Reckoning !

SURA LVI., 42-58.

A nearer vengeance in this life begins to loom darkly forth, but mingled mysteriously with the threats of the Judgment-day and Hell, thus :—

\* \* \*

• • • The day of separation !  
And what shall make thee know what the *Day of Separation* meaneth ?  
We on that day unto the Deniers of the Truth !  
What ! Have we not destroyed the former nations ?  
Wherefore we shall cause the latter to follow them.  
Thus shall we deal with the wicked People !

The day whereon a man shall see that which his hands have wrought,  
And the unbelievers shall say, *Oh ! would that I were dust !*  
\* \* \* What ! are ye secure that he who dwelleth in the Heavens will not cause the earth to swallow you up, and it shall quake !  
Or that he will not send upon you an overwhelming Blast, and then ye shall know of what nature is my Warning !  
And verily the Nations that preceded these denied the Truth, and how awful was my Vengeance.

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\* See *Suras* LXXXVIII., 1; LXXVIII., 23; LXXVII., 30; LXVII., 6

† *Sura* LXXVII., 13, 19.

‡ *Sura* LXXXVIII., 39.

§ *Sura* LXVII., 16.



But the men of Mecca scoffed at these threats, and defied the preacher to bring them into execution.

\* \* \* And they say, *When shall this promised Vengeance be, if he speak the Truth?*  
 SAV, Nay, verily, the knowledge thereof is with God alone; as for me I am but a plain Warner.  
 But when they see it, the countenance of those who disbelieved shall fall;  
 And it shall be said, *This is that which ye have been calling for.*  
 SAV, What think ye, whether the Lord destroy me and those that be with me or have mercy upon us, Who shall deliver the Unbelievers from a dreadful Punishment?\*

We begin also to find in the Coran the arguments used by the Meccans against the prophet, and the mode in which they were replied to. The progress of incredulity may thus be followed, and the very expressions used by either party traced.

The resurrection of the body was derided by his fellow citizens as an idle imagination; and when the prophet sought to illustrate it by the analogies of nature, and the power of God in creation, he was scouted as a sorcerer or magician, who would produce from dust and dead men's bones a living body.

The Coran was denounced at one time as a bare-faced imposture, as *Fables of the Ancients*† trumped up to suit the occasion, and borrowed from the foreigners at Mecca; at others, as the effusion of a phrenzied poet,‡ or the absurdity of an insane fool.

Jeers and jests were the ordinary weapons by which the believers were assailed:—

Verily, the sinners laugh the Faithful to scorn;  
 When they pass by them, they wink at one another:  
 And when they turn aside unto their own people, they turn aside jesting scurrilously;  
 And when they see them, they say, *Verily, these are the erring ones.*  
 But they are not sent to be keepers over them.  
 Wherefore one day the Faithful shall laugh the Unbelievers to scorn,  
 Lying upon couches, they shall behold them (in hell!) §

\* *Idem.*, 25.

† *Sura LXXXIII.*, 13 *سا طير الاولين* Sprenger has an ingenious and possible theory that *Asûfir* is a corruption of *Historiae*.

‡ Mahomet disliked nothing so much as being called a poet, and rejected the equivocal honor of the appellation. He probably felt it his weakest point; conscious of the labour he bestowed on the versification and cadence of his revelations, which he would have the world believe, and perhaps persuaded himself to believe, were the results and the marks of divine inspiration.

§ He affected even at Medina not to distinguish poetry from prose, and would transpose the words of two verses the Mussulmans sang as they laboured at the building of their mosque:—The lines were

اللهم لا عيش الا عيش الآخرة  
 اللهم ارحم الانصار واوليها جرة

the termination *illâ aish al âkkira*, rhyming with *al ansâr wâl muhâjira*. Mahomet would insist on repeating the last line transposed *al muhâjira wâl ansâr*, or *al ansâr wâl muhâjira* (thus destroying the rhyme.) *Hishkâmi*, p. 173.

§ *Sura LXXXIII.*, 29—34.

Amid the derision and the plots of the Meccans, patience is inculcated on the prophet from on high: his followers are exhorted to steadfastness and resignation, and are in one passage reminded of the constancy of the Christian martyrs in Najrân.\*

There is at this period hardly any allusion to Jewish and Christian Scripture or legend, and but little to the legends of Arabia.† The Coran did not yet rest its claim upon the evidence of previous Revelation, or the close correspondence thereof with its own contents.

The peculiar phraseology of the new faith was already becoming fixed. The dispensation of Mahomet was distinguished as "*Islam*," the surrender of the soul to God; his followers as '*believers*,' and as '*Musselmâns*,' (those who surrender themselves; ‡) or *Mushrikîn*, i. e., those who associate, companions, or sharers with the Deity; and his opponents as '*Kâfîrs*,' that is, *rejecters* of the Divine message. 'Faith,' 'Repentance,' 'Heaven,' 'Hell,' 'Prayer,' 'Almsgiving,' and many other terms of the religion, soon acquired their stereotyped meaning. The naturalization in Arabia of Judaism and Christianity, (but chiefly of the former,) provided a ready fund of theological expressions, which, if not current, were at least widely known,

\* Sura LXXXV. ;—

By the Heavens with their Zodiacal Signs;  
By the threatened Day!  
By the Witness and the Witnessed,

Damned be the *Diggers of the Pits* filled with burning Fuel, when they sat around the same.

And they were witnesses of that which they did unto the Believers,  
And they tormented them no otherwise than because they believed in God the Mighty and the [Glorious.

Verily they who persecute the Believers, male and female, and repent them not,  
For them the torment of Hell is prepared, and a burning anguish, &c.

The "diggers of the pits" were the Jewish persecutors of Yemen, Dzu Nowâs and his followers, who invaded Najrân with a large army, and having treacherously gained possession of the place, dug trenches filled with combustible materials, into which such as would not embrace Judaism were cast headlong. The persecutors are styled the contrivers or diggers of the pits or trenches. (See page 16 of the paper on the "*Anti-Mahometan History of Arabia*."

† See Suras LXXXV., 18; LXXXVII., 18; LXXXIII., 14. These passages contain only the most passing references to Abraham, Moses and Pharaoh.

‡ Thus in Sura LXXXV., 10, we have *مو منين* and *مو منات* for male and female believers, *مسلمين* 'Moslems,' occurs frequently, and *مسلمات* 'female Moslems' in Sura LXVI., 5.

in a sense approaching that which Mahomet attached to them.\*

We have purposely confined our remarks to the portion of the Coran produced by Mahomet during the period under review, *i. e.*, the first five years of his Mission. It is thus that the enquirer is best able to trace the development of the religious system, and to observe what bearing the external circumstances of the Arabian Prophet may have had upon the peculiarities of his creed.

\* See remarks on the prevalence of Jewish legends and expressions, in *The Aborigines of Arabia*, p. 15, and *Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia*, p. 58. We cannot calculate the advantage which Mahomet thus possessed in having the tacit acquiescence of the Meccans in the truth of former Revelations, and in being able to appropriate the treasury of apt and ready terms already current, as expressive of the spiritual ideas he wished to attach to them, or at least containing the germ capable of easy development.

Thus the phrase, "the merciful, the compassionate" affixed by Mahomet to the name of God, though known, was not in use among the Meccans, as we see by the treaty of Hodeibia. In dictating to the scribes the terms of this truce, Mahomet commenced, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate," the Meccans interrupted him, saying:—"Nay, as for God, we acknowledge him, but as for the Compassionate and Merciful, we acknowledge him not;" then, said the Prophet;—"Write, in thy name, Oh God!"

قال [محمد] اكتبوا بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قالوا ما الله  
فنعرفه والله الرحمن الرحيم فلا نعرفه. (Wâkidi, p. 119; Hishâmî,  
p. 326.)

Gerger has examined ingenuously and carefully the Mahometan terms borrowed from Islam in his, *Was noi Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen.*

There is much truth in the following passage:—

"The relation of Mahometanism to the existing Heathenism, Judaism and Christianity, gave also the language (Arabic) an entirely new hue. Hence we find here, as an immediate result, an entirely new circle of religious ideas and expressions, which, however, gradually passed into civil life, and here also partly produced new modes of expression or antiquated older ones, and gave them a new sense. As مشركون تقي وقي كافرين كفر

foreign idioms as جاء في سبيل الله, افسد في العرض"—

*Havernick's Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 116; Vol. 28, of *Clark's Foreign Theolog. Library*.

## LORD METCALFE.

BY REV. THOMAS SMITH, D. D.

*The Life and Correspondence of Charles Lord Metcalfe, late Governor-General of India, Governor of Jamaica, and Governor-General of Canada; from unpublished Letters and Journals preserved by himself, his family, and his friends.* By John William Kaye, author of the *History of the War in Affghanistan*, 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1854.

THE prolific pen of Mr. Kaye has laid the public under a deep obligation, by the production of the biography of an illustrious man, who bore a distinguished part in important transactions in both hemispheres. And we may state our candid opinion at the outset, that the author of the two volumes before us has worthily executed an important task. We suspect that Mr. Kaye does not generally get due credit for the very great amount of labour and research that he bestows on the production of his books; and this simply by reason of the rapidity with which they follow each other. The advertisements in the newspapers announce the fact, that Mr. Kaye is engaged in the preparation of a work on a given subject. Forthwith, the work appears in two goodly volumes, and another is announced as in hand, and preparing for publication. All who do not read the books, take for granted that works composed so rapidly are necessarily flimsy; while of those who do read them, a large proportion are utterly incapable of judging of the amount of labour that has been employed in verifying statements by the collation of authorities, and in working up an almost infinite number of facts, of every possible degree of importance, into a narrative or treatise in which due subordination of the parts to the whole is successfully aimed at. Thus these readers take up the cry of the non-readers, and represent Mr. Kaye's works as very readable, and, upon the whole, rather amusing; little imagining the amount of toil that has been expended in their production. There is something also in Mr. Kaye's style that tends to perpetuate this mistaken idea. He writes with such apparent ease, and states his facts with so little of the pretension of research, that his readers are apt to be beguiled into the idea that his matter has come to him spontaneously, that what is so easy and pleasant for them to read, was equally easy and pleasant for him to write;—which is about as great a mistake as were that of the epicure who should imagine that the pleasures of the cook in preparing the savoury viands, are as intense as are his own in devouring them. In opposition to this opinion, we must state our conviction, that there is probably no writer of the day, who

bestows more labor upon each of his works, than does the author of that now before us; and that great injustice is done to him by those who imagine that he writes with little care, because he writes with great rapidity. To us it appears evident, that those who thus judge, under-estimate the power of a man of genius and extensive information, to concentrate his labour, by throwing none of it away—to bring to bear upon the matter in hand the knowledge that has been stored up in his mind, and the reflexions that have been incorporated into its very substance, without any intention of their ever being made use of for the purpose to which they are actually applied.

These remarks are suggested by the work before us; yet they are not so applicable to it as to some other works of the same author. His *History of the War in Affghanistan* is entitled to rank as a classic, and will, unless we greatly mistake, be more thought of fifty years hence than it is now.

Our own Palatial City has the honor of having given birth to Charles Metcalfe. The house in which he was born was afterwards styled the "Lecture House," though Mr. Kaye, who ought not to be ignorant of Calcutta topography, has been unable to discover where it stood, or why it was so called. After what we have just said of Mr. Kaye's diligence in research, it may seem like presumption to hazard a conjecture on the subject; but we cannot help suspecting, that the Lecture Room was in Writers' Buildings. We presume that, at the time when the letter quoted by Mr. Kaye was written, Charles Metcalfe was a student in the College of Fort William. Now we know that, pending Lord Wellesley's reference to the Court of Directors as to his magnificent project for a building at Garden Reach, the business of the College was carried on in the Writers' Buildings. In that range there must have been at least one house set apart for the delivery of Lectures, and in this house it seems to us probable that Charles Metcalfe was offered apartments. This seems to us to be at least a plausible hypothesis, and we leave it for discussion to our Calcutta antiquaries—for in respect of Calcutta localities, even half-a-century suffices to bring a question within the province of the antiquary.

Be this as it may, Charles Metcalfe, the second son of a Major in the Bengal Army, made his first appearance on this terrestrial stage, on the 30th day of January 1785, being the 136th anniversary of the day on which England's "Royal Martyr" enacted the last scene of the life-drama, being moreover thirty days after the first issue of the *Times* newspaper, and nine days before the departure of Warren Hastings from the shores of India. Major Metcalfe retired from the service

shortly after the birth of Charles, and in due time became a Director of the Honorable East India Company, an M. P. and a Baronet. Of Charles's babyhood and early boyhood no records are forthcoming; nor is this very greatly to be deplored. Of course he suffered the usual training and testing of the nervous system, by being subjected to the daily and hourly threats of a visit from a certain "old man," who so long wielded a sceptre not the less potent, because of its being imaginary, over the subject nurseries of England in the "good old times." His "first school" was at Bromley, in Middlesex, which, at the beginning of 1796, he quitted to become an Etonian. But he does not seem to have very fully caught the spirit of that noble institution. In the school-room he was respectable, or perhaps somewhat more, but in the grounds and on the river he was decidedly "slow." His energies might perhaps have been better expended on the sports of the play-ground, than on a battle which he waged (and won) with the authorities respecting a point of school-discipline. However, his journal, which he began to keep at Eton, indicates that he was a boy of great vigor, and that even then he had a good deal of the "pluck" which he afterwards exhibited in many an important crisis. We fully agree with both parts of the following comment by his biographer, on the young Etonian's career. The rule is, doubtless, as he states it; but Metcalfe does seem to have been an exception.

In after days, Charles Metcalfe used to say, that nearly all the literary knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his life, had been gained as a boy at Eton—he had never been able to read much at a later period of his career. How great was his application then, how varied his pursuits, may be gathered from these extracts. Great men are not to be tried by ordinary rules; they make rules for themselves. I would rather think of a fine open-spirited boy, boating, swimming, playing, ever getting into mischief at school, and in the holidays spending half his time on the back of a pony; and I should, as a rule, believe, that in such training there were more hopeful assurance of turning him, in due time, into a useful servant of the State, than in the discipline of such continued book-work as is recorded in Charles Metcalfe's Journal, but it was fortunate, in this instance, that the bent of the boy's inclination was rather towards intellectual than muscular exercise—that he spent his leisure hours with Ariosto and Chatterton, with Gibbon and Voltaire, rather than with the boats' crews and the Eton Elgvens. If he had been Captain of the boats, and beaten Harrow and Winchester off his own bat, he could not have grown into a manlier statesman. But if he had not acquired a love of literature, and some knowledge of books at school, he would never have acquired them at all; and though he might still have distinguished himself greatly on the theatre of the world, it is hard to say how much might have been wanting from the completeness of the character, which it is the business and the privilege of the biographer to illustrate in these pages.

This is all very well, and we quite agree with Metcalfe and his biographer in thinking that it was well that he read and studied *so much* at Eton ; but we cannot go along with them in their regrets, that he did not study *more*, or that his studies were cut short when he had reached his fifteenth year. He might, indeed, have gained more extensive information on literary subjects, had he been allowed to remain a couple of years more at school. But while he might, or might not, have enlarged his information, he would almost certainly have enlarged his dogmatism ; and we do not think it at all likely that he would have been a wiser man or a better Governor than he actually turned out. There are matters in regard to which no general rule can possibly be laid down—and while young Metcalfe's education might be far from theoretical perfection, it is difficult to say, looking back from the standpoint of the culmination of his career, whether any other would have been much better *for him*. At the end of March 1800, Metcalfe quitted Eton, and in the middle of June he sailed for India. But in the interval he had time to form an attachment, which seems to have influenced his future life to a considerable extent. Probably it had been well that it had been ripened into matrimony ; but it was the old story of the course of true love, a river whose channel seems to be as rocky as that of the Thessalian Peneus. As it was, the influence of this boyish attachment was doubtless, favorable. "Next to religion," says a book that at the moment of the present writing happens to be open on our table, "there is no charm so powerful to soothe the sorrows of exile, and to keep inviolate virtuous principles, as carrying within the heart the talisman of a pure and reciprocal love." Doubtless, there is much that is ridiculous in the idea of love at the tender age of fifteen, but there is much that is serious also.

On the first day of January 1801, which his biographer, with questionable accuracy, calls the first day of the present century, the future Governor-General entered the river Hooghly, and on the third, he made his entrance into the Palatial City. He landed with a resolution to devote himself with full power to study, which resolution, says his biographer, "went the way of young Civilians' resolutions in general." The gaities of Calcutta Society were more attractive than the Odes of Hafiz, or the profundities of the *Bhagavata Gita*. But his journal testifies, that his studies, though fitful and irregular, were intense, and in due time he acquired a competent knowledge of the languages of the East. On the 4th day of May he was admitted into the College of Fort William, being the first student admit-

ted into that institution. Throughout his year of griffinhood he was, or fancied himself to be, supremely unhappy, and submitted a formal request to his father, to be permitted to resign the service. But

There's a Providence that shapes our ends,  
Rough-hew them how we will ;—

And in this case the Providence acted through the channel of the old Major and his lady-wife. The letters of his mother are sensible and to the point. She was a "strong-minded woman ;" and when her son sent forth his sentimental sighings, she said that they came from his stomach and not from his heart. "You will laugh at my sending you out a box of pills by Miss S—, but I think you are bilious, and they will be a great service." And Mrs. Metcalfe was right in the main. What her son required was simply to have the nonsense laughed out of him. Had his parents consented to his wish, and permitted him to return to England, he would, probably, have been the first to regret it, and long before he could have reached England, he would have been as anxious to return to India as he now was to quit it ; or, if the thoughts of Miss D— had sufficed to keep up his resolution during the whole period of his voyage, at all events, six months of idleness in England would certainly have cured him of his Indo-phobia. Instead of quitting India to be an idle and a useless man, as would infallibly have been the case had he got his own will, he left Calcutta in January 1802, to enter upon a career of usefulness and activity, which led him on eventually to the highest offices in the State. He was appointed Assistant to the Resident at the Court of Scindia, and set out to join his appointment. His principal was Colonel Collins, an old friend of his father, who was probably willing to requite the kindness which he had received from the Major, by doing all that lay in his power for the advantage of young Charles. But his ideas of kindness were peculiar—a clever, gruff old Indian, who regarded all young men as puppies, and felt it an incumbent duty to dock their ears. Mr. Kaye's comment upon the whole matter is in the spirit of the Baconian,

That "Jack Collins" and Charles Metcalfe had their differences, and could not agree to differ amicably and philosophically, is clear. The story is a very old one ; within every man's experience ; intelligible ; without mystery. Colonel Collins was cold, imperious and overbearing. He was known by the name of "King Collins ;" and he had little toleration for those who did not recognise his sovereignty. He looked upon Charles Metcalfe as a vassal and as a boy. He stood upon his position, and he stood upon his age. He exacted a deference which the youth was slow to concede ; he claimed a superiority which was not willingly acknowledged. The boy thought the man arrogant and domineering. The man thought the boy forward and presumptuous. It is probable that both



were right. It is almost a condition of early talent to be vain and self-sufficient. It does not much matter. The vanity and self-sufficiency are soon rubbed off.

Quite true. But how? Generally by the very processes to which old Jack subjected young Charles. "It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth;" and we have not any doubt that Metcalfe was all the better for having "his nose held to the grinding-stone." However, he resigned his appointment, and on the 10th September 1802, he arrived in Calcutta. Three weeks later he was appointed an Assistant in the office of the Chief-Secretary to Government: and here his official life properly began, for now he had made up his mind to abide by his calling, and gradually did he enter with more alacrity on the discharge of his duties, and more and more did he concentrate his studies to the point of preparing himself for the responsibilities of an Indian official. So far as appears from his letters and journals, he seems to have now stood aloof, to a great extent, from the gaieties and dissipations of Calcutta Society, to have plodded contentedly at his official work, and to have spent a large portion of his leisure time in historical studies. Altogether, Charles Metcalfe is now a promising young man, having got rid of most of the nonsense which made him fancy himself so unhappy during the first months of his sojourn in the orient. Yes—a promising lad enough—much given to theorize, and to fill his common-place book with rather dry dissertations on rather dry subjects, but still a youth with a warm heart and a strong head. But, perhaps, the turning-point of his life, the great crisis of his career, dates from a visit of his elder brother Theophilus, who took a run from China, and dropped in up on him quite unexpectedly. Theophilus was a fine light-hearted fellow, who took things as they came, and had not a particle of that *nonsense* in his composition, which at one time had formed so large an element in that of Charles, and of which he had not got completely rid even yet. It was a great matter for Charles to be now brought into contact with this brother. And then, in April 1803, he was placed in a position that brought him into immediate contact with a great man and with great measures. He was then appointed an Assistant in the office of the Governor-General, and was employed, as however humble a wheel, in the great machine of diplomacy and war. The following picture is so well sketched, that although it may be more appropriately ticketed "a scene in the life of Lord Wellesley" than in that of Charles Metcalfe, we cannot resist the temptation to give it a place in our gallery.

\*\*\*\* At present it is enough to say, that the complication of affairs threatening, as it did, to involve the British power in the greatest war in which it

had ever been engaged in India, threw a large amount of work into the Governor-General's office, and taxed all the energies of his assistants. Lake and Wellesley were in the field, waiting the opportunity to strike. It was certain that no statesmanship, that no diplomacy, could avert the inevitable collision. Whatever may have been the wishes of the Governor-General, I am afraid it cannot be said, that the boys in his office were very desirous to arrest the war. They were deeply interested in the progress of events, and their sympathies were not with the peacemakers. So it happened, that when intelligence reached Calcutta, that the anticipated rupture had actually taken place, and that Colonel Collins had quitted Scindia's Court, Metcalfe and his associates were thrown into a state of excitement, in which there was no great intermixture of pain. It was, indeed, a memorable day. There are men still living, who, after the lapse of half a century, remember all the circumstances of that evening as vividly as though they had occurred in the present reign. For some days, the "glorious little man" as his disciples affectionately called Lord Wellesley, had been pacing one of the halls of Government House, girding himself up for the approaching crisis; and now he was prepared to meet it. Aided by Edmonstone, the Political Secretary, whose knowledge was as ready as it was extensive, he now dictated instructions to Colonel Collins, now to General Lake, now to Arthur Wellesley, now to John Malcolm, and now to Close and Krikpatrick, the Residents at the Courts of the Peishwa and the Nizam. All day long these weighty despatches grew beneath the hands of the young scribes. The brief twilight of the Indian evening passed, and left the work only half done. But still by the bright lamp-light the young writers resolutely plied their pens, as hour after hour the Governor-General continued to dictate the despatches, upon which the fate of principalities depended. Words of encouragement little needed, came freely from him, as he directed this great work, and still, as Adam, Bayley, Jenkins, Metcalfe, Cole, Monckton, and others wrote and wrote these weighty despatches, upon which the events of the great war were to turn, he told them ever and anon, that their work would soon be done, and that there was a table spread for them in the banquet-room, at which they might presently drink success to the campaign. Though it was now the exhausting month of August, and rest and food were denied to them throughout many long hours, there was not one of them who flagged at his desk. Sustained by their youthful enthusiasm, they continued at their work till past midnight; then weary, hungry and athirst, they were conducted to the table which had been spread sumptuously for their entertainment. It was a festival not soon to be forgotten. A special message from Lord Wellesley instructed them to give full vent to their hilarity—to use his cellar as though it were their own, and not to think that they were bound to be quiet because they were in Government House. So they drank success to the campaign in good earnest; toasted the glorious Wellesley and his glorious brother; toasted General Lake and Colonel Stevenson, toasted the British Soldier and Jack Sepoy; and finally toasted one another. And the Governor-General did not complain that next day his "office" was not very efficient.

Who, on reading this extract, does not feel the wish rise within him, that he were "a glorious little man" too? Gentle reader, and why not? You and we may, or we may not, be or become Governor-General of India. But that's "neither here nor there." It may be ours and yours none the less to

shed a genial influence around us, to make our associates feel that it is pleasant to be with us, to make our subordinates feel that it is pleasant to serve us—to kindle or cherish the glow of enthusiasm in some young breasts, and stir them up to fight all the more manfully the great life-battle—and he who does all this, is a glorious little man, ay, a gloriously great man, whether he wield the sceptre of subject realms, or preside at the humble family board. It might have been all the better, had the toasting been more restricted, and the “office” had been ready to begin work next morning; but this was the fault, not so much of the glorious little man, as it was of the times in which he lived. It is the discovery of more modern days that man may be merry without being unwise: and a discovery it is, worthy to take its place with the rail-road, the electric telegraph, the stereoscope and the lucifer-match,—even the discovery, that the effusion of an inordinate quantity of champagne is not essential to the success of a campaign, and that good humour and even merriment may be maintained without the stimulus of “universal punch.”

The period of Metcalfe's employment in the office of the Governor-General, was signalized by his production of a memorandum, or minute, as such documents are called in India, on a proposal to station a subsidiary force in the territory of Scindia. This document is given entire by Mr. Kaye, and is a very favorable specimen of the composition of a young statesman. It received the hearty commendation of Lord Wellesley, and as the first taste of blood is said to have weaned the tame tiger from all liking to the slops on which he had been previously sustained, so this commendation of the Marquis, seems to have effectually revolutionized young Metcalfe's tastes, who, instead of longing any more for the dull respectability of a desk in Downing-street, now devoted his whole energies to the service in which he was destined to attain so great distinction. Shortly after, he properly began his career, being attached as a Political Assistant to the staff of General Lake. Those were the days when traveling in India was somewhat more exciting than it is generally in these days, when an attack of dacoits on a European traveller, though not altogether a matter of the past, is so rare, as to be the exception rather than the general rule. As our young “political” was wending his way to join the army of Lord Lake, meditating deeds of lofty chivalry, or haply wishing that the bearers would not grunt quite so loud, or jolt quite so much, his palanquin was suddenly stopped by a band of armed robbers. The bearers and attendants, abounding more in

discretion than in the other element of valour, and arguing, doubtless, that if there be advantage to him who "fights and runs away" over him who "fights till he is slain," the balance is *à fortiori* in his favour, who runs away without fighting at all—dropped the palanquin and retreated to a safe distance. The odds were altogether overpowering, but the young Etonian would not yield without a struggle. He seized a club from the hands of one of his assailants, and for a little time maintained the unequal contest. But his club-hand was soon rendered powerless by a stroke from a tulwar, which cut off the ends of two of his fingers. Resistance had been vain all along; it was now impossible. It was all that could be hoped for, that he might be allowed to escape and leave his assailants to rifle his palanquin at their leisure. He escaped accordingly into the jungle, and soon sank exhausted on the bank of a river. After a while he was able to crawl back and see how the land lay. The dacoits had not yet completed their work of spoliation, but ere long it was finished, the discreet bearers returned to their duty, and Metcalfe was "carried on to Cawnpore, where, under the care of his aunt, Mrs. Richardson, he soon recovered from his wounds, and proceeded onwards to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief."

His position in Lake's camp was at first an unpleasant one. He was of course treated with respect by those in authority, and with no absolute incivility by the officers with whom he associated; but it was evident enough that they regarded him as an interloper. Has was styled the "clerk," and was obliged to "hold his manhood cheap while any spoke" that had taken part in the stirring scenes that had been enacted before he joined the camp. It would not have been very wonderful, if in the spirit of those times, these taunts and assumptions had incited Metcalfe to vindicate his character for "pluck," by challenging one of his rivals. But perhaps the young Etonian may have remembered the episode of Pulfio and Varenius, elegantly introduced into Cæsar's Commentaries:—"Erant in eâ legione fortissimi viri centuriones, qui jam primis ordinibus appropinquant, T. Pulfio et L. Varenius. Hi perpetuas controversias inter se habebant, quinam anteferretur, omnibusque annis de loco summis simultatibus contendebant. Ex iis Pulfio, cum acerrime ad munitiones pugnaretur, 'Quid dubitas,' inquit, 'Varene? Aut quem locum probandæ virtutis tuæ spectas? hic, hic dies de nostris controversiis judicabit.' Hæc cum dixisset, procedit extra munitiones, quæque pars hostium confertissima visa est, in eam irrumpit." Be this as it may, our young political adopted a similar method of

vindicating his character, and establishing his reputation in the British camp. The fortress of Deeg, about forty-five miles distant from Agra, was to be reduced ; after six days' battering, a breach was effected, and a storming party was told off to enter. This party Metcalfe volunteered to accompany ; he received permission, and was one of the first to enter the breach. The effect of this upon his warm-hearted associates needs not be told. From that day he was the admired of all admirers, from the old hero Lord Lake, who used to call him his "little stormer," down to the unbearded ensign, who, if such slang was current in those days, would of course pronounce the very definite opinion, that "Metcalfe was a *brick*, and no mistake."

Our author expends a considerable amount of ingenuity in vindication of this escapade of the young civilian, on the ground that he was very young, and that some such demonstration as this was necessary, in order to increase his influence, and so to enable him to discharge his important functions with advantage. We would treat the matter differently. The thing was wrong, simply. But the fault was not Mr. Metcalfe's, but Lord Lake's. Lord Hardinge understood a soldier's duty better, when he ordered "little Arthur" to the rear, although Arthur held no responsible office such as that which Metcalfe held, and which should have prevented Lord Lake's permitting him to expose himself to unnecessary danger. However, as the thing turned out, no evil befel, but much good. In his more appropriate sphere, Metcalfe rendered excellent service, and acquitted himself in a position that would seem, but for the result, to have been far beyond his powers, to admiration. We cannot afford to enter into the details, nor would they be of much interest, if compressed into a brief space. Suffice it to say that, at the urgent solicitation of Sir John Malcolm, he remained with the army till the close of the war, and rendered excellent service in his own department. Meantime, the "glorious little man" had taken his departure from the shores of India, and on his arrival in England, had gladdened the heart of Sir Thomas Metcalfe, by a glowing account of the talents and prospects of his son. We doubt not that there was joy in Portland Place that night, and that the father and the mother, though neither of them disposed to the melting mood, shed tears of joy as their hearts overflowed with thoughts of their absent boy.

It is not within our province to discuss the politics of Lord Cornwallis during his brief administration. Had these been far more to the taste of young Metcalfe than they were, he would have been disposed to contrast them with those of his

former master, to the disparagement of his successor ; as it was, it is evident, that he thought that India had suffered grievously, in exchanging Lord Wellesley for Lord Cornwallis. "It will be melancholy," says he, in a confidential letter to his friend, Mr. Sherer, "to see the work of our brave armies undone, and left to be done over again. I hope for the best from Lord C.'s administration ; but I am, I confess, without confidence. "It is surely unwise to fetter the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and to stop all operations until his own arrival. We shall have Holkar near us in a few days. I wish you would send us money." But money was just the thing that Sherer could not send : and it was the want of this indispensable "sinew of war," more than the pacific intention of our rulers, (though they were doubtless peacefully disposed) that led at last to the arrangement of a treaty of peace with Holkar. On the 7th of January 1806, Metcalfe was sent to the camp of Holkar, a visit of ceremony on the part of some English gentleman being desired by the old Mahratta, in order to give assurance to his army that the peace was really *un fait accompli*, and not one of those *ruses* that he was in the habit of practising. He was received with unbounded joy and rapture in the old tiger's den. His sketch of the visit is worth framing.

*Eek-chushm-oo-doula's* [the one-eyed] appearance is very grave, his countenance expressive, his manners and conversation easy. He had not at all the appearance of the courage that we know him to have. The same countenance, however, which was strongly expressive of joy, when I saw him, would look very black under the influence of rage, or any dark passions. A little lap-dog was on his musnud, a strange play-fellow for Holkar. The jewels on his neck were invaluable rich. With these exceptions, there was nothing extraordinary in his *durbār*, which was just as might have been expected under the circumstances of his situation.

This was the last scene of the war-drama. Mr. Kaye gives pointedly the conclusion that we have hinted at above, as to the cause of the dropping of the curtain. "Men spoke and wrote in those days eagerly and emphatically, according to the light that was in them : and it is not for us, after the lapse of half-a-century, to condemn them for that one-sidedness, which is apparent in all their arguments. The Lake party were right at Muttra and Delhi. The Barlow party were right at Calcutta. The views of both parties were tinged by local and incidental circumstances. If Barlow had commanded the army, he would probably have been as eager for the prosecution of the war, as Lake, if he had been at the head of the administration, and immediately responsible to the Home Government, would have been for its cessation.

"And I do not doubt that Charles Metcalfe, if he had been Accountant-General, would have written just such letters as flowed from the pen of Henry St. George Tucker."

Without any particular leaning to Cobdenism, we confess that we would rather take a brief from Barlow and Tucker than from Lake and Metcalfe. Apart from higher considerations, we have really had no occasion to destroy our enemies in India by a summary process; if left alone, they always destroy themselves. But we believe that peace was in 1806 a necessity. Without money the war could not be carried on, and money there was none. It was not a question of giving or withholding what was. It was the necessity of not giving what could in no way be procured.

Metcalfe's occupation as a diplomatist was now at an end. The "office" of the Governor-General had been abolished; and his orders were, that he should remain with Lord Lake, till his services were no longer required, and that he should then return to the Presidency, in order that when opportunity should offer, he might be employed in some other branch of the public service. He did not much like this prospect, and resolved to "proceed leisurely." He arrived, however, in Calcutta, about the end of the month of July, and was doubtless received with joy by those who knew him, though most of his friends of the "office," and the "Howe-boys," were now scattered over the country. But while the affectionate heart that was in the youth felt the blank, yet he was now too much a man of mark to be solitary in a city, which has ever been rather famous for a lionizing tendency. Nor had he long to wait in idleness. In the course of three weeks he received an appointment as first Assistant to the Resident at Delhi. His principal was Mr. Seton, one of our Indian worthies, whom one could have liked to know. He had made a most earnest application to have Metcalfe appointed as his Assistant, and the terms in which he made the application are as creditable to Metcalfe, as any of the many panegyrics, that were pronounced upon him in the course of a long and distinguished life.

"Although my personal knowledge of Mr. Metcalfe," he wrote to Col. Malcolm, "is but slight, it is sufficient to convince me of the truth of what you say respecting him. We met but *once*. But it was SUCH an ONCE! So interesting a meeting! I already know a great deal of his character from having seen many of his private letters, and from having been in the habit of familiar intercourse with many of his friends. As a young man of most uncommon abilities and acquirements, not to have known him would have argued

"myself unknown! When, therefore, we meet, I could not meet him as a stranger. Ever since, I have been one of his many enthusiastic admirers. In the arrangements to be formed for conducting the public business at Delhi, the claims of such a candidate cannot be overlooked."

Under such a superior there was no danger of Metcalfe's suffering as he did under King Collins; but he felt it painful to be deferred to so much as he was, by a man of Mr. Seton's position and abilities. We think it was Robert Hall that described some man as offering a constant apology to all mankind, for presuming to occupy the same earth which they inhabited; and Mr. Seton seems to have been affected with some portion of this excessive humility, which is perhaps scarcely less painful when exhibited towards an ingenuous young man by his superior in age and position, than is the presumptuous insolence of a man of the opposite character, when dressed in a little brief authority. But withal, Seton was a man of noble mind, and personally there was nothing but mutual esteem and affection between him and his first Assistant. Officially, however, it was scarcely so. The same deference which, exhibited towards himself, Metcalfe felt to be painful, he could only condemn as at once undignified and dangerous, when manifested towards the puppet Emperor, and his haughty family. Metcalfe would have established matters on their true foundation, by resisting every attempt of the royal family to be or to seem aught else than they were; Seton thought it better to give way in small matters, that he might interpose with the better effect in great ones. That the Assistant knew human nature better than the principal, will scarcely be doubted.

In the same letter in which Metcalfe communicates to Sherer his views on this point, he makes an announcement for which we were not prepared,—that he was dreadfully and hopelessly in debt. "My finances," says he, "are quite ruined, exhausted beyond hope of any reasonable repair: you know that I am very prudent: prudence is a prominent feature in my character: yet ever since I came to the Imperial station, I have gradually been losing the ground which I had gained in the world, and at length I find myself considerably lower than the neutral situation of having nothing; and without some unlooked-for and surprising declaration of the fates in my power [favour?] I see nothing but debt, debt, debt, debt after debt, before me." Debt was indeed the normal condition of young civilians in those days, who used to talk of the time they had taken to "double the Cape," *i. e.*, to get beyond a lakh of



Rupees in the voyage of indebtedness. But we had supposed that Metcalfe had been an exception to the rule. It appears, however, that it was otherwise, and that this was the second time that he had fallen into this condition. But on both occasions he resolutely set himself to the task of extrication, and on both occasions he nobly succeeded without external aid. And this was the last time that he ever fell into debt.

Metcalfe's situation was not at all to his mind. In addition to his dissent from the principles of Mr. Seton's procedure towards the royal family, which, however, never interfered with their personal affection and mutual esteem, he was liable to be distracted from the political line, of which he had made a decided election, to the Revenue and Judicial, to which, both from taste and principle, he had a strong dislike. But this state of things did not long continue. In June 1808, he was appointed by Lord Minto to one of the most important, and at the same time one of the most congenial offices in the whole service. At that time it was deemed necessary, as it has so often been deemed since, to "make all snug" on our Northern and Western Frontiers, so as to be prepared for the expected storm of a French invasion. With this view Sir John Malcolm was sent to Persia, Mountstuart Elphinstone to Cabul, and Charles Metcalfe to Lahore. The selection of a man of 23 years of age for a Mission of such mighty importance, and the entrusting him with so large discretionary powers was one of those great experiments on which few men like to pass a judgment, until light is cast upon them by the event. In March 1800, Metcalfe was waging the great "tea controversy" with his tutor at Eton; and recording in his journal, that but for their last despairing struggles, they should have failed. In June of the same year he was "sighing like a furnace" through love of Miss D—. In June 1801, he was entreating for permission to leave India for ever, and he appointed to the humblest situation in a Government office in England. But, lo! in 1803, he is charged with most important functions as the Representative of the Governor-General with the army, and now, in 1808, he is sent to cope with the old lion of the Punjab;—(he was not very old then, but we can never fancy him but as an old fellow). We do not remember, whether the author of Coningsby includes Metcalfe amongst the list of men who have signalized their early years by great exploits; but a more remarkable example could scarcely be furnished by universal history. To the enthusiasm of youth he united a wonderful amount of that sagacity which is generally regarded as the fruit of long experience, and the two rendered him

a worthy representative of the English nation, at the court of a man, who, with all his faults, and they were legion could estimate these qualities. How much the *entente cordiale* that subsisted so long between the English and Runjit Sing, was due to the impression made upon him by this mission, it is of course impossible to determine; but it is not difficult to perceive, that an Envoy of a different character might have produced a different result, and have altered the whole history of the Punjab during the last half century. By a union of firmness and conciliation, by carefully distinguishing between the spontaneous promptings of the noble savage's own mind, and what was instilled into it by his interested courtiers, by maintaining his own dignity, and paying all proper respect to him to whom he was sent, he gradually overcame suspicion and prejudice, and succeeded in impressing Runjit with the conviction, that it was for his interest to maintain friendly terms with the Company's government. It is impossible for us to enter into the detail of the marchings and counter-marchings that Metcalfe was obliged to endure, following in the wake of this most erratic genius, nor yet into the alternations of hope and fear excited by his vacillations. The results of the mission are recorded in history, and have been more than once referred to in the pages of the *Calcutta Review*. Suffice it to state here, that after delays and evasions innumerable, on the part of Runjit, after a display of most admirable temper, and firmness, and wisdom on the part of Metcalfe, the conquests of Runjit on this side the Sutlej were given up to those from whom they had been wrested, and that a treaty of general amity was concluded on the 25th of April 1809, and signed at Umritsir by Runjit himself, and by C. T. Metcalfe on the part of the British Government. It is to us very pleasing to find, in the midst of a long chapter filled with details of chicanery on the one side, and uncompromising severity on the other, such a paragraph as the following, indicating that the harassing distractions of diplomacy had not stilled the beatings of the warm human heart in Metcalfe's breast.

In the middle of November he had received the distressing intelligence of the death of his aunt Richardson, to whom he was deeply attached. Some letters written by him at this time, to his afflicted uncle, and to his "dear, and now, alas! only aunt," Mrs. Monson, express the strength of his grief. He was eager at first to know whether his "dear, dear aunt, in her illness, ever thought of him." "With her mind," he added, "occupied by thoughts of her children and her beloved sisters, I cannot expect that she did." But all thoughts of his own sorrows passed away as he dwelt on the sufferings of the husband and sister, and prayed that they might be comforted and sustained by Him, who alone has power to wipe away all tears from our eyes. "May the giver of all things," he wrote to

his uncle, "give you patience and fortitude to support you under the heavy pressure ! And now, Lord, what is my hope ? Truly, my hope is even in Thee. In the midst of life we are in death, of whom may we seek succour, but of Thee, Oh Lord ! Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord for they rest from their labours."

The Lion of the Punjab having at last shaken paws with his metaphorical brother of Britain, the negotiator left Umritsir on the 2nd of May, and on the 6th of June reached his old quarters at Delhi. His conduct was declared by the highest authority in the country to have "established a peculiar claim to public applause, respect and esteem. This highest authority desired to see the man who had so successfully conducted so difficult and delicate an enterprise, and instructed him to apply formally for leave of absence, but to start for Calcutta as soon as he could conveniently do so, without waiting for the official answer to his application. On the 8th of July, therefore, he reached Calcutta, where he was enabled to forget all the anxieties and turmoils of the last eventful months, in the society of his brother, who had come round from China, with his wife and little child. But he did not long enjoy this soothing society. Lord Minto, considering that the state of the army in the Madras Presidency required his presence there, resolved to leave Calcutta, and believing that there was no man who could render him so valuable service as Metcalfe, he had him appointed "Deputy Secretary to the Right Honourable the Governor-General during his Lordship's absence from the Presidency." Beyond a pleasant trip, and the advantage of enlarging his circle of acquaintances, no results seem to have flowed from this appointment. While at Madras, his heart was saddened by the tidings of the death of his sister-in-law, to whom he was greatly attached. Theophilus Metcalfe, during his first visit to Calcutta, had married Miss Russell, a niece of Sir Henry Russell, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. In the beginning of 1809, they came round to Calcutta for the benefit of her health, and Charles had all the best feelings of his heart called forth by a few week's intercourse with his sister-in-law, whom he describes as "really one of the most sensible, the most amiable, and the most virtuous of women." In the beginning of January he heard that she was dead, and that the widowed husband, and the motherless little girl, were about to proceed to England. As Lord Minto did not leave Madras till May, and as Metcalfe in February spoke of his brother's being about to sail immediately for England, we presume that the brothers did not meet.

Before his return to Calcutta, Metcalfe had been appointed to act as Resident at the Court of Scindia, the same Residency

in which he had begun his political career as the subordinate of Jack Collins. In this office he continued for eight or nine months, after which he was transferred to the Residency of Delhi, on the appointment of Mr. Seton to the Government of Prince of Wales' Island. Lord Minto's letter, offering him this appointment, gives so pleasing a view of the manners and kindly feelings of that nobleman, that we cannot resist the temptation of transferring it to our pages.

LORD MINTO TO MR. METCALFE.

*Calcutta, Feb. 20, 1811.*

MY DEAR SIR,—You may possibly have already heard, though it is yet in the Secret Department, that an offer has been made to Mr. Seton of the Government of Prince of Wales' Island; and although it might be thought that he would consider his present situation the more eligible of the two, I have some reasons for supposing that he will be inclined to accept the proposal. In that event, I shall with (or without) your consent, name you to the Residency of Delhi. I know your martial genius and your love of camps; but besides that inclination must yield to duty, this change will appear to fall in not inopportune with some information and some sentiments conveyed in your letter to me, of the 3rd instant. If you ask my reasons for so extraordinary a choice, I can only say that, notwithstanding your entire ignorance of every thing connected with the business of Delhi,—a city which, I believe, you never saw; and with Cis and Trans-Sutlejean affairs, of which you can have only read; and, notwithstanding your equal deficiency in all other more general qualifications, I cannot find a better in the list of the Company's servants; and hope, therefore, for your indulgence on the occasion.

"So Charles Metcalfe, (says Mr. Kaye), now at the age of 'twenty-six, found himself the incumbent of an appointment 'coveted by the oldest officers of both services—an appointment which, in respect of its importance, its responsibility, 'and its distinction, was not exceeded by any other in India, 'below the seats at the Council-board of Government," And never had Lord Minto reason to repent the choice that he had made. In all his relations with the "Royal Family," with the people, with his subordinates, and with all with whom he came into contact, officially or personally, he gained golden opinions. There was, in fact, something in the man that could not well be described, but which compelled every one to like him—the term is far too feeble—to love him with intense affection. When the large loving soul of the man lighted up his rather homely features, he exercised an attractive influence over men which we have often heard described as partaking of the nature of fascination. It was a privilege to know Charles Metcalfe in those old Delhi days. No one ever charged him with any portion of the *hauteur* or presumption that is often supposed to be characteristic of the service to which he belonged,

and which might have been excusable in the case of so young a man elevated to so high a position. There was a geniality and a humanity in his heart which kept him free from all taint of such a vice.—“Why is it,” said Dr. Doddridge to his little daughter, “that every body loves you so much?” “I do not know,” said the puzzled maiden, “unless it be, because I love every body so much;” and so it was with Metcalfe. Mr. Kaye suspects that Metcalfe was not particularly happy at this time, and quotes a number of letters which he wrote to his aunt, descriptive of the tedium of a life of exile, and the inadequacy of riches to compensate for the separation from relatives and friends. Now we do not, in the least, doubt, that when Metcalfe wrote these letters, he was perfectly sincere in expressing the feelings of his heart, as they were at the time of his writing. But we suspect that these feelings were called forth by the very act of writing to his aunt. His life was one of ceaseless activity, when he had no leisure to be either melancholy or unhappy. It was only when, at rare intervals, he snatched a few minutes to write a “home letter,” that a shade of melancholy stole over him, as he pictured, in his fancy, the avocations of the loved ones far away. So energetic a life as his could not be an unhappy one, and even that kind of melancholy which occasionally stole over him, was as different as possible from unhappiness. We are neither poetical nor sentimental, but although we may not be able quite to understand what the sentimental poets mean, when they talk of the “luxury of grief,” we yet know that home feelings and home affections, and even home longings which there is little hope of being able to gratify, do not render the right-minded exile unhappy in any proper sense of the term. Metcalfe himself describes the whole thing in a single sentence:—“Writing to any of you always makes me sad.” But as there were no Peninsular and Oriental Company’s steamers in those days, he could have but rare opportunities of writing to “any of you.” Thus the sadness was but a very small item in the congeries of thoughts and feelings that composed his inner life; and when it did come, it was of another complexion altogether than unhappiness. No doubt, Metcalfe at Delhi did not sleep upon a bed of roses. He had to maintain a constant struggle with “Kings, Vakeels, Sikhs, Patans, and old women,” and to these harassments was added a most uncompromising “wiggling” from the Court of Directors. The occasion was this: He found the Residency in a poor state of equipment. It was necessary to re-furnish it entirely, and with the spirit of the times, with which his own liberal ideas were quite in harmony

he expended a large sum for this purpose. The furniture was public property, and he indented for it on the public treasury. The accounts were passed in Calcutta; and Metcalfe was enjoying what little repose his harassing occupations allowed him on the couches and ottomans of the Residency. But he was not long permitted to be "stretched on the rack of a too easy chair."

The following missive would have disturbed the repose of a more somnolent person than the Resident of Delhi; it might have awakened any one of the seven sleepers, and made even the "fat boy" of Pickwickian celebrity rub his eyes and look around him:—

We consider the whole disbursement to have been incurred under circumstances so directly in opposition to the regulations of which Mr. Metcalfe could not have been ignorant, and in a spirit of such profuse extravagance, that we cannot possibly sanction any part of them [it ?] without holding out to our servants in general, an example of the most dangerous tendency, as it amounts to no less than an assumed right to disburse the property of the Company at the discretion of individuals, divested of all wholesome control. We shall, accordingly, consider the whole of this disbursement as having been made unwarrantably, and under the personal responsibility of the Resident, and so accordingly direct, that he be peremptorily required to pay into your treasury the whole amount of the said sum of Rs. 48,119-6-5, and that the property purchased thus irregularly, be considered as belonging to the Resident, and not as constituting any part of the Company's dead stock.

Lord Moira, while he communicated this letter to the Resident, resolved to suspend the execution of the order, in the hope that the Court would take a more favourable view of the matter on re-consideration; and at the same time John Adam wrote privately to Metcalfe, "that the Government intended to resist the encroaching spirit of the Court of Directors." It was quite as much the affair of the Government as it was of Mr. Metcalfe, for his accounts had been passed in Calcutta, and the disbursement formally sanctioned. We cannot quite make out from the narrative, whether the refund was ultimately insisted on; but it was not of much moment to Metcalfe whether it was or not. With the salary and allowances that he now had, he could afford to pay 48,119 Rupees; and even the additional 6 annas and 5 pie would not have made him bankrupt; and whenever he could afford a sum for any good purpose, he never grudged it. But he bitterly felt the censure pronounced upon him by his honorable masters. It is probable, however, that this affair had, upon the whole, a good influence upon him. It touched him in the very point where he was most assailable,—his desire of reputation, or love of approbation. It is a great matter when a young man is

brought to the determination to do simply what is right, without reference to the opinion that may be formed of his doings by any man, or by all men. Thrice happy is the man who can say in downright God's truth,

I've learned to prize the silent lightning deed,  
And not the clattering thunder at its heels,  
Which men call fame.

Rather valuable learning this—worth more than Rs. 48,119-6-5—and learning that is seldom acquired, save in the school of disappointment. "In whatever spirit," he wrote to Lord Minto, "my conduct may be judged—whatever return my services may receive, I shall continue, as long as I serve the Company, to serve with unabated zeal and entire devotion: unfounded censure cannot depress me, neither shall it diminish my faithful exertions. Highly as I prize the approbation of the Honorable the Court of Directors, if I have the misfortune not to obtain it, the approbation of my own conscience will support me; and I shall not sink under censure, however severe, when I feel that it is not merited, and see that it arises from error." And this promise he faithfully kept. At this very time, we find him propounding a most important document on the subject of the land-settlement, in which he proposed the system of village settlement, which was subsequently adopted in the North-West Provinces; and also taking the bold step, for those times, of advocating the admission of independent Europeans into the Company's territories. To us it cannot but seem a strange thing, that sensible men should have so long opposed this measure. But so it is with all great discoveries. Men think them impossible before they are made, and then they wonder that they were not made sooner.

We can, in an article like the present, give no idea of the multifarious duties that at this time occupied the attention of the Resident of Delhi. At a most critical period in the history of our Empire in the East, with a new Governor-General upon the viceregal throne; with a council openly in disagreement with their chief, not merely upon matters of detail, but on the great principle on which our administration was to be conducted in respect of our relations with the neighbouring states; with these states along our whole frontier straining like greyhounds in the slips; with an exhausted treasury and an inefficient army; Lord Moira required the aid and the counsel of men who, like the children of Issachar of old, "had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do." Amongst these men was Charles Metcalfe, who in official and

semi-official papers discussed with great sagacity all kinds of questions, political, financial and military. His counsel was acceptable to Lord Moira, who knew how to appreciate powers like those of Metcalfe. His sentiments were generally in accordance with those of the Governor-General; but he did not adopt them because they were so. In fact, they were unchanged throughout the "vigorous" administrations of "the glorious little man," and of Lord Hastings, and the mild and conciliatory governments of Cornwallis and Minto.

"Unpractised he to fawn or seek for power,  
By doctrines fashioned to the varying hour."

Thus prepared to like each other, by mutual esteem, and by a general coincidence of sentiments, the Governor-General and the Delhi Resident met each other at Moradabad, at the end of November 1814.

There were many important questions to be put to the Delhi Resident—much information to be sought, which only he could satisfactorily afford;—what effect our recent disasters [in the Nepalese war] had upon the people of the Delhi territory and the adjacent country, and on the minds of the dependent chiefs and independent princes of Hindostan—what would be their influence on the mind of Runjit Singh—what steps should be taken to counteract their influence—what course of conduct ought to be pursued towards Bhurtpore—whether, and under what circumstances, the Governor-General should have a personal interview with the King of Delhi—whether the power of granting native titles should be left in the hands of the imperial puppet, or assumed by the British Government—whether an agent from Shah Soorjah, the fugitive King of Cabul, should be received in the vice-regal camp—and lastly, what was the general political and military condition of the Upper Provinces of India, with reference to the defence of our frontier, and the expediency of consolidating our power in the interior of India. For the solution of all these questions, the Governor-General and his ministers looked eagerly to Metcalfe's arrival in camp.

The great principle of Metcalfe's advice was, in one word, *decision*. He instinctively saw the evil at all times, and in those times more especially, of attempting any thing by means which might risk the possibility of failure, when every instance of failure must serve to increase the number of our enemies. He therefore urged the employment of all the forces that could by any means be collected, for striking such a blow as would enable us to dictate terms to the Goorkhas of Nepal. Any thing short of this he regarded as only exposing ourselves to disaster, which might issue in destruction. It is a singular fact—but a fact not the less—that England has always underrated her enemies; that she has scarcely ever been engaged in a war in which she did not endanger all by a feeble beginning, and refuse to put forth her powers, until she found



herself on the brink of ruin. That we, of the present generation, are worthy sons of those who have gone before us, let Chillianwalla and the Crimea testify.

One result of this meeting was a confirmation of a desire that had previously been formed in the mind of the Governor-General, to have Metcalfe transferred to the Presidency. This was difficult to arrange, and we need not enter into the details, which were highly honorable to all concerned. The transfer did not take place at this period, and Metcalfe continued to labor at Delhi with his accustomed energy. At the close of the year 1815, Metcalfe was enlivened by another visit of his elder brother; who was now Sir Theophilus, their father having died in the previous year. To a man of Metcalfe's feelings, the loss of his father,—and that of his mother two years after, were a great blow. His ideas of success were all resolvable into the one of making a sufficient fortune, to enable him to retire and cheer the declining years of his father and mother. This one idea is re-produced again and again in his private correspondence; and we all know what a shock is given to the whole mental system, when it is thus violently driven from the line on which it had been steadily moving. Well was it for Metcalfe, that he had his hands full of employment that occupied his whole time, and more than employed all his energies. Not only were his strictly official duties of the most engrossing kind, but he was so mixed up with public affairs, that he seems to have been a sort of general referee in public affairs. Thus we find Sir David Ochterlony and Sir Jasper Nicolls reporting to him the success of their operations, the latter "congratulating" him on the success of our arms against the Goorkhas. He had also a vast amount of private correspondence: and his high official position did not set him above the numerous applications that are addressed to almost all men in India, for the execution of commissions of all kinds, from the procuring of a valuable oriental manuscript for a great European library, down to the purchase of a Kashmir scarf or a pair of bracelets for an Ensign's bride.

The Nepalese war being now at an end, the Government were at leisure to enter, with less distraction, on the great "Central India question." We have seen that Metcalfe entertained very decided views as to the line of policy to be pursued towards the native states; and these views he now embodied in a most important document, which he presented to the Governor-General, and which, coinciding in its principles with Lord Moira's own sentiments, became his main directory for the application of these principles. It was a game on which

the existence of our Indian Empire was staked, a game in which a false move might be fatal. The pieces on the board were not kings merely, but contending dynasties—those that counted up their pedigree to the days of the Mahabharat, and those whose grandfathers had been cowherds and policemen ;—knights of orders unknown to our Heralds' College, but not the less founded upon wild notions of chivalry ;—not bishops and priests merely, but the three great faiths that divide the larger portion of the human race ;—castles and forts that had been deemed impregnable for centuries ;—and a host of minor interests that were individually of comparatively little moment, but which tended indefinitely to complicate the game. The policy that Metcalfe advocated, and that Lord Moira adopted, was of the "war-with-a-vengeance" type, a line of policy that is never good in the abstract, but one which, in certain circumstances, may be the least evil of possible lines. Such circumstances, we believe, existed in 1816. A great war was the essential condition of the existence of the British power in India ; and the only question was, whether we should conduct that war energetically and win, or conduct it so as to ensure our own destruction, and then leave our multitudinous and multifarious enemies to destroy one another. Against the decided line of policy there was an argument that with the home authorities out-weighed all that could be urged in its favor. This was the financial argument. But this was at last obliged to give way to the force of circumstances. The cloud gradually became blacker, and at last the hurly-burly began. "On the morning of the 16th of October 1817, the Governor-General took the field. Of the events which then ensued, great events following each other in rapid succession, until the war with the Pindaris had grown into a new war with the Mahrattas, it is not the province of Charles Metcalfe's biographer to write in detail." Still less is it the part of the reviewer of his biography to enter upon such details. Though Metcalfe had nothing to do with the fighting, he had much to do with the diplomacy of the war. To detach one powerful chief from the confederacy of our enemies, to persuade another that it was for his interest to take part with that power which must eventually be paramount in Asia,—all this was not so brilliant service as the storming of a fort, or the leading of a forlorn hope ; but it was not less necessary to the success of the operations. And such were the duties that devolved on Mr. Metcalfe ; and he performed them well. It has probably never been generally known, till now, how important was the part he acted in the subjugation and pacification of Central India, and how much we, and the

country, are indebted to him for the establishment of that power which is committed to us in this land. This is one of the great uses of biography, as distinguished from history; and we may notice in passing, that Mr. Kaye is conferring a great obligation on all those who desire accurate knowledge respecting the history of British India, by composing a series of works that will constitute, what we may call, a biographical history of our Eastern Empire.

At last the sword was sheathed "for lack of argument," our enemies were destroyed, or converted into friends,—that term being used, of course, in a conventional sense, which those who know the history of oriental principalities can understand. Some of their princes were our prisoners, others had exchanged the tone of proud defiance for that of lowliest supplication. India was revolutionized. From that date the British power was established beyond any reasonable doubt. The question sometimes arose till then, whether it could be maintained or no. The question since then has only been, how it could be best and most easily maintained.

And now, for a time at least, Metcalfe's connexion with Central India was to cease. On the 10th of July 1807, he had written to his friend Sherer; "For myself, I never, I assure you, can 'lose sight of the object to which you guide my thoughts; I 'mean Adam's office [the Political Secretaryship.] I despair 'indeed of ever gaining it, but I do not the less desire it. It 'is the only situation in India that I think of. I would make "any exertions to obtain it if I expected success. But I fear "I fear, I fear, that I have no chance." And now on the 9th of October 1818, the same John Adam himself wrote to him, at the request of Lord Hastings, to inform him that the Private Secretaryship was about to be vacated by Mr. Ricketts, who was about to proceed to England, and the Political Secretaryship by Mr. Adam himself, on his elevation to a seat in Council, and that Lord Hastings desired to "double up" the offices and confer them both on Mr. Metcalfe. On the 23rd of the same month he intimated his acquiescence in the arrangement. The pain of leaving a place where he had enjoyed much happiness, and attained much distinction, and—what is of far more consequence than all,—had done much good, was softened by the knowledge that he was to be succeeded, at least in a department of his office, by Sir David Ochterlony. This fine old soldier had been removed from the Residency by Sir George Barlow, when Mr. Seton was appointed to the office. And although "such an explanation of the circumstances "had been offered to him, as to convince him that he had not

"forfeited the high opinion of Government," yet the iron had entered deeply into his soul. He had achieved high distinction as a soldier in the interval; but he had never ceased to long for an opportunity of retrieving the character which he supposed that he had lost. There seems to us something very touching in the following extract of a letter that he wrote to Metcalfe in January 1818.

"In twelve days I shall complete my sixtieth year; and in that long period have never but once had just ground to complain of ill-fortune or ill-usage; but that once, though it has led me to unexpected fame and honor, has, for nearly twelve years, preyed upon my spirits, and all I have since gained, appears no recompense for a removal which stamped me, with those who knew me best and loved me most, as ignorant and incompetent, and with the world in general, as venal and culpable. A feeling which I cannot describe, but which is quite distinct from the love of ease and the advantages of a Residency, makes me wish for that situation. I would not care where; the name alone seems as if it would wash out a stain." Envious must have been Metcalfe's feelings when, towards the end of the year, at the beginning of which this letter was written, he was the first to communicate to his old friend the joyful tidings that he was to be his own successor in that very Residency from which he had been removed.

So Metcalfe was inducted as Private Secretary, and, a few days later, as Political Secretary. We have seen how, from the commencement of his career, he had set up this as the great aim of his life; and now he had hit the target in the white. But it was the old story—

Man never *is*, but always *to be* blessed.

The office, which, in a time of difficulty would have called forth all his faculties, required little now but hard fagging, official routine. Nor did he find that he occupied a situation of so much independence as he had held at Delhi. He was *the one* man there, at Calcutta he was one of several. We cannot wonder then, to find that he eagerly caught at a proposal made to him by Sir John Malcolm, to the effect that he should endeavour to get himself appointed to succeed Malcolm himself in Central India, with the view of carrying out his favourite plan of so uniting and regulating the several states, as to form them into a separate Presidency, or at least a Lieutenant-Governorship. The flame kindled by Malcolm's letter, acting upon the tinder of his own taste for grand schemes, and his felt, though scarcely acknow-

ledged, discontent with his present situation, was fanned by the receipt of a letter from Mr. Marjoribanks, tendering his resignation of the office of Political Agent in the Nerbudda territories. Here was the very scheme which Malcolm had suggested, beginning to develop itself spontaneously. If Metcalfe could be appointed to succeed both Malcolm and Marjoribanks, a beginning were already made of that system of consolidation which was to issue in the union of all the Residencies and Agencies into a single political charge. It was a grand scheme, worthy of its originator, and though not then, it has since been, to a considerable extent, realized. The Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces is just such an office as Malcolm contemplated, although the limits of the jurisdiction may not be quite the same. We lately heard it asserted, that the three men in all the world who had most influence for good or for evil, were the Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of France, and the Governor of the North-West Provinces. And, indeed, it were difficult to over-state the importance of the office. Regarding the measure, Metcalfe asked the advice of John Adam, who cordially approved of it, and advised that a definite proposition should be laid before the Governor-General at the proper time. A scheme, originating with Malcolm, taken up with enthusiasm by Metcalfe, and cordially approved by Adam, could scarcely fail of acceptance with Lord Hastings; and although it was a delicate matter to break it to him, as it involved the setting aside of arrangements that he had effected with considerable difficulty, and as it might seem to betoken a want of appreciation on Metcalfe's part of the honors that had been conferred on him by the Governor-General, yet it was favorably received. He seems at once to have gone into the proposal, and it was expected that it was about to be carried out. But it was not to be at this time. Instead of this, Metcalfe was appointed to the Residency of Hyderabad, and towards the close of the year all was ready for his handing over his Secretaryship to Mr. Swinton, and proceeding to the capital of the Deccan. Accordingly, on the 10th of November, he left Calcutta, and in due time arrived at Hyderabad. On the 25th he was presented to the Nizam, and from that time he was immersed in the troubled sea of political and moral profligacy that inundated the court and capital of the Deccan. Upon political matters we can do little more than touch; of the moral state of things, we may form some idea from the manner in which Metcalfe spent his first Sabbath in Hyderabad.

On Sunday, the 26th, went to Church. Afterwards returned the visit

of the Commanding Officer, Colonel Boles, who, with the staff, had called on me on the 23rd. Was received in the cantonments with salutes, and had a guard of the Grenadier Company of the 30th N. I. drawn up for me at the Commanding Officer's. I had heard much of the overdoing of those matters at Hyderabad; and was, therefore, prepared for all the honors I received. The Sermon at Church was about Aurungzebe, Lord Chesterfield and Mr. Fox, to the text of "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

On the 26th November paid my first visit to the minister Mooneer-ool-Moolk, and dined with him. He has a splendid house, fitted up at great cost, and with some taste. He gave us an excellent dinner, and conducted his entertainment in very good style. I am not in favor of dining with people who cannot or will not dine with us; and only went on this occasion, because I did not choose to make difficulties regarding what had been customary under my predecessors; especially as I had not received charge of the Residency, and was in a manner under the guidance of Mr. Russell, who accompanied me, as did also all the gentleman of the Residency, including his party and mine.

Rajah Chundoo-Lall joined us after dinner, and we got home about half-past ten, having been entertained with a *nauch*. Mooneer-ool-Moolk's manners are good. Two of his sons are fine boys. Chundoo-Lall's manners are also good.

This extract excites painful feelings in our mind. But we are not without hopes that the date of the visit to Mooneer-ool-Moolk was the 27th, and not the 26th, not Sunday, but Monday. The passage was written on the 28th, and if the second paragraph do not refer to the 27th, there is no record of that day's proceedings. Moreover, the second paragraph is introduced in such a way, as if it were meant to refer to a different day from that to which the first paragraph refers. It would be, we confess, a considerable satisfaction to us, if this conjecture could be verified.

Of course Metcalfe was immediately at work. Great reforms had been attempted by his predecessor, Mr. Henry Russell; but as yet the Nizam's country was in a dreadful state of misgovernment. It was the Resident's part to endeavour to put a stop to the disgraceful state of things, and yet the Resident had no authority to interfere directly with affairs of internal administration. "That during the period of Metcalfe's Residence in the Deccan, the inhabitants of the Hyderabad provinces were rescued from much oppression—that the rights of the agriculturists were more clearly defined—that extortion was checked—and justice rendered something better than a mockery—is not to be denied. He did not labour in vain. His best reward was in the increased happiness of the people, but the commendations of the Government, ever so dear to him, were not withheld. It was said afterwards, when there was an object in the distortion of the truth, that Metcalfe had been guilty of improper interference in the internal affairs of the Nizam's Government. But the system was not his system.

"He found it in operation. He only gave it greater and more beneficial effect."

In our review of the life of Mr. Tucker, we alluded to the transactions of the Nizam's Government with the house of William Palmer and Co., which ultimately led to a collision between the Board of Control and the Court of Directors. This house had managed to get the Nizam and his Government entirely under their power. They had advanced enormous sums of money to the Government at 25 per cent. interest, and had received assignments of lands, yielding revenue to the extent of thirty lakhs a year. Partly because the original transaction had been sanctioned by the Resident of the day, and partly because one of the partners of the house was connected by marriage with the family of Lord Hastings, the arrangement was generally understood by the people of the Deccan to be one with which the British Government had directly to do. This does not appear to have been the case; but there seems no reason to doubt, that the "house" intentionally fostered the idea, and that they employed it for their own advantage. "The house, indeed, had become so identified in men's minds with the British Government, that even in remote districts, where the cabals of the capital were but little known, it was said that the revenue, which they paid on account of the lands assigned to William Palmer and Co., was paid into the British treasury. Gradually, indeed, there had grown up in the Deccan a power greater than the Nizam—greater than the British Resident—greater than the Governor-General of India. It was the belief of the minister, that so long as he had the house on his side, the support of the Resident was of comparatively slight importance. To secure this, large sums of money, in the shape of annual allowances, were paid to members of the firm, or their near relations. Even the sons of Mr. William Palmer, boys at school in England, grew under this mighty system of corruption, into stipendiaries of the Nizam. If the stipends were not paid, they were carried to account in the books of the firm at an interest of 25 per cent.; and thus increased the ever-increasing embarrasments of the Nizam, and rendered difficult the regeneration of the country."

Such was the state of things when Metcalfe joined the Residency. He was more than well disposed towards the members of the house of W. Palmer and Co. The head of the firm was the brother of one of his dearest friends; Sir William Rumbold was nearly related to the Governor-General, and had been Metcalfe's guest at Delhi, where he had nursed him in

sickness with the kindness of a brother and the tenderness of a sister ; and Dr. Lambe was an old friend. It was not, therefore, from any prejudice against the house, but from an overpowering sense of duty, that Metcalfe felt himself bound to do what could be done, to check the monstrous evil, and to rescue the Nizam from the hands of his extortionate creditors. The method which Metcalfe proposed for the accomplishment of this end, was, that the Government should open a 6 per cent. loan in Calcutta, and that they should pay off the Nizam's debt. He consented to the introduction of a clause into his letter, recommending that Palmer's people should get an additional gratuity of six lakhs, in consideration of the loss which they would sustain, by having so large a sum of money thrown upon their hands before they could possibly make arrangements for re-investing it ; and although Mr. Kaye says, that he subsequently reproached himself for this good-nature, we think it was not more than fair. But it was of little consequence one way or other. Sir William Rumbold had influence enough to stir up opposition to the scheme in the most influential quarter, and moreover to embroil Metcalfe with the Governor-General. His remonstrance to Lord Hastings is a fine specimen of manly and dignified composition. He felt that he was wronged—by one from whom he had a right to expect better treatment—in a particular which not only affected him personally, but tended to degrade his important office, during his tenure of it, and in all time coming, into a nullity. Metcalfe was not the man to hold his tongue under such treatment ; and the letter which he wrote to Lord Hastings, must have shewn that nobleman that he could not trample with impunity on the honor of a high-spirited English gentleman, and a faithful and energetic public servant. We believe it was the first and the last time that he ever attempted to do so. The dissension rose to the greatest height, and it was only at the close of Lord Hasting's Administration, that a reconciliation was effected. His departure took place on the first day of the year 1823, and but for the injudicious revival of the controversy in England, by his friends and those of the Palmers, the subject might have been allowed to rest for ever. As it was, these friends brought all the artillery of invective and insinuation to bear upon the conduct of Metcalfe, and only succeeded in establishing, all the more firmly, his character for inflexible integrity and manly determination, not to be turned aside by any influences from the path of duty.

We have now touched on the salient points of Metcalfe's



career throughout twenty-two years of his Indian life ; and we doubt not that many who honor us by the perusal of our article, will wonder that it hitherto contains no record of his sicknesses and leaves of absence on sick-certificate. We know that there are many amongst our dear friends "at home," who conceive of Indian life as mainly composed of the two ingredients of getting ill and getting well. But their ideas are formed altogether on too limited an induction. That there are individuals, belonging to the class designated in India as "John Company's bad bargains," who spend their lives in receiving visits of the doctor, and in paying visits to the hill sanatoria, with occasional intervals of dull heartless work in the cutcherry or on parade, is doubtless true ; but the normal condition of Indian residents is work, energetic, vigorous work, quite as hard as is endured by Europeans in any zone, from the equator to the polar circles. The fact seems to be, that we write home month after month without saying any thing about our health ; then we write that we are in the Doctor's hands ;—and the latter announcement makes ten times more impression on our anxious friends than the previous want of any announcement ; and the conclusion is jumped at, all too hastily, that we have been ill for a long time, but have said nothing about it, until it became impossible to conceal it. This is a mistake, we repeat, for it is of importance to dissipate such a mistaken idea. At all events, Metcalfe was more than twenty years in the country before he was visited by any disease that laid him aside from active labor : and no wonder though, at this time, his health broke down. To a man of his constitution, the controversy with Lord Hastings must have been a sore trial. It was a violent shock to all his previous habits and ideas. And while in the midst of this period of anxiety and depression, he received tidings of the death of his elder brother. We have seen already how sincerely he was attached to this brother, and how good an influence the elder had exercised over the younger. They had both looked forward with earnest longing to the time when they should both be able to retire from their respective services, and settle down in England, to enjoy all the delights of tasteful leisure, and especially to rejoice in each other's society. But it was otherwise ordained. Sir Theophilus had gone to England on sick-certificate, with the expectation of soon returning to China : but his malady was too deep-seated for even his native air to remove, and in the month of August he died. This was the last ingredient of bitterness infused into Charles

Metcalfe's cup, and as letter after letter arrived, with the address, "*Sir Charles Metcalfe, Bart.*," he thought with bitterness of heart, that the title was all too dearly bought, since it had come to him through the premature death of a brother, to whom he owed so much. His health failed under the multiplied distress. And this advantage the weak seem to have over the strong, that the illnesses of the latter, when they do come, are generally more severe and intractable. A great authority has said, that a great nation cannot engage in a little war; and we may say that a strong man seldom has little ailments. There is something very touching in such expressions as we find in some of Metcalfe's letters of this period, coming from a man to whom sickness is a strange feeling,—a man moreover cut off from the grand alleviation of sickness, the soothing care of a gentle wife. Here we might quote, with more truth than originality, a quotation that can bear repetition without danger of becoming hackneyed,

Oh woman! in our hours of ease, &c.

But the subject is a serious one. We are no Stoics, to deem that sickness and pain are in any circumstances no evils; but their evil is abundantly enhanced when they befall the bachelor in a remote station. One day Metcalfe was worse, next he was no better, and the third he was not getting on so well as he would have liked. The tidings of his illness reached Calcutta, and not only his personal friends were disquieted by the fear lest one whom they loved so well might be taken away from them; but those in the highest places in the State began to bethink themselves that Metcalfe was not a man who could well be spared. The suggestions of his personal friends, as to an attempt to do something for his relief, met with a ready response on the part of the highest authorities. Mr. Henry Wood, C. S., and Major Sneyd, made a proposal to Mr. Fendall, and Mr. Fendall to Lord Amherst, and Lord Amherst cheerfully consented to it. Mr. Swinton was desired to write to Sir Charles Metcalfe, that the Government yacht should be sent to Masulipatam with a medical man to attend on Sir Charles. Commodore Hayes was instructed to get the *Nereide* ready for sea without delay, and Col. Casement, the Military Secretary, was directed to apply to the Medical Board to select a competent Medical Officer to proceed in the yacht to Masulipatam, and thence to Hyderabad. And here we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of transferring to our pages one of those admirable little sketches, with which Mr. Kaye constantly enlivens his works—a sketch which no

one who has ever come in contact with Simon Nicolson, professionally or personally, will deem over-colored.

The selection, however, was not primarily made by the Board. At that time, and for many years afterwards, the highest Medical authority in India was Dr. [Mr.] Simon Nicolson. He was a gentleman of great professional experience, extensive scientific acquirements, a mind well stocked with general literature, and of such kindliness of heart, and sincerity of manner, that sickness lost half its terrors when he stood by the bedside. There was a healing power in his very presence—in the blended wisdom and gentleness of his speaking face,—and the first word of assurance that he uttered. People came from remote places to consult him; and when they could not make their way to the Presidency, they sought his advice, through the medium of friends, from a distance. His practice was only limited by the impossibility of performing more than a certain amount of work within a certain space of time. At all hours of the day, and at all hours of the night, his horses were in harness, and his coachman was on the box. There was a carriage always waiting at his door, ready to replace another in the day-time, as the exhausting climate incapacitated man and beast from further service; or to whirl him away in obedience to some nocturnal summons. But for all this he never grew rich. The penniless subaltern had his unremitting care as freely as the wealthiest Member of Council.

How many there are who can testify to the faithfulness of this portraiture. The present reviewer will not soon forget the effect upon himself of "the first word of assurance that he uttered." He had been told that there was no hope of his ever being able to live, much less to work, in India. He had therefore no prospect before him but of a short life of uselessness and dependence, and an early death, leaving an unprovided family, when Mr. Nicolson was called in to give the final verdict. His questions were few, but to the point. His "first (and last) word of assurance" is deeply written in our memory:—"You must not go home." And we did not go home; and many a day of cheerful work have we gone through since then. And many is the eye that gazes with respect and fondness on "old Nicolson," when his wasted but still stalwart figure is seen in his verandah; and many is the heart that blesses him, as the thought recurs of scenes like that, where the sentence of life or death was read on those grave thoughtful features, before it was uttered by his lips. We cannot now say more; but we could not have said less without doing violence to feelings that we share with multitudes of the grateful patients of Simon Nicolson.

"Old Nicolson," as he was called even in those days, after the fashion of our hearty Anglo-Indian vocabulary, had no difficulty in selecting for this important mission, Ranald Martin, who was destined ere long to achieve a name only second to Nicolson's own, and who had the melancholy satisfaction, two and

twenty years after this, of doing all that human skill and kindness could do, to alleviate the final sufferings of him to whom he was now sent to minister. On the 7th of November, the yacht was despatched. The tidings of its arrival at Masulipatam reached Metcalfe at Boloram, whence he immediately set out for Hyderabad to meet Mr. Martin. He was able to render his patient immediate service; but still it was deemed advisable that Metcalfe should proceed to Calcutta, both for the sake of rest, and for the purpose of obtaining the personal attendance of "old Nicolson." He accordingly came up in the *Nereide*, landed in Calcutta on the 21st of December; by the end of January, he was on the high road to recovery, and before the end of February, Nicolson and Martin had the satisfaction to report him "dismissed cured."

Thus began the year 1824. Throughout its course, we find him fagging unweariedly;—work, work, morning, noon, and often far into the night, but cheered by the reflexion that his labour was not in vain, and enlivened by correspondence with a few congenial friends. At this time we find him first alluding to rumours as to his being destined to fill an expected vacancy in Council; but he regarded the prospect without exultation. It presented itself to him in the light of a breaking up of his habits, a violent intermeddling with his half-executed projects of reform, and a disruption of those ties which united him to many attached subordinates and friends. The removal from Hyderabad was soon to take place, but not to Calcutta. On the 16th of April 1825, Lord Amherst wrote to him that it was considered good, that he should resume the office of Resident of Delhi. He felt it a great grievance to be removed from Hyderabad, but there was no place in India to which he would not have been removed with greater regret than to Delhi. His biographer's account of his feelings in the prospect of leaving Hyderabad, is quite pathetic.

Never had more unwelcome honors been conferred on public servant than those which now descended upon Sir Charles Metcalfe. In spite of all the vexations and annoyances which beset his position, the Hyderabad Residency had become very dear to him. More than twenty years before, he had recorded a resolution not to form any more romantic attachments; but he had been forming them ever since. Indeed, it may be said of him, that he fell in friendship as other men fall in love. There was at once an ardor and a tenderness in his affection, little removed from the degree in which these qualities evince themselves in our attachments to the other sex. He had gathered round him at Hyderabad a beloved circle of friends, to be broken from time to time by the necessities of the public service, but always to re-unite again. And although some of these friends might accompany him to Delhi, it was certain that the old Hyderabad party could never again assemble in its pleasant integrity. It was with extreme depres-

sion of spirits, therefore, that he now made his preparations for the coming change.

To many readers this will seem mere sentimentalism, with which they will congratulate themselves that they cannot at all sympathize. The worse for them. At the end of August, Sir Charles reached Calcutta, and declining the kindly proffered hospitality of Lord Amherst, he took up his quarters with "an old friend, Major Lockett, of the College of Fort William."

We have said that there was no place in India, for which Metcalfe would less unwillingly have exchanged Hyderabad than Delhi. But this statement refers merely to the *place*. The *office* lost all its value in his eyes, from the consideration, that he was to supersede his old friend Sir David Ochterlony. This noble old hero had again failed to secure the approbation of Government, and his removal had been resolved upon. Metcalfe knew that this was determined, whether he should accept the office or no; but it was with poignant sorrow, that he proceeded to take possession of the place from which his old friend was to be ousted. The old man seems to have been pleased at the thought of not being superseded by an unworthy successor, and to have been more than pleased at the thought of settling down in a house that he had bought at Delhi, and spending the remnant of his days in the society of Metcalfe. But this expectation was not destined to be realized. On the 4th of July, he wrote an affectionate letter to his friend, and on the 15th he died. On the 26th of September, a meeting was held in Calcutta, for the purpose of paying a tribute of respect to his memory. Sir Charles Metcalfe presided, and he was not deterred by the consideration that his old friend had died under the cloud of Government disapprobation and virtual censure, from expressing the feelings of his full heart towards a brave soldier, a warm friend, and a noble man.

On the 21st of October, Metcalfe arrived at Delhi. The first matter of public moment that claimed his notice, was the state of our relations towards the Bhurtpore Rajah. The throne was now occupied by Doorjun Saul, who had usurped it on the death of his elder brother, though that brother had left a son, who had been acknowledged by our Government as the rightful heir. On hearing of the usurpation, Sir David Ochterlony had prepared instantly to march upon Bhurtpore with what force he had at his disposal. This measure was censured by the Government as precipitate and unwise. While Sir Charles Metcalfe was in Calcutta, he was asked to state freely his opinion as to the course of conduct to be adopted

towards the usurper, and although he had every reason to believe that his advice would not be acceptable to the Government, he had given it decidedly in favor of "vigorous" measures. Whether convinced by the progress of events, or by the reasonings of Metcalfe, the Government agreed to the course of policy recommended; and Metcalfe proceeded to Delhi, empowered to effect the restoration of the boy Bulwant Singh, by persuasion, if possible, otherwise by force. The Commander-in-Chief, Lord Combermere, was instructed to "hold in readiness a force adequate to the prompt reduction of the principal fortresses in the Bhut-pore country, and for carrying on military operations in that quarter, on the requisition of the Resident, Sir Charles Metcalfe." The requisition was soon made, as it was at once manifest that the end in view could not be effected by negotiation. On the 6th of November, Lord Combermere and Sir Charles Metcalfe met; the latter directed the advance of the army, and prepared to accompany it to the walls of Bhurt-pore. On the 18th of January 1826, the British flag was planted on the Bhurt-pore citadel, and the *prestige* of the British arms, which had been tarnished by failure before the same citadel, twenty years before, was re-established.

After his return to Delhi, he was fully occupied with judicial and revenue affairs, and his warm heart was grieved by the loss of two of his dearest friends. But new excitement was before him. On the 11th April 1826, he had been nominated Provisional Member of Council, and on the retirement of Mr. Harrington in the autumn of 1827, he set out for Calcutta to take possession of the vacant seat. To say that he worthily occupied it were superfluous. He toiled like a galley-slave; day by day and night by night he was at his desk; quire after quire of paper was written on all manner of important subjects; and his hospitality, which he considered a duty, was princely. Various ways did he try for overtaking the full amount of work and of hospitality that he regarded as devolving upon him by right of his office; but he could not by any means satisfy himself on either point. He seems at last to have adopted, with respect to the former, the method that most men find to be the best, or rather the only practicable method, (however it may contravene the sage advices that are lavished upon us all in our youth, setting forth the manifold advantages of regularity, and having our time regularly portioned out to particular employments)—the method of taking work at the broad side, doing—and doing with his might—what his hands found to do. For the other part of his supposed duty he fell on the expedient of

issuing a standing invitation for a ball on the third Monday of every month. The moon seems to have shown a decided approbation of this arrangement, and to have waived in favor of it her proverbial character of changeableness; for Metcalfe informs us that the third Monday in each month is always a moon-light night!

There was not much favor to be got by his exertions in the Council at this period. He adopted the *role* of a financial reformer, and brought upon himself the usual consequences. "I am regarded (he says) as a relentless hewer and hacker of expenditure, and am sensible of black and sour looks in consequence. Still I am well and happy. I feel that I stand alone; but I also feel that I know the path of duty, and am endeavouring to pursue it. Our expenditure exceeds our income by more than a crore of Rupees. The Government which allows this to go on in time of peace deserves any punishment. The Government of which I am a part shall not allow it. The cause gives me irresistible power, and I will force others to do their duty."

On the 6th of April 1828, Sir Charles Metcalfe thus wrote respecting Lord William Bentinck:

I look to the new Governor-General's coming with some curiosity, but without any sanguine expectations. If I find that he has a heart for the public welfare, I will follow him and support him with all my soul; if not, I will continue to perform my own duty, with or without success, as at present, and stand alone as I now do.

Lord William Bentinck *had* a heart for the public welfare, and ere long Sir Charles Metcalfe found it out, and gave in his allegiance to his new chief, not perhaps so enthusiastically as he had done eight and twenty years ago to the glorious little man, but not less heartily and sincerely. On the 4th of July, Lord William took the oaths as Governor-General, and on the 22nd of the same month Sir Charles wrote thus:—

I like the little that I have seen of our new Governor-General very much;—he is a straight-forward, honest, upright, benevolent, sensible man, who will, I trust, have the interest of the State at heart. At least he seems disposed to enquire and think for himself, and to avoid falling under any one's influence

But with all personal respect for the Governor-General Metcalfe and he did not at first get on well together. "He and I, (said he on the 2nd of December) do not approximate, which is rather surprising to me, for many of our sentiments are in common with both of us." Metcalfe suspected that his Lordship had been prejudiced against him by some of his old antagonists in the Palmer controversy. And this is not impos-

sible; for while those who have suffered wrong can forgive and forget, those who have inflicted the wrong can seldom do either. It is therefore not impossible that some of those who had attempted to blacken Metcalfe's character before, may have insinuated vague suspicions into the mind of his Lordship before he left England. But certainly there must have been very gross misrepresentation employed, if the conduct of the late Resident of Hyderabad were exhibited in a light that could have led Lord William Bentinck to view him with coldness, and turn away from him with dislike. Perhaps, after all, there was nothing of the sort. The Governor-General was an Englishman, and when we have said that, we have said enough to account for any degree of coldness and reserve in his bearing towards a stranger. Metcalfe had been so long out of England, had been so young when he left it, and had been so long accustomed to the comparative *empressement* of Anglo-Indian manners, that he did not make allowance for the difference of climate. At all events, the stiffness soon wore off, and for many years Lord William and Sir Charles maintained a cordial friendship, founded upon mutual esteem and frank confidence, friendship which only death was able to interrupt. It was only necessary that they should understand one another in order that they might "approximate." Their end as administrators of India was one, the good of the masters whom they served, through the good of the millions subjected to their control.

On the 11th of November, Mr. Butterworth Bayley retired from the service, and Lord William being then in the North-West, Sir Charles Metcalfe became Deputy-Governor and President of the Council. In 1830, Sir John Malcolm retired from the Governorship of Bombay, and it was rumoured in Calcutta, that Metcalfe was to be his successor. Next year Mr. Lushington resigned the Governorship of Madras; and an effort was made to secure the succession for Metcalfe. But the appointment was given to Sir Frederick Adam, ostensibly on the ground that Metcalfe's services could not be dispensed with in Bengal. At the close of 1831, it was agreed that his term of office, which would expire in August 1832, should be extended for an additional period of two years. Thus for seven years he laboured on—a hard-working, deep-thinking, far-seeing, member of the Supreme Council of India. His views might not always be sound, but they were always honest. If they were sometimes behind the present age, we must remember that the last twenty years have been years of unexampled progress, and that his notions on public ques-



tions were as much ahead of those of his contemporaries, as they must be behind those of statesmen in our day. We have had good and faithful Members of Council since then,—as Robertson, and Ross, and Millet, and Lewis, and Lowe, but no one of them has exceeded Metcalfe in zeal, laboriousness and integrity ; nor is it any disparagement to them to say that no one has equalled him in genius and far-seeing sagacity.

The new Charter of 1833 was now passed. It provided for the establishment of a new Presidency at Agra ; but this part of it was soon after virtually repealed, and the result was only the establishment of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces. On the 20th November 1833, Sir Charles Metcalfe was unanimously appointed to this office, and the appointment was sanctioned by the Crown. A month afterwards he was nominated Provisional Governor-General of India, in the event of the death or resignation of Lord William Bentinck. The old Charter expired on the 30th of April 1834 ; But Lord William Bentinck was then at Ootacamund. A practical difficulty, therefore, arose, as to the inauguration of the new Council. It was an amusing dilemma, which, if we understand it aright, may be thus stated. There could not be a Council formed until a Council was formed !—or thus,—if the Council were not a Council before it became a Council, it could not be a Council after it became a Council. Lord William however cut the Gordian knot, by a proceeding confessedly illegal but which was legalised by an act of indemnity. After a good deal of vexation as to the Agra appointment, in consequence of the curtailment of the powers attached to the office, Metcalfe took the oaths on the 14th of November, the day of Lord William Bentinck's return to Calcutta, and assumed charge of the Government of Agra. The seat of Government was temporarily fixed at Allahabad. The approaching departure of Metcalfe from Calcutta, caused a melancholy sensation among all ranks and conditions of men. We are generally regarded as a somewhat apathetic community ; but events like those of that November shew that we have hearts in our breasts, if they can only be reached. A dinner by the "Society" of the Bengal Club ; a dinner by the "Community" in the Town Hall ; a grand fancy ball by the gay ; and public addresses by the Europeans, the East Indians and the Natives, where but the external demonstrations of feelings of as real esteem and affection as ever were entertained by all classes of citizens towards a public man. Nor were the Missionaries behind to express their grateful acknowledgment of the countenance and support that he had so liberally afforded them in their efforts to

diffuse among the natives of India, the benefits of moral and religious instruction. No less gratifying than those tributes was a letter of congratulation which he received from the "glorious little man" under whose auspices he had commenced his official career, and to whose training he rejoiced to ascribe the success that had marked it. He set out for Allahabad in the middle of December, and reached it, we suppose, about the end of the month. But he had scarcely time to look around him when he received intelligence which required his immediate return to Calcutta. Lord William Bentinck, although he had returned from the Neilgherries in greatly improved health, "broke down" again as soon as he got the harness again on his back. Sir Charles hastened down to Calcutta, and on the 20th of March 1834 he bade farewell to his friend, and took possession of the highest office,—really, though not formally, the Governor-Generalship of India is such—that can be held by a subject of the British Crown. We are afraid that we have very imperfectly succeeded in conveying to our readers the strong conviction that has been produced in our own mind by the perusal of the work before us, how richly this lofty dignity was deserved. Metcalfe was a great man, great by nature, greater by the steady direction of his natural powers to great objects, great especially in high principle and undeviating integrity. We believe there was not a man in India who did not rejoice at his elevation, and wish that it might be permanent:—and permanent it ought to have been. The Court of Directors, and that portion of the people of England who knew or cared aught about the matter—not a very large portion it must be confessed,—were as one with the people of India in this sentiment. But the Ministers of the Crown would not consent. We have already adverted to this controversy in our notice of Mr. Tucker's Life, and shall not again enter upon it. We confess that we think a good deal may be said in favor of "the dictum of Mr. Canning," that in general, it is better to appoint an English statesman than an Indian officer to the Governor-Generalship. But admitting the applicability of the rule in ordinary cases, we must be permitted to say that Metcalfe's was an exceptional case, he was an exceptional man; and the circumstances of India—at the commencement of the operation of a new Charter—were exceptional too. Like other sojourners in this eastern land, we left our party-politics behind us when we quitted the shores of old England; but we confess that it would have given us some sort of satisfaction, had we been able to reflect that it was only a Whig Ministry that

thus opposed the righteous claims of Metcalfe, supported as these claims were by the voice of the Court of Directors, and by the unanimous wish of the people of India. But it was not so. The Tories, having come into power before the appointment was made, equally with their predecessors refused to listen to Metcalfe's claims, and appointed Lord Heytesbury to the office. It was even with difficulty that Lord Ellenborough was prevailed upon to agree to the provisional appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe to act in the event of another vacancy.

While Metcalfe occupied the vice-regal chair only until the Court and the Board could agree as to the person who was to displace him, it might not have surprised men much if he had gone through the routine work as steadily and quietly as possible, and refrained from measures of permanent importance. But this was not Metcalfe's spirit. If he had been to hold the office but for a single day, he would have done with his might what his hand that day found to do. Equally removed was he from the base spirit of embracing the opportunity, which his temporary elevation gave him, of pushing through measures in which he was personally interested, and which he had been disappointed in his attempts to carry while he sat at the Council Board. Before he heard of the appointment of Lord Heytesbury, and while he waited for that nobleman's arrival, he acted in all respects as if he had a long lease of the office, omitting nothing, hurrying nothing. We have more than once alluded to the munificent liberality of Sir Charles Metcalfe; and it is scarcely necessary to say that it shone out more brightly than ever when he was drawing the large allowances of Governor-General. One or two instances are given of this. The following may be taken as a specimen :—

An application was made to him on behalf of an educational institution; known as the "Parental Academic Institution," which, owing to its benevolent exertions, had involved itself in debt. Metcalfe at once enquired into the circumstances of the case; ascertained the sum required (£500) to rescue the Institution from the obligations which depressed it, and sent a cheque for the entire amount.

This is not a strictly correct account of the transaction. The application was made to Sir Charles, as Governor-General, for Government aid. He told the deputation that waited on him that he could not, in accordance with the existing regulations, propose the application of public money for the object for which it was solicited. The deputation retired crest-fallen; but what the Governor-General could not do Sir Charles Metcalfe did, and the cheque came as stated. This was no unusual

habit with him. Several instances are given, in the work before us, of his granting from his own purse sums that were asked for from the purse of the State. In an earlier part of the same work the author imputes this habit to the impression that was made on his mind by the wigging that he got about the Delhi Residency furniture. He seems then to have resolved that, as he had then been accused of indenting on the public treasury for the means of ministering to his own comfort, he would rather err in future on the other side, and that, in every case of doubt, he would rather expend his own resources than those of the Government.

The great act by which the Governor-Generalship of Sir Charles Metcalfe was distinguished, was that which established the FREEDOM OF THE PRESS in India. It is true, that during the whole period of Lord William Bentinck's administration, the press had been practically free. But the restrictions upon it were still on the statute book, and might have been put in force at any moment. The press was in the condition of "Uncle Tom" in the family of St. Clair, kindly treated, but a slave still, and liable to be handed over, on the death of its master, to the tender mercies of a Legree. It is, therefore, to Sir Charles Metcalfe that it owes its freedom; and as a humble member of the "fourth estate" in India, we heartily tender to his memory the tribute of our grateful acknowledgments. Happily, it is not necessary now to refute the sophisms by which it was often attempted in former days to be shewn, that the restriction of the press was only a restriction of evil; that it was always free to speak out what was good. The term *good* was of course used as a synonym for—*what was acceptable to the censors*. The freedom of the press is *right*, and it would be unworthy to argue the question on the ground of expediency: but now that it is not necessary to argue the question at all, we may be allowed to point with some satisfaction to the result. Our press may be deficient in literary merits. How could it be expected to compete in this respect with its mighty brother in London? But no restrictions could remedy this defect: and we venture to say that, in respect of all of which Government censure could take cognizance, the press of India, will bear fair comparison with any press in the world. And the proof is, that during the twenty years that have elapsed since its liberation, it has never done any harm. It has been influential only for good, and for good it has been influential in numberless instances. We do not mean that it has always been *right*. It has frequently been wrong in its treatment of individual persons and of

public measures. But when it has been wrong, it has been powerless, its influence being counteracted by the good sense of the community.

Our readers are, of course, aware that Lord Heytesbury never came to India. The Tory ministry were obliged to retire. The Whigs came into office in time to cancel his appointment—most unconstitutionally and unwisely as we think—and towards the end of the year (1835) it was announced that Lord Auckland was to take the place that had been destined for him. And now it became an agitating question to Metcalfe what he was to do. There was now no doubt that the Agra Government was to be shorn of its intended importance. It was not to be an independent Government, but a mere Lieutenant-Governorship, or Head-Commissionership. His friends at home were anxious that he should remain, and he himself had no desire to go. But the question was whether he would have a worthy field for his exertions, and whether it was worth the sacrifice of what he had looked forward to for thirty years as the aim of his career, a seat in Parliament. At this time he received the high honor of the Grand Cross of the Bath, an honor very seldom conferred on a Civilian. The solicitations of his friends in the Court, his appointment to the Provisional Governor-Generalship, and the favorable impression made upon him by the demeanour of Lord Auckland, at last prevailed, and he made up his mind to proceed to his North-Western Principality. Accordingly, having been invested with the Grand Cross with great pomp, and having arranged all matters with Lord Auckland, he proceeded up the river in the beginning of April. The period of his occupancy of the Agra Governorship was marked by no striking event. Yet it was a period that called forth the powers of his mind, and the affections of his heart. The appearance of the "Pali Plague" in 1836, created alarm throughout India, and called Metcalfe's attention to the necessity of sanitary measures. This is a subject beset with difficulties everywhere; but these difficulties are abundantly enhanced in India. The habits of the people are averse to all inspection, and consequently to all improvement. The right of poisoning their neighbours with the effluvia of their own tanks and drains is a sacred privilege, which whoso toucheth, does them an unforgivable injury. To apply the great principles of the laws of health to the habits of the people is a mighty problem, worthy of the exertions of any man. A few months ago, we had the pleasure of listening to an admirable lecture on this subject, delivered by Dr. Norman Chevers, Civil Surgeon of

Howrah, before an audience mainly composed of natives. As we observe that this gentleman has just been removed to a situation of more extensive influence, and we hope of greater leisure, we trust that he will carry out the subject. We have great faith in the process of "boring," having learned by long experience that little good is effected in this world, but by incessant repetition of truths and principles. But the Pali Plague was of short continuance. It was followed by a grievous famine, the effect of a season of unusual drought. It is needless to say that Metcalfe did all that could be done to alleviate the evil. But little could be done. It remained for our days to establish that great work, the great Ganges Canal, which promises to make such a visitation almost an impossibility.

But the Indian career of Charles Metcalfe was drawing to a close. There was an expectation of the Governorship of Madras being vacant, and he might well have expected that it should be conferred on him. But he was told that this could not be, as his liberation of the Indian Press has been unpalatable to the home authorities. Whether this were the case or not, we do not know. But Metcalfe believed it. He thought that he had forfeited the confidence of his employers. He asked point-blank of the Court of Directors whether it were so or not. After long waiting he got a short and not very explicit answer; and he formally tendered his resignation of his appointment, and expressed his intention of retiring from the service of the East India Company. On the 18th of December 1837, he left Agra; on the 31st he met Lord Auckland at Cawnpore, and on the first day of the new year he ceased to be Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces. It were long to tell all the forms in which the admiration of the public clothed itself. Everywhere there was enthusiasm tempered with sadness. All classes strove to do honor to the retiring statesman. It must have been a strong trial to his constitution. But it was over at last. On the 15th of February 1838, the greatest man that ever adorned the list of Civil Servants of the East India Company left the shores of the land for which he had done so much, after an uninterrupted sojourn of more than thirty-eight years.

And here we leave him, not because his subsequent career is beyond our province. Metcalfe was Indian, and every part of his history is legitimate ground for a periodical restricted to subjects connected with India and the East. But we have already exceeded the ordinary limits of an article, and must deny ourselves the pleasure of saying more. Those who wish

to know how he passed his life "at home";—the circumstances of his appointment to the Governorship of Jamaica, and the manner in which he discharged his duties there in trying and critical circumstances;—how he was obliged by the failure of his health to return to his native land;—how he was subsequently appointed to the Government of Canada,—next to India the most important dependency of the British Crown;—how he was raised to the peerage, at a time when earthly honors had lost all attraction for him, save in so far as they served to call forth pleasurable feelings of gratitude towards those by whom they were conferred—we must refer to Mr. Kaye's most interesting and valuable work. We conclude by extracting the following paragraph without note or comment. We only premise that the scene of the following history was Malshanger near Basingstoke.

On the 4th of September [1846,] Lord Metcalfe, for the first time, did not leave his sleeping apartment. The extreme debility of the sufferer forbade any exertion. There was little apparent change, except in a disinclination to take the nourishment offered to him. On the following morning, however, the change was very apparent. It was obvious that he was sinking fast. Unwilling to be removed to his bed, he sat for the greater part of the day in a chair, breathing with great difficulty. In the afternoon he sent for the members of his family, laid his hands upon their heads as they knelt beside him, and breathed the blessing which he could not utter. Soon afterwards he was conveyed to his bed. For the first time for years he seemed to be entirely free from pain. His mind was unclouded to the last. The serene expression of his countenance indicated that he was in perfect peace. The last sounds which reached him were the sweet strains of his sister's harp, rising in a hymn of praise to the great Father, into one of the many mansions of whose house he believed that he was about to enter. "How sweet those sounds are," he was heard to whisper, almost with his dying breath. He sank very gently to rest. About eight o'clock on the evening of the 5th of September 1846, with a calm sweet smile on his long-tortured face, Charles Theophilus, first and last Lord Metcalfe, rendered up his soul to his Maker.

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# PROGRESS OF ISLAM, FROM THE FIFTH TO THE TENTH YEAR OF THE MISSION OF MAHOMET.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Strat Wäckidi.* Arabic MS.
2. *Strat Hishâmi.* Arabic MS.
3. *Strat Tabari.* Arabic MS.

IN the fifth year of the Mission of Mahomet, a small band of his followers emigrated, as we have seen, to Abyssinia, where they found a hospitable and secure retreat. But three months had not elapsed, when they again made their appearance in Mecca. Their return is linked with one of the strangest episodes in the life of the prophet. Hishâmi contents himself with saying, that they came back because tidings reached them of the conversion of the Coreish. Wäckidi and Tabari give another story, of which the following is a close outline.

The aim of Mahomet had been the regeneration of his people. Of this he had miserably fallen short. The conversion of forty or fifty souls ill compensated for the alienation of the whole community: while the violent opposition of the most respected and influential chiefs vexed his heart. The prospect was dark; to the human eye hopeless. Sad and dispirited, the Arabian prophet longed for a reconciliation, and cast about in his mind how it could be effected.

"On a certain day, the chief men of Mecca, assembled in a group beside the Kaaba, discussed, as was their wont, the affairs of the city, when Mahomet appeared, and seating himself by them in a friendly manner, began to recite in their hearing the LIII. Sura. This chapter opens with a description of the first visit of Gabriel to Mahomet, and of a later vision of that angel, in which certain heavenly mysteries were revealed. It proceeds:—

*And see ye not Lât and Ôzan,  
And Monû the third besides?*

"When he had reached this verse, the devil suggested an expression of the thoughts which, for many a day, had been working in his soul, and put into his mouth \* words of reconciliation and compromise, the revelation of which he had been longing for from God; † viz:—

*These are the exalted females,  
And verily their intercession is to be hoped for.‡*

\* Lit.—"Cast upon his tongue,"—القي عالي لسانه

† Tabari, p. 140 القبي الشيطان علي لسانه لما كان يحدث به نفسه و  
يدعي ان ياتي به قومه

‡ These words, however, do not occur in the other tradition given by Tabari nor Wäckidi.

تلك الغرائيق العلي و ان شفاعتي لترجي (Wäckidi, p. 139; Ta-



"The Coreish were no less surprised than delighted with "this acknowledgment of their deities ; and as Mahomet wound "up the Sura with the closing words,—

*Wherefore bow down before the Lord, and serve Him ;—*

"the whole assembly prostrated themselves with one accord "on the ground and worshipped. The single exception was "Walid, the son of Mughira, who, unable from the infirmities "of age to bow down, took up a handful of earth and wor- "shipped, pressing it to his forehead.\*

"And all the people were pleased at that which Mahomet "had spoken, and they said ; *now we know that it is the Lord "alone who giveth life and taketh it away, who createth and sup- "porteth ; but these our goddesses make intercession with Him for "us ; and as thou hast conceded unto them a portion, we are content "to follow thee.* But their words disquieted Mahomet, and he "retired to his house. In the evening Gabriel visited him ; and "the prophet recited the Sura unto him : and Gabriel said, "*what is this that thou hast done ; thou hast repeated before the "people words that I never gave unto thee.* So Mahomet grieved "sore, and feared the Lord greatly, and he said, *I have spoken of "God that which He hath not said.* But the Lord comforted "His prophet, † and restored his confidence, and cancelled the "passage, and revealed the true reading thereof, (as it now stands,) *viz.—*

*And See ye not I at and Oza,*

*And Manat the third beside ?*

*What ! shall there be male progeny unto you, and female unto him ?*

*That were indeed an unjust partition !*

*They are nought but names, which ye and your Fathers have invented, &c.*

"Now when the Coreish heard this, they spake among "themselves, saying, *Mahomet hath repented the favorable mention "he made of the rank of our goddesses with the Lord ; he hath*

bhari, p. 140—142). The latter gives *ترضي* throughout, the rendering of which would be "whose intercession is *pleasing* unto God." (Sprenger has in this instance quoted the MS. of Tabari incorrectly in his valuable *Notice of Tabari*, in the *Journal, Asiatic Society*, 1850, No. 11., page 129.) The unusual phrase *الغرائيق* signifies *delicate, swan-like*.

\* The same is related of Abu Oheiba, *i. e.* (Sad, son of Al As, *Wackidi*, p. 39.)

† Mahomet was consoled, tradition says, by the revelation of the verses fifty-three and fifty-four of Sura XXII., which signified that all former prophets had been subject to the same evil suggestions of the devil ; but the Sura in which they stand appears to have been revealed at a somewhat later period.

The verses are as follows : *and we have not sent before thee any Apostle, nor any Prophet, but when he longed, Satan cast suggestions into his longing ; but God shall cancel that which Satan suggesteth ; then shall God establish his revelations ; and God is knowing and wise ;—that He may make that which Satan hath suggested a trial unto those whose hearts are diseased and hardened, &c.*

"*changed it, and brought other words in its stead.* And the two verses were in the mouth of every one of the unbelievers, and they increased their malice, and stirred them up to persecute the faithful with still greater severity."\*

Pious Mussulmans, scandalized at the lapse of their prophet into an idolatrous concession, would reject the whole story.† But the authorities are too strong to be impugned. It is hardly possible to conceive how, if not founded in fact, the tale could ever have been invented. Most stubborn of all, the fact remains, (and is admitted upon all hands,) that the first refugees did return about this time from Abyssinia, in consequence of the rumour that Mecca was converted; and the above narrative affords the only intelligible clue to the fact. But we need not adopt to the letter the exculpatory version of Mahometan tradition; nor seek in the interposition of Satan and Gabriel, an explanation of actions to be equally accounted for by the natural workings of the Prophet's mind.

It is obvious that the lapse was no sudden event:—no concession that dropped from the lips unexpectedly or unawares, and was immediately withdrawn. The hostility of his people had long pressed upon the spirit of Mahomet, and in his inward musings (it is admitted even by orthodox tradition,) he had meditated the very expressions which, it is alleged, the devil prompted him to utter. Nor can we believe that the concession lasted but for a day. The reconciliation must, to outward appearance, have been complete and consolidated, and continued for some days at least, to allow of the report going forth and reaching the exiles in a shape to inspire them with confidence. We are warranted, therefore, in assuming a far wider base and more extensive action for the event, than are admitted by ex-parte tradition.

The religion of Mahomet appears, up to this point, to have been a spiritual system, of which Faith, and Prayer, and the

\* It has been explained in a note to the Article on the "*Sources for the Biography of Mahomet*," (p. 56, Canon II. L.) that the whole story, as given above, has been omitted by Ibn Hishâm. But that it was contained in Ibn Ishâc's works (which Ibn Hishâm professes to follow,) is evident from its being quoted by Tabari expressly from that author. See Sprenger's Note in the *Calcutta Asiatic Journal*, where the original passages are quoted at length.

† This is admitted even by orthodox Mahometan writers. The author of the Biography *Mawdhib alladoniya*, shows, in opposition to the assertion that the story is heretical, that it rests on unexceptionable tradition, that the opposing authorities are groundless, being founded only on the suspicion that the facts are unlikely. Thus one objection is quoted, that had the lapse really occurred, great numbers of the Moslems must have become Apostates, which the author says is not just reasoning. The original passage may be consulted in Dr. Sprenger's note in the *Asiatic Journal* above referred to.

inculcation of virtue, form the prominent features. Though the Kaaba and some of its rites may have been looked upon as founded by the patriarch Abraham, yet the existing worship was, as a whole, rejected by reason of its idolatry and corruption.\* But to this superstition, *with all its practices*, the people were obstinately wedded, and unless permission were given to join, more or less, the time-honoured institutions of Mecca with the true Faith, there was little hope of a general conversion. How far would the strong expediency of the case justify him to meet the prevailing system? How far was it the will of God to admit concession?

Was not the worship of the Kaaba, after all, a *Divine* institution? The temple was built at the command of God: the compassing of it symbolized the circling course of the heavenly bodies, and that again the obedience of all creation to the Deity. Love and devotion were nurtured by the kissing of the sacred corner-stone: the slaying of sacrifices, a pious rite in commemoration of Abraham's readiness to offer up his son, signified a like submission;† the pilgrimage to Arafat, the shaving of the head, &c., were all innocent, if not pious, in their tendency. But how shall he treat the images of the Kaaba, and the gross idolatry rendered to them? In their present mind the Coreish would never abandon these: but if (as they professed themselves ready,) they would acknowledge the one true God as the supreme Lord, and look to the images as symbolical only of his angels, what harm from their continuance? Incredible as the concession may appear, and utterly irreconcilable with his standpoint, Mahomet acceded to this arrangement, and consented to the idols as the representatives of heavenly beings, "whose intercession was to be hoped for" with the Deity. The hurried and garbled notices of tradition give no farther insight into the compromise, nor the mention of any safeguard that may have been stipulated by Mahomet against the abuses of idolatry: but it is certain that the arrangements, of whatever nature, gave perfect satisfaction to the chiefs and people, and produced a temporary union.

But Mahomet was not long in perceiving the inconsistency

\* We conclude this to have been the case, because in the portions of the Coran belonging to this period, the observances of the Kaaba are never referred to or inculcated, as they are frequently at a subsequent stage.

† Which of his sons Abraham prepared to sacrifice, is not specified in the Coran: and we are not at liberty to assume, with Mahometan Doctors, that their prophet *necant* Ishmael, nor even that he believe the place of sacrifice to have been the vicinity of Mecca. If, however, the current of ancient tradition already ran so, it is *possible* that Mahomet may have followed it, but without specification in the Coran, for fear of offending the Jews.

into which he had been betrayed. The people still worshipped not God, but the images. No reasoning upon his part, no concession upon theirs, could dissemble the galling fact, that the practice of idolatry continued as gross and rampant as ever.

His only safety now lay in disowning the concession. The devil had deceived him. The words of compromise were no part of the divine system received from God by his heavenly messenger. The lapse was thus remedied: the heretical verses spoken under delusion were cancelled, and others revealed in their stead, denouncing idolatry with irreconcilable hate, and rejecting the very idea of female angels, such as Lât and Ozza. Henceforward the prophet wages mortal strife with images in every shape; his system gathers itself up into a pure and stern theism, and the Coran begins to breathe (though as yet only in the persons of Moses and Abraham,) intimations of an iconoclastic revenge.\*

Ever after the intercession of idols is scouted as absurd; angels dare not to intercede with the Almighty,† how much less the idols, who

• • • have no power over even the husk of a date stone ;  
Upon whom if ye call, they hear not your calling.  
And if they heard they would not answer you ;  
And in the Day of Judgment, they shall reject your deification of them. ‡

The following passage, produced shortly after his lapse, shows how Mahomet refuted his adversaries, and adroitly turned against them their concession as to the Supreme Deity of God only :—

And if thou askest them who created the Heavens and the Earth, they will surely answer GOD. § Say, what think ye then ? If the Lord be pleased to visit me with affliction, can those beings on whom ye call besides God,—what ! could *they* remove the visitation ? Or if He visit me with mercy, could *they* withhold His mercy ? Say, God sufficeth for me ; on Him alone let those who put their trust, confide. ||

However short his fall, Mahomet retained a keen sense of its disgrace, and of the danger which lay in parleying with his adversaries :—

And truly, they were near tempting thee aside from what we revealed unto thee, that thou shouldest fabricate regarding Us a different revelation ; and then they would have taken thee, for their friend.

\* See Suras XXXVII., 92 ; XXI., 58 ; XX., 95.

† Sura LIII., 58., *et passim*.

‡ XXXV., 14 ; XLVI., 4.

§ See also Sura XLIII., 18 ; and other places in which the Meccans are represented as giving a similar reply.

|| Sura XXXIX., 38.

And if it had not been that we established thee, verily thou hadst nearly inclined unto them a little ;

Then verily we had caused thee to taste both of the punishment of Life, and the punishment of Death ;

Then thou shouldest not have found against Us any Helper.\*

Ever and anon we meet with a divine caution to the prophet, to beware lest he should change the words of inspiration out of a desire to deal gently with his people, or be deceived by the pomp and numbers of the idolaters, into following after them from the straight and narrow path indicated for him by God.†

But though Mahomet may have completely reassured his own convictions, and restored the confidence of his adherents, there is little doubt that the concession to idolatry, followed by a recantation so sudden and entire, seriously weakened his position with the people at large. *They* would not readily credit his excuse, that the words of error were "cast by the devil into the mouth of Mahomet."‡ Supposing it to be so, what faith was to be placed in the revelations of a prophet liable to such influences? The Divine author of a true revelation knows beforehand all that he will at any subsequent period reveal; *His* agent would never be reduced to the petty shift of retracting as a mistake what had once been given forth as a message from heaven. Such aspersions were triumphant-ly advanced by the adversaries of the Coran, and Mahomet could oppose to them only the simple reiteration of his own assurance; thus,—

And when We change one verse in the place of another,  
[and God best knoweth that which He revealeth,

They say, *Verily thou art plainly a Fabricator;*

Nay, but the most of them understand not;

Say, The Holy Spirit hath brought it down from thy Lord, &c.§

We have seen that it was the tidings of the reconciliation with the Coreish that induced the little band of emigrants, after a residence of two months || in Abyssinia, to set out for Mecca. As they approached the city, a party of travellers from thence communicated the information that Mahomet had withdrawn his concessions, and that the Coreish had resumed their oppressive conduct. They consulted what they should

\* Sura XVII., 74—76.

† See Suras LXVIII., 8; XVIII., 28; XIII., 40; XXXIX., 15.

‡ See Sura XXII., 53, quoted in a note a few pages back.

§ Sura XVI., 101.

|| They emigrated in Rajab, in the fifth year of Mahomet's mission, and remained in Abyssinia, Shâbân and Ramdhân. The worshipping and reconciliation with the Coreish, happened in Ramdhân; and the emigrants returned to Mecca in the following month, Shawwâl, of the same year. (*Wâkidi*, p. 394.)

do, but soon resolved to go forward and visit their homes;—if things came to the worst, they could but again escape to Abyssinia. So they entered Mecca, each under the protection of a relative or friend.\*

The tidings brought by the emigrants of their kind reception by the Najāshy, following upon the late events, annoyed the Coreish, and the persecution became hotter than ever.† Wherefore Mahomet again recommended to his followers that they should take refuge in Abyssinia. The first party of the new expedition thither set out, probably, about the sixth year of the mission, and thereafter small bodies of converts, accompanied sometimes by their women and children, at intervals joined the exiles, until they reached (without calculating their little ones,) the number of 101. Of these eighty-three were men: and amongst the women, eleven were of Coreish descent, and seven belonged to other tribes. Thirty-three of the men, with eight women, (including Othmān and Rockeya, the daughter of Mahomet,) again returned to Mecca; but most of them eventually emigrated to Medīna. The rest of the refugees remained in Abyssinia for several years, and rejoined Mahomet on his expedition to Kheibar, in the seventh year of the Hegira.‡

\* All but Abdallah ibn al Masūd, who is said to have had no patron or guardian, and to have again returned after a little to Abyssinia. (*Wāckidī*, p. 394).

† *Wāckidī*, *ibidem*.

‡ *Wāckidī*, p. 394; *Hishāmi*, p. 92; *Tabarī*, p. 129. Sprenger, though admitting that he thereby opposes all the early authorities, places the second emigration to Abyssinia later, *viz.*, after the withdrawal of Mahomet and his followers into the *Shab*, or quarter of Abu Tālib, that is in the seventh year of the mission. His reason is, that at the end of the sixth year there were not many more than fifty converts, whereas the second emigration to Abyssinia embraced as many as a hundred persons; and that it is not probable the number of Moslems should have thus doubled in a few months.

But the number of emigrants to Abyssinia is given at 100, as the aggregate of all who from first to last proceeded thither. They did not all set out at once, but as is distinctly said, in parties one after another, and probably at considerable intervals. The fact, therefore, that the total number exceeded 100, is not in the least inconsistent with the position, that the first party was small, or that the whole of Mahomet's followers may not at the time have exceeded fifty.

*Hishāmi*, (p. 114.) has mixed up the return of the thirty-three emigrants belonging to the second Abyssinian expedition, with the return of the whole of the emigrants of the first expedition consequent upon the lapse of Mahomet.

Of those who returned from the second expedition we may enumerate besides Othmān, Abu Hodzeifa; Abdallāh ibn Jahsh; Othā; Zobeir ibn al Awwam; Musāb; Tuleib; Abd al Rahmān. These all emigrated with Mahomet to Medīna. Several of the others were confined (as is alleged,) by their relatives, and thus prevented from joining Mahomet, till after the first battles. Abdallah ibn Soheil fled from the Coreish to Mahomet's army at the battle of Badr.

Sakrān was among those who returned from Abyssinia to Mecca, where he died. It was his widow Sanda, whom Mahomet first married after Khadija's death.

Othmān re-visited Mecca under the guardianship of Walid, son of Mughīra, the great enemy of Islam.

Although Mahomet himself was not yet forced to quit his native city, he was nevertheless exposed to indignity and insult, and the threatening attitude of his adversaries occasioned apprehension and anxiety. If, indeed, it had not been for the influence and steadfast protection of Abu Tâlib, it is clear that the hostile intentions of the Coreish would have imperilled the liberty, perhaps the life, of Mahomet. A body of their elders,\* repaired to the aged chief, and said :—*This Nephew of thine hath spoken opprobriously of our gods and our religion ; and hath abused us as fools, and given out that our forefathers were all astray. Now, either avenge us thyself of our adversary ; or (seeing that thou art in the same case with ourselves,) leave him to us that we may take our satisfaction.* But Abu Tâlib answered them softly and in courteous words ; so they turned and went away. In process of time, as Mahomet would not change his proceedings, they went again to Abu Tâlib in great exasperation, and reminding him of their former demand, that he would restrain his nephew from his offensive conduct, added ; —*and now, verily, we cannot have patience any longer with his abuse of us, our ancestors, and our gods ; wherefore do thou either hold him back from us, or thyself take part with him, that the matter may be decided between us.* Thus they departed from him. And it appeared grievous to Abu Tâlib to break with his people, and be at enmity with them ; neither did it please him to desert, and surrender, his nephew. Thus, being in straits, he sent for Mahomet, and having communicated the saying of the Coreish, proceeded earnestly ; —*wherefore, save thyself and me also ; and cast not upon me a burden heavier than I can sustain.* Mahomet was startled and alarmed ; and imagined that his uncle, finding himself unequal to the task, had resolved to abandon him. But his high resolve did not fail him even at this trying and critical moment. He replied firmly. *If they brought the Sun to my right hand, and the Moon to my left, to force me from my undertaking, verily, I would not desist until the Lord make manifest my cause, or I perish in the attempt.* But the thought of his kind protector's desertion overcame him ; he burst into tears, and turned to depart. Then Abu Tâlib called out, —“Son of my brother ! Come back.” So he returned, and Abu Tâlib said : *Depart in peace, my nephew ! and say whatsoever*

\* They consisted of Walid ibn al Mughira, Otba, and Sheyba, sons of Rabia, Abu Jahl, Abu Sofian, As ibn Wail, &c. Probably the most violent of the opponents of Islam have been singled out, without much discrimination or authority, by the biographers, for this office.

*thou desirest ; for, by the Lord ! I will not, in any wise, give thee up for ever.\**

Wâckidi adds the further incident that Mahomet having that day disappeared, Abu Tâlib, apprehensive of foul play, made ready a band of Hâshimite youths, each armed with a dirk, and set out for the Kaaba. Meanwhile, he ascertained that Mahomet was safe in a house in Safa, and returned with his people home. On the morrow the aged Chief again made ready his party, and taking Mahomet with them, repaired to the Kaaba, where, standing before the assembly of the Coreish, he desired his young men to uncover that which they had by them ; and, lo ! in the hand of each was a sharp weapon. Then turning to the Coreish, he exclaimed, *By the Lord ! Had ye killed him, there had not remained alive a man amongst you. You should have perished, or we had been annihilated.* The bold front of Abu Tâlib awed the Coreish, and repressed their insolence.†

Though the tendency of tradition is to magnify the insults of the unbelieving Meccans, yet apart from invective and abuse, we do not read of any personal injury or suffering sustained by Mahomet himself. A few of the inveterate enemies of Islam, (Abu Lahab among the number,) who lived close by his house, used spitefully to throw unclean and offensive things at the prophet, or upon his hearth, as he cooked his food. Once they flung into his house the entrails of a goat, which Mahomet putting upon a stick, carried to the door, and

\* We have chiefly here followed Hishâmi (p. 71) and Tabari (p. 124. But at p. 123, the latter makes the noble speech of Mahomet to be a reply to his uncle at a time when the latter had said to him before the Coreish,—“ Verily thy people ask of thee a reasonable thing, that thou leave off to abuse their gods, and they will leave off to abuse thee and thy God.” So Wâckidi, p. 38½.

There is some confusion as to the time when this scene occurred. There were probably several conferences ending in threats, and tradition has no doubt, amplified them. One of these is said to have occurred at Abu Tâlib's death-bed, several years later. The Coreish hearing that Abu Tâlib lay at the point of death, sent a deputation in order that some compact should be made to bind both parties after his decease ; and they proposed that they should retain their ancient faith, without abuse or interference from Mahomet, in which case they would not molest him in his. Abu Tâlib called Mahomet, and communicated to him the reasonable request. Mahomet replied, “ Nay, but there is one word, which if ye concede, you will thereby conquer Arabia, and reduce Ajam under subjection.” “ Good !” said Abu Jahl, “ not one such word, but ten.” Mahomet replied ;—“ Then say,—*There is no God but the Lord,* and abandon that which ye worship beside him.” And they clapped their hands in rage ;—“ Dost thou desire, indeed, that we should turn our gods into one God ? That were a strange affair !” And they began to say one to the rest, “ This fellow is obstinate and impracticable. Ye will not get from him any concession that ye desire. Return, and let us walk after the faith of our forefathers, till God determine the matter betwixt us and him” So they arose and departed. (*Hishâmi*, p. 136.)

† *Hishâmi*, p. 135.



called aloud ;—" Ye children of Abd Menâf ! What sort of neighbourly conduct is this ? " Then he cast it forth into the street.\* Two or three centuries afterwards, a little closet, a few feet square, was still shown at the entrance of Khadija's house, where, under the ledge of a projecting stone, the prophet crouched down when he retired for prayer, to shelter himself from the missiles of his neighbours.† There is a legend (but ill sustained,) of actual violence once offered to Mahomet in public. As he passed through the court of the Kaaba, he was suddenly surrounded by the Coreish, who " leaped upon him as one man," and seized his mantle. But Abu Bakr stood manfully by him and called out ;—" Woe's me ! Will ye slay a man who saith that *God is my Lord* ? " So they departed from him. ‡

In the sixth year of his mission, the cause of Mahomet was strengthened by the accession of two powerful citizens. These were HAMZA and OMAR.

The prophet was one day seated on the rising ground of Safa. Abu Jahl, coming up, accosted him with a shower of taunts and reproaches ; but Mahomet answered not a word. Both left the place, but a slave girl had observed the scene :§ It chanced that shortly after, Hamza returned that way from the chase, his bow hanging from his shoulder (for he was a hunter of renown :) and the maid related to him with indignation the gross abuse of Abu Jahl. Hamza was at once the uncle and foster-brother of Mahomet. His pride was offended, his rage kindled. He hurried on with rapid steps to the Kaaba, in the court of which was sitting Abu Jahl, with a company of the Coreish. Hamza rushed on him, saying ;—" *Ah ! Hast thou been abusing him, and I follow his religion ; there* (raising the bow and striking him violently therewith,) *return that if thou darest !* " The kinsmen of Abu Jahl started up to his rescue, but he motioned them away, saying, " Let him alone ; for, indeed, I did revile his nephew shamefully." The profession of Islam, suddenly asserted by Hamza, in the passion of the moment, was followed up by the deliberate pledging of

\* *Hishâmi*, p. 134 ; *Tabari*, p. 148 ; *Wâckidi*, p. 38. Besides Abu Lahab, are mentioned Ockba, son of Abu Mâit ; Al Hakam, son of Ab ul As ; Adî the Thackifite ; and Ibu al Asad, the Haudalite, as living close by, and annoying the prophet.

† *Tabari*, p. 67.

‡ *Hishâmi*, p. 77 ; *Tabari*, p. 131. It is related that Abu Bakr had his beard pulled that day in the scuffle to defend Mahomet, and Omm Kolthûm saw him return with an injury on the crown of his head.

§ The servant of the chief Abdallah ibn Jodaân, repeatedly mentioned before.

his faith to Mahomet, and a steady adherence ever after to his religion.\*

The conversion of Omar happened on this wise, at the close of the sixth year of Mahomet's mission, (A.D. 615-6.)† He was notorious for his enmity to Islam, and the harshness and violence with which he treated its professors. His sister Fâtima and her husband Saïd (a son of the "enquirer" Zeid,) were both converts, but secretly, for fear of the Coreish. While he was threatening certain believers, one hinted to Omar that he had better begin at home, with his sister and her husband. His wrath was aroused, and he proceeded forthwith to their house. They were listening to Sura XX., which the slave Khobâb recited to them from a manuscript. The persecutor drew near, and overheard the low murmur of the reading. At the noise of his steps, Khobâb retired into a closet. *What sound was that I heard just now?* exclaimed Omar, entering, angrily. "There was nothing," they replied. *Nay,* said he, swearing fiercely, *"I hear that ye are renegades!"* But what, Oh Omar!" interposed his brother-in-law, "may there not be truth in another religion than thine?" The question confirmed the suspicions of Omar, and being furiously exasperated, he sprang upon Saïd and kicked him. His sister flew to the rescue: in the struggle her face was wounded, and it began to bleed. In anger and distress she called out:—"Yes, we are converted; we believe in God and in His prophet; do unto us what thou pleasest." And when Omar saw her face covered with blood he was softened; and he asked to see the paper they had been reading. But his sister required that he should first cleanse himself; "for none," said she, "but the pure may touch it." So Omar arose and washed, and took the paper (for he could read;) and when he had decyphered a part thereof, he exclaimed,—*How excellent and how gracious is this discourse?* Then came forth Khobâb from his hiding place, and said, "Oh Omar, I trust that the Lord hath verily set thee apart for Himself, in answer to his prophet; it was but yesterday I heard him praying thus,—*Strengthen Islam, Oh God, by Ab ul Hakam (Abu Jahl) or by Omar!*" Then said Omar, "Lead me unto Mahomet, that I may make known unto him

\* *Hishâmî*, p. 78; *Tabarî*, p. 135; *Wâckidi*, p. 179‡. The latter mentions the facts very briefly, but adds the names of Adi, and Ibn al A'adi, to that of Abu Jahl, as having abused Mahomet. The conversion, he says, occurred after Mahomet's "entry into Arcam's house," in the sixth year of the Mission.

† It occurred in the month of Dzul Hajj, the last in the year. (*Wâckidi*, p. 232) It is there noted that the believers at that date amounted in all to forty men and ten women; or by other accounts to forty-five men and eleven women.

my conversion." And he was directed to the house of Arcam. So Omar knocked at the door, and Hamza and others looked through a crevice, and lo! it was Omar. But Mahomet bade them let him in, and rising to meet him, seized his skirt and the belt of his sword, saying, "Wilt thou not refrain from persecuting, until the Lord send some calamity upon thee"? And Omar replied;—"Verily, I testify that thou art the prophet of God!" And Mahomet was filled with joy, and called aloud, GREAT IS THE LORD!\*

These conversions were a real triumph to Mahomet; Hamza and Omar both possessed, along with great bodily strength, an indomitable courage, and exercised much influence at Mecca.† The heroism of Hamza, in the cause of Islam, was so distinguished, that he earned for himself the title, familiar to the present day, of *the Lion of God*. Omar, when in an assembly, rose from his stature far above the people, as if he had been mounted. He was stout and fair, and somewhat ruddy. Impulsive and precipitate, his anger was easily aroused; and men

\* *Allahu Akbar*, which exclamation is styled the *takbîr*, and is used on occasions of surprise, or the unexpected occurrence of any great event.

Hishâmi has two versions; one similar to that given in the text; only it is stated that Omar was *on his way to slay Mahomet*, when he was diverted by an intimation of his sister's conversion. But this incident has probably been only thrown in to add to the romantic colouring of the story. Besides its inherent improbability, it appears inconsistent with the immediately previous declaration in Hishâmi, that Omar was "softened" when he saw the believers preparing to emigrate to Abyssina, and said, "the Lord go with you." (*Hishâmi*, p. 103.)

The second version is entirely different. Here is Omar's own alleged account:—"I was far from the faith, and a man given to strong drink:—wanting companions one night, I repaired to the spirit-dealer's shop, but I did not find him. Then I said, *I will go unto the Kaaba and compass it six or seven times*; and I found Mahomet praying there with his face towards Syria. Then I said, *what if I stay and hear what he is saying; I will get me near unto him and listen, then I will startle and frighten him*. So I went up towards the black stone, and hid myself behind the Kaaba-curtain, and walked along softly between it and the wall, while the prophet was praying and repeating the Coran, till I reached right before him;—there was nothing betwixt him and me, but the curtain. And when I heard the Coran, my heart softened thereat, and I wept and was converted; and when he had ended, I followed him on his way to his house, which was in the *Dâr al Wackîdî* (now in the possession of Mu'avia;) and as I made up upon him, he heard my steps and recognized me, and thought that verily I had come to trouble him, until I unfolded the truth. Then he praised God and said;—*Verily, Oh Omar! God hath directed thee*. And he touched my garment and prayed for me, that I might continue steadfast." (*Hishâmi*, pp. 106 and 107).†

This tradition is utterly inconsistent with the other; yet it contains details which have all the freshness and semblance of truth, and there is no apparent reason why it should have been fabricated. It is a strong example of the strange uncertainty of unsupported tradition.

The version in the text is evidently the correct one, and is given both by Hishâmi and Wackîdi, with some variations, which show that each had separate and independent authority for it. (*Hishâmi*, p. 103; *Wackîdi*, p. 231.)

† For Hamza, *Hishâmi*, p. 78. For Omar, *Wackîdi*, p. 243.

feared him because of this uncertain and impetuous temper. At the period of his conversion he was but six-and-twenty,\* yet so great and immediate was the influence of his accession upon the spread of Islam, that from this era is dated the commencement of its open and fearless profession at Mecca. The Moslems no longer concealed their worship within their own houses, but with conscious strength and a bold front of defiance, assembled in companies about the Kaaba, performed their rites of prayer, and compassed the Holy House.† Their courage rose: dread and uneasiness seized the Coreish.

The Coreish, indeed, had cause for alarm. They were disquieted by the hospitable reception and encouragement of the refugees at the Abyssinian Court. An embassy of two of their chief men, laden with costly presents, had made a fruitless attempt to obtain their surrender.‡ What if the Najāshy should support them with an armed force, and seek to establish

\* "He was born four years before the great (last?) battle of *Al Fijjār*, and was converted in *Dzul Hajj*, six years after the mission, aged twenty-six. His son *Abd-Allah* was then only six years old." (*Wākidi*, p. 232.)

† *Wākidi*, p. 232; *Hishāmi*, pp. 105—108.

‡ An account of this embassy is given by *Hishāmi*, (pp. 96—100) also briefly by *Tabari*, (p. 136,) the former is related by the *Dr. Sprenger* in considerable detail, (p. 191.)

*Omim Salma* (the widow of one of the refugees, and afterwards married to *Mahomet*, states that the Coreish despatched *Abdallah ibn Abi Rabia* and *Amr ibn al As*, with rare presents (including stores of precious leather), for the *Najāshy*. They first gained over the courtiers; then they presented their gifts to the king, saying, that "certain fools amongst them had left their ancestral faith; they had not joined Christianity, but had set up a new religion of their own; they had, therefore, been deputed by the Coreish to fetch them back." The courtiers supported their prayer, but the king said he would enquire farther into the matter in the presence of the accused. Now the refugees had agreed that they would not garble their doctrine, but, come what might, say nothing more nor less than their prophet had taught them. So, on the morrow, they were summoned into the royal presence, where were also the Bishops with their books open before them. The king enquired the cause of their separation. Then *Jāfar* (*Mahomet's* uncle) answered, in the name of all, "that they used to worship images, eat the dead, commit lewdness, disregard family ties and the duties of neighbourhood and hospitality, until that *Mahomet* arose a prophet;" and he concluded by describing his system, and the persecutions which had forced them to Abyssinia. On the king asking him to repeat any of the prophet's teaching, he recited *Sura Maryam*, (ch. xix., containing the births of *John* and *Jesus*, notices of *Abraham*, *Moses*, &c. ;) and the *Najāshy* wept until his beard became moist, and the Bishops wept so that their tears ran down upon their books, saying, "Verily, this Revelation and that of *Moses* proceed from one and the same source." And the *Najāshy* said to the refugees, "Depart in peace, for I will never give you up."

Next day, it is added, *Amr* endeavoured to entrap them into a declaration regarding *Jesus* that would be offensive to the king; but the latter fully concurred in their doctrine, that *Jesus* was nothing more than "a servant of God, and His Apostle; His Spirit and His word, placed in the womb of *Mary*, the immaculate Virgin." So the Meccan embassy departed in bad case.

The above story is no doubt intended to meet the passages that the Jews and Christians wept for joy on hearing the *Coran*, because of its correspondence with their own Scriptures. See *Sura XVII.*, 108: *XXVIII.*, 53. A similar tale has

a Christian or reformed Faith at Mecca, as one of his predecessors had done in Yemen? Apart even from foreign aid, there was ground for apprehension at home. The Moslem body no longer consisted of oppressed and despised out-casts, struggling for a weak and miserable existence. It was rather a powerful faction, adding daily to its strength by the accession of influential citizens. It challenged an open hostility. The victory of either party involved the annihilation of the other.

Influenced by such fears, the Coreish sought to stay the progress of secession from their ranks, by utterly severing the party of Mahomet from social and friendly communication with themselves. On the other hand, Abu Tâlib was supported in his defence of Mahomet by all his brothers (excepting Abu Lahab,) and by the descendants generally of his grandfather Hâshim, whether converts to Islam or not.\* The religious struggle now merged into a civil feud between the Hâshimites and the rest of the Coreish; and there were not wanting long-rooted political associations to add bitterness to the strife.

To secure their purpose, the Coreish entered into a confederacy against the Hâshimites,—*that they would not murmur their*

been invented for the Bishops of Najrân, and also of an embassy of Christians from Abyssinia, who visited Mahomet at Mecca. (*Hishâmi*, p. 124.) So that not much reliance can be placed on this part of the narrative.

Two other incidents are related of the Najâshy. One, that while the refugees were at his court, he was attacked by a claimant of the Throne. The refugees were so concerned for the result, that they sent Zobeir (then quite a youth) over the Nile on an inflated skin, to watch the battle, and when he returned with tidings that the Najâshy had discomfited his adversary, they rejoiced greatly.

The Abyssinians are said to have risen up against their king for the favor he showed to the Mussulman doctrine. So the Najâshy put into his pocket a scrap inscribed with the Mahometan creed, and when his people desired him to say, "that Jesus was the Son of God" he responded (putting his hand upon his pocket), "Jesus never went beyond *this*,"—apparently agreeing in what they said, but inwardly referring to the scrap! A childish story.

Mahomet is said to have regarded him as a convert, and to have accordingly prayed for him at his death. A light is also related to have issued from his tomb.

There is probably a basis of truth for the general outline given in this note, but it would be difficult to draw a probable line between the real and the fictitious parts of it. Had the leaning towards Mahometan doctrine been really so great in Abyssinia, as is here represented, we should have heard more of its inhabitants in the troublous times that followed Mahomet's decease.

\* *Wâkidi*, p. 40; *Hishâmi*, p. 72. Abu Tâlib summoned the house of Hâshim to consult as to the defence of their kinsman Mahomet. All agree to stand by him, but Abu Lahab. Abu Tâlib was charmed with the noble spirit of his relative, and recited a *Qasida* (preserved by Ibn Ishâc), in praise of the family. The verses, however, conclude with an eulogy on Mahomet as the chief and most noble of the stock,—a sentiment which Abu Tâlib, not a convert to Islam, was not likely to have uttered. The *Qasida* is evidently spurious, at least in part.

women; nor give their own in marriage to them; would sell nothing to them nor buy aught from them;—that all dealings with them should cease. The ban was carefully committed to writing, and sealed with three seals. When all had bound themselves by it, the sheet was hung up in the Kaaba, and religious sanction thus given to its provisions.\*

The Hâshimites were unable to withstand the violent tide of public opinion which thus set in against them; and apprehensive perhaps that it might be only the prelude of open attack, or of blows in the dark still more fatal, they retired into the secluded quarter of the city, known as the *Sheb* † of Abu Tâlib. It was formed by one of the defiles or indentations, where the projecting rocks of Abu Cobeis pressed upon the northern outskirts of Mecca. It was entered on the city side by a low gateway, through which a camel passed with difficulty. On all other sides it was detached by buildings and cliffs from the town.‡

\* *Wâckidi*, p. 393. 40; *Tabari*, p. 137; *Hishâmi*, p. 108. Mansûr, son of Akrama, wrote the document; and the hand with which he wrote it (*at the prayer, adds Hishâmi, of Mahomet*) withered and dried up. *Hishâmi* states also that it was he who suspended the deed in the Kaaba. *Wâckidi* however gives another tradition, according to which it was never put in the Kaaba at all, but remained in the custody of Omm al Jalâs, an aunt or cousin of Abu Jahl.

† *Sprenger* (p. 194) holds that this movement was prior to, and independent of, the league of the Coreish (p. 189.) But both *Hishâmi* and *Wâckidi* distinctly connect the entry into Abu Tâlib's quarter, and the ban, as the effect with its cause. And this is indeed the only intelligible statement of the facts.

‡ **شعب** *Sheb* signifies a *defile, glen, ravine*. Thus the converts from Medina made their assignation to meet Mahomet in a glen, *Sheb*, leading into the valley of Mina, and the next day the enraged Coreish repaired to the *Sheb* of the Medina pilgrims, or the valley in which they were encamped, (*Wâckidi*, p. 423.) The valley of Ohod, out of which Talha saved Mahomet, is termed *Sheb*. (*Wâckidi*, p. 221; *Hishâmi*, p. 262; *Tabari*, p. 375) where the top or exit from the valley is called **فم الشعب** "mouth of the Sheb." Amr and his companion in their expedition to assassinate Abu Sofîân, tied up their camels in one of the defiles (*Sheb*) near Mecca. (*Hishâmi*, p. 451; *Tabari*, p. 405.) So the end of a pass requiring to be guarded in the expedition of *Dzat al Rika* is called "*fam al Sheb*," (*Tabari*, p. 427.) Before Cussey brought the Coreish into Mecca, they are said to have inhabited "the heights and defiles (*Sheb*.) of the surrounding hills," *Tabari*, p. 29; *Cnf. C. de Perceval*, Vol. II., p. 478.

The several quarters of Mecca skirting the foot of Abu Cobeis, are still distinguished by the name *Sheb*; thus we have the *Sheb Amir*, the *Sheb Maulad* (quarter in which Mahomet was born;) and the *Sheb A'î*. The latter was probably comprised in the *Sheb* of Abu Tâlib. (*Burkhardt's Arabia*, pp. 123, 128.) "On the East-side, towards the mountain, and partly on its declivity, stands the quarter called *Shab Aly* adjoining the *Shab el Moled*: here is shown the venerated place of Aly's nativity. Both these quarters called *Shab* (i. e., rock,) are among the most ancient parts of the town, where the Koreysh formerly lived: they are even now inhabited principally by Sherifs, and do not contain any shops. The houses are spacious and in an airy situation." (*Idem*, p. 124.)

It was into one of these quarters of the city, situated in a defile, having behind it the steep ascent of the hill, and so built as to be inaccessible on all sides,

On the first night of the first month of the seventh year of the mission, the Hâshimites, including Mahomet and his family, retired into the quarter of Abu Tâlib, and with them followed also the descendants of Al Muttalib, the brother of Hâshim. Abu Lahab alone, instigated by his hatred of the prophet, went forth to the other party. Rigorously was the ban of separation put in force. The Hâshimites soon found that they were cut off from their supplies of corn and the necessities of life. They were not strong enough to send forth a caravan of their own; if parties of foreign merchants passed through, the Coreish instigated them to withhold their commodities, except at a most exorbitant price;\* the Coreish themselves would sell nothing to them; and a great scarcity necessarily ensued. No one ventured forth from the Sheb, except at the season of pilgrimage, when all enmities throughout Arabia were hushed, and Mahomet and his party were free to join securely in the ceremonies.† For two or three years, the attitude of both parties remained unaltered, and the failing stock of the Hâshimites, replenished only by surreptitious and occasional supplies, reduced them to want and distress. The citizens could hear the voices of the half-famished little ones crying within the Sheb. Many hearts were softened at the sight of such hardships, and regretted the hostilities which gave rise to them. Among these, and the relatives of the isolated families, were found some who ventured, in spite of the threats of the Coreish, from time to time, to introduce at night, by stealth, provisions into the quarter of Abu Tâlib. Hishâm ibn Amr used to conduct a camel laden with corn cautiously into the *Sheb*, and make over the burden to the

except by a narrow entrance towards the city, that the Hâshimites retired. These particulars enable us to understand the account of Hakîm striking his camel to make it bend and enter the narrow defile, (فم الشعب) and the voices of the wailing children being heard from the parts of the city adjoining, but divided from the Sheb.

Weil has misapprehended the meaning of the term *Sheb*, and makes it a fortified castle *outside* Mecca. "Hielt es Abu Talib für gerathen, ihn mit einem Theile der Gläubigen aus Mekka zu entfernen, und in ein Wohlbefestigtes Schloss zu bringen." (*Mohammed*, p. 61.) So in his *Einleitung*, (p. 9.)

\* This is from Sprenger, but he does not give his authority, p. 194.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 40. It is not clear whether this retirement was voluntary on the part of the Hâshimites, arising from their own alarm, or was directly forced upon them by the threats and menaces of the Coreish. Although they did not come forth from the *Sheb* into the city, they might still, we may conceive, issue from the quarter of Abu Tâlib, by clambering up the hill, and so getting out into the country: but they would be unable to procure *supplies* in this way.

hungry inmates.\* Hākīm, a grandson of Khuweilid, was also in the habit, though sometimes exposed to peril in the attempt, of carrying supplies to his aunt Khadija.†

Though the sympathies of many were called forth by the sufferings of the Hāshimites, the cause of Islam itself did not advance during the period of this weary seclusion, which had its full and expected effect in cutting off the mass of the people from the personal influence of Mahomet and of his converts. The efforts of the prophet must needs have been confined to the conversion of his own noble clan, who, though unbelievers in his mission, had resolved to defend his person; and to the strengthening of his previous converts in the faith. Accordingly, we find in the Coran at this period, directions from God to retire from the unbelievers, and confine his preaching to his near kinsmen, and to the faithful;—

\* \* \* Verily they are a rebellious People ;  
Wherefore turn from them, and thou shalt not be blamed .  
And admonish ; for admonition profiteth, the Believers †

Invoke with God, lest thou be of those consigned to torment ;  
And preach unto thy Relatives, those that be of nearer kin ;  
And conduct thyself gently unto the Believers that follow thee ;  
And if they disobey thee, say, *I am free from that which ye do.*  
And put thy trust in Him that is glorious and merciful. §

\* Hishām belonged to the Bani Lowey, but he was a uterine brother of Fazila, a Hāshimite :—“ now this man used to go with a camel to the children of Hāshim and Muttalib, by night, and when he approached the entrance to their quarters

(قم الشعب) he would let down the nose string of the camel from its head, and striking it on the side, would make it enter the *Sheb* ; then he made over to them the coin wherewith it was laden.” (*Hishāmī*, p 118.)

† “ The Hāshimites remained in this position for two or three years, till they became helpless : Not an article reached them, but covertly and by stealth from such of the Corei-h as were actuated by motives of propinquity. On one occasion, Abu Jahl met Hākīm, grandson of Khuweilid, and with him, a slave carrying wheat for his aunt Khadija. Abu Jahl stopped him, and swearing at him, threatened that if he would not desist, he would disgrace him in Mecca. Abul Bokhtari came up and sought to quiet Abu Jahl, saying, that it was natural and right for Hākīm to take food for his aunt. Abu Jahl would not listen, but fell upon Hākīm, who, however, got the better of him, and forced him to retire kicked and wounded.” (*Hishāmī*, p. 109.)

• Stories tending to the abasement of Abu Jahl are related by the traditionists with such evident zest, that they are to be received by us with caution.

‡ Sura LI., 55.

§ Sura XXVI., 212. “ Conduct thyself gently,”—literally, *lower thy wings*.

اخفض جناحك The same expression is used in Sura XV., 88 :—

Stretch not forth thine eyes unto the provision which we have given unto several of them, neither be covetous thereof :  
But behave with gentleness (*lower thy wings*,) unto the Believers,  
And say ; Verily, I am a plain Preacher.

And publish that which thou art commanded, and withdraw from the Idolaters.  
Verily, We shall suffice for thee against the scoffers, those that set up with God other gods? but they will shortly know ;  
But do thou praise thy Lord with thanksgiving, and be among the Worshippers :—  
And serve thy Lord until that Death ( or the certainty ) overtake thee.



The exemplary bearing of Mahomet under these trying circumstances, and the spirit of clanship uniting all that shut themselves up with Abu Tâlib, no doubt secured to the prophet the general countenance of the Hâshimites, and may have helped to add followers from their ranks. But the period of confinement contributed probably no other result.

The pilgrimage alone afforded Mahomet a wider field. That interval of universal security was turned to careful account, as well now as before the ban, in visiting and exhorting the various tribes that flocked to Mecca and the adjacent fairs. The prophet used thus to visit the assemblages at Okâtz, Mujanna, and Dzul Majâz, as well as the encampments at Mecca and Minâ. He warned them against idolatry; invited them to the worship and service of the One God; promised them not only paradise hereafter, but prosperity and domination upon earth, if they would believe.\* But no one responded to his call. Abu Lahab would follow after him, saying, *Believe him not, he is a lying renegade!* † And the tribes replied to Mahomet in sore and taunting words;—*thine own kindred and people should know thee best; wherefore, then, do they not believe and follow thee?* So the prophet, repulsed and grieved, would look upwards, and thus make his complaint unto God:—*Oh Lord, if Thou willedst, it would not be thus!* ‡ But the prayer seemed to pass unheeded.

We propose in conclusion to notice the character of the Suras, about *twenty* in number, assignable to the period reviewed in this paper. §

\* Hishâmi, p. 139; Wâckidi, p. 41. Tabari, p. 155.

Wâckidi mentions Mahomet's frequenting the three fairs stated in the text, *every* year. There is some fore-hadowing of the victories of Islam in his supposed address, which rather throws doubt upon his having made any promise of wordly domination at this time. This was the alleged drift of his preaching: "*Ye people! say, THERE IS NO GOD BUT THE LORD. Ye will be benefitted thereby. Ye will gain the rule of all Arabia, and of Ajam (foreign lands,) and when ye die ye will reign as kings in Paradise.*"

The Tribes whom he thus addressed are detailed both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi, and include the Bani Kalb, Kinda, Harb, Odzra, Khassafa, Sâsâh, Ghassâm, Hanîfa; from the last of which he is related to have received the worst rebuff of all.

There would be numerous Christians and Jews at the fairs, though they did not attend the Meccan pilgrimage.

† "And behind him there followed a squint-eyed man, fat, having flowing locks on both sides, and clothed in raiment of fine Aden stuff; and when Mahomet had finished his preaching, he would begin to address them, saying, that *this fellow's only object was to draw them away from their gods and Jinn, to his fancied revelations, wherefore follow him not, neither listen unto him.* And who should this be, but his uncle Abdâl Ozza, Abu Lahab." (Hishâmi, p. 140.)

‡ Wâckidi, p. 41 ½.

§ The Suras of this period are probably as follows. (The sequence of the first

The new and leading feature in these chapters is the close connection now springing up between Mahomet and the Jewish religion. •

The Pentateuch is constantly mentioned as a Revelation from God to Moses. The object of the Coran is *to attest* the divine origin of it and of the succeeding Scriptures.\* Those Scriptures contain clear evidence of the truth of the Coran, and of the Mission of Mahomet.† Jewish witnesses are appealed to in proof that the New Dispensation is *foretold* in the Old Testament, and that the Coran is in close conformity with the contents of their sacred books.

The confident reference which Mahomet makes to the testimony of the Jews and of their Scriptures, is very remarkable. Some of that people, we may not doubt, imperfectly instructed perhaps in their own books and traditions, encouraged Mahomet in the idea that he might be, or even positively affirmed that he was, *that Prophet whom the Lord their God should raise up unto them of their brethren*. His profound veneration for the Jewish Scriptures, to the implicit observance of which it was believed that he had pledged himself in the Coran, would lull the apprehension of the Israelites, and draw them kindly towards him. "If this man," they would say, "hold firmly "by the law and the Prophets, and seek fervently the guidance of the GOD of our fathers, he will not go astray. "Peradventure, the Lord willeth through him to lead the "heathen Arabs unto salvation. Nay! What if (we erring "in our interpretations,) this prove the very Messiah, sprung "from the seed of Abraham? In any wise let us wait, watching the result; and meanwhile encourage him in the love of "the Word of GOD, and the seeking of His face in prayer."

forty-one has been given in former papers.) 42, LXVII.; 43, LIII.; 44, XXXII.; 45, XXXIX.; 46, LXXIII.; 47, LXXIX.; 48, LIV.; 49, XXXIV.; 50, XXXI.; 51, LXIX.; 52, LXVIII.; 53, XLI.; 54, LXXI.; 55, LII.; 56, I.; 57, XLV.; 58, XLIV.; 59, XXXVII.; 60, XXX.; 61, XXVI.; 62, XV.; 63, LI.

\* See Suras XLVI., 12, 30.; XXXVII., 38.; XXXII. 24.; X., 37, 93.; VI., 93, *et passim*. The Coran is described as a book sent "to attest the *preceding Scriptures*." So the Jews and Christians (severally and together, but more especially at this period, the former) are styled, "those to whom *the Scriptures* have been given." (كتاب, ذکر, علم, &c.) It was thus the whole preceding Scriptures,

the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms, and subsequently the Gospel, which Mahomet continually described himself as sent to "attest," "confirm," "fulfil."

† Sura XXVI, 195. "The Coran is borne witness to in the former Scriptures," &c.

All rejoiced in the Jewish tendencies patent in his mind.\* But some going farther, bore a direct and unequivocal testimony to his mission.† It could have been to nothing short of such witness that he referred, when he said;—*they unto whom We have given the Scripture recognize the prophet, as they do their own children*; ‡ and—

Verily this is a Revelation from the Lord of Creation;  
The Faithful Spirit hath descended with it  
Upon thy heart, that thou mightest be a Warner,  
In the tongue of simple Arabic.

And verily it is in the former Scriptures;  
Was it not a Sign unto them that the learned among the Children of Israel recognized it?  
And if we had revealed it to a Foreigner,  
And he had recited it unto them, they had not believed §

SAY; What think ye, if this Revelation be from GOD, and ye reject it, and a Witness from amongst the Children of Israel hath witnessed unto the like thereof, and hath believed, and ye turn away scornfully? Verily, God doth not direct the erring folk. ||

Whether the "Witness," and other Jewish supporters of Mahomet were amongst his professed followers, perhaps the slave-adherents of Islam; or were casual visitors at Mecca from Israelitish tribes; or finally, resident Jews at Medina (with the inhabitants of which city the Prophet was on the point of establishing friendly relations,) we cannot do more than conjecture.

But whoever the Jewish friends of Mahomet may have been, it is evident, that amongst them were men possessing a knowledge—rude and imperfect, perhaps, but comprehensive—of the outlines of Jewish history and tradition; and that these supplied the material for the Scriptural stories, which, distorted by rabbinical fable, and embellished or parodied by the prophet's fancy, begin to form a chief portion of the Coran. The mixture of truth and fiction, of graphic imagery and of childish inanity, the repetition over and again of the same tale in stereotyped expressions, and the elaborate, and too patent effort to strike an analogy between himself and the former prophets, by putting the speech of his own day into their lips and those of their pretended opposers, surprise, and at last fatigue the patient reader of the Coran.

\* "Those unto whom we have given the Book, rejoice for that which hath been revealed unto thee." *Sura XIII.*, 39.)

† See *Suras XXXIV*, 6; *X.*, 93; *VI.*, 14; *XXVIII.*, 53; *XVII.*, 102,—108; *XIII.*, 45.

‡ Or "recognize the Coran." (*Sura VI.*, 20.)

§ *Sura XXVI.*, 191—198.

|| *Sura XLVI.*, 10, "unto the like thereof," that is, to its conformity with the Old Testament.

For those who have not studied the revelation of Mahomet, the following examples may be required to illustrate our meaning :

God created Adam of clay. The angels were commanded to fall down and worship him.\* The devil, alleging his nobler formation of fire, refused, and so fell.† When sentenced, he threatened God that he would seduce His new-created subject ; and, in tempting him to eat of the forbidden tree, he fulfilled his threat.‡ To the facts of Abel's history, is added the Jewish fiction, that God, by sending a raven to scratch the earth, indicated to Cain that the corpse should be buried under ground.§ But it would be a vain and unprofitable task to follow Mahomet through his labyrinth of truth, discrepancy, and fiction.—his tales of Abraham, who brake the idols of his people, and miraculously escaped the fire into which the Tyrant cast him : ||

\* Compare Ps. xcvi. 7. Hebrews i. 6. "When he bringeth the first-born into the world he saith, and let all the angels of God worship him."

† "His Ministers a flaming fire." (*Ps. civ. 4., Heb. i. 7.*)

‡ Sura II., 11—26, XX., 113 ; XXXVIII., 70. The first of these passages may be quoted as a fair specimen of the Scripture—legendary style.

And verily We created you, then fashioned you, then We said unto the Angels, *Fall down and worship Adam* ; and they worshipped all, excepting Iblis, who was not of the worshippers ;—

He said, *What hindereth thee that thou worshippingst not when I command thee ?* He answered,

*[I am better than he, Thou createdst me of Fire, and Thou createdst him of clay ;*

He said, *Get thee down from Heaven ; it shall not be given thee to behave arrogantly therein ;*

*[Get thee hence, verily, thou, shalt be among the Despicable.*

He said, *Respite me unto the Day when (all) shall be raised.*

He said, *Verily, thou art of the number respite[d]*

He said, *Now, for that Thou hast caused me to fall, I will lie in wait for them in the straight*

*Then I will fall upon them from before and from behind, and from their right hand and*

*[from their left, and Thou shalt not find the most part of them thankful.*

He said, *Depart from hence, despised and driven off : for those of them that shall follow thee,*

*[—verily, I will fill hell with you together !*

*And thou, Adam, dwell thou and thy Wife in Paradise, and eat from whatever quarter ye*

*[will, but approach not this Tree, lest ye become of the number of the Transgressors !*

And the Devil tempted them both that he might discover that which was hidden from them of their

And he said, *Your Lord hath only forbidden you this Tree, lest ye should become Angels, or*

*[become Immortal.*

And he swore unto them, *Verily, I am unto you one that counselleth good.*

And he misled them by ambitious Desire ; and when they had tasted of the tree, their Naked-

*[ness appeared unto them, and they began to sew together upon themselves the leaves of*

And their Lord called unto them, *What ! did I not forbid you this Tree, and say unto you*

*[that Satan was your manifest Enemy ?*

They said, *Oh, our Lord ! We have injured our own souls, and if Thou forgive us not,*

*[and art not merciful unto us, we shall be numbered amongst the Damned.*

He said, *Get ye down, the one of you an Enemy to the other ; and there shall be unto you on*

*[the Earth an habitation and a provision for a season :*

He said, *Therein shall ye live, and therein shall ye die, and from thence shall ye be taken*

*[forth.*

The expression penultimate verse seems to be taken from Genesis iii. 15. "And I will put

enmity," &c.

§ Sura V., 33. Cuf Geigers *Was hat Mahommed aus Judenthume*, p. 103, where he quotes R. Elieser, Kap. 21, for the Jewish tradition to the same effect. But in Jewish tradition the raven shows the mode of burial to Adam, in the Coran to Cain, the murderer.

|| Sura XXI., 52, &c. See the quotations from the Jewish Commentator Rabbah, of similar legends, in Geiger, (p. 124.)

of the angel's visit, when "Sarah laughed" at the promise of a son, and the Patriarch vainly pleading for Sodom, was told that though Lot would be saved, his wife was predestined to destruction; \* of Abraham's sacrifice of his son being ransomed by "a noble victim;" † of Joseph, in envy of whose beauty the Egyptian ladies cut their hands with knives; ‡ of Jacob, who when the garment of Joseph was cast over him by the messengers from Egypt, recovered his long-lost sight; § of Mount Sinai held over the terrified Israelites to force their acceptance of the law; of the seventy, who, when upon the same mount struck dead, were quickened to life again; || of David, whom the mountains joined in singing the praises of God; and of Solomon, for whose gigantic works the genii were forced to labour at his bidding; of the genii, who brought the throne of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon in "the twinkling of an eye," and of the lap-wing that flew to her with the royal summons; ¶ of the Jews who broke the Sabbath and were changed into apes. \*\* Some points in the sacred history are the subject of special amplification and frequent rehearsal. Such are the favourite topics of the history of Moses, the catastrophe of the flood, and the overthrow of Sodom, through which the Arabian prophet would deal forth exhortation and warning to the Meccans, and to which he is ever recurring with a wearisome reiteration. The reader who has patience and interest sufficient for the tedious detail, will gain the best conception of it from the *Coran* itself. If a specimen be desired, the history of Moses in Suras XX. and XXVIII. will give a fair idea of the rest.

To acquire so minute a knowledge of considerable portions of the Jewish Scriptures, to assimilate these to his former materials, and to work them up into the elaborate and often extensively rhythmical Suras, which begin now to extend to a considerable length, it was necessary to devote much time and

\* Sura XI., 69; XV., 50. XXVII., 58, &c.

† XXXVII., 84. Which son is not specified in the *Coran*.

‡ Sura XII. Mahomet makes Joseph to have been inclined towards Potiphar's wife, and only saved from impending sin by a Divine interposition, (*Sura XII.*, 25.) So the Rabbin Jochanan, (*Geiger*, p. 142.) The ladies cutting their hands is also mentioned in the *Sepher Hayyashar*. (*ibid.*)

§ Sura XII., 93—96.

|| Sura II., 55, 63, 93; IV., 153; VII., 172. For the analogous rabbinical legend, see *Geiger*, p. 165.

¶ Sura XXVII., 16—45; XXXIV., 10—14; XXXVIII., 18, 42. For the Jewish legends of similar nature, see *Geiger*, pp. 185—187.

\*\* Sura VII., 164.

careful study. The revelation is no longer the spontaneous and impassioned eloquence of a burning Faith, but the tame and laboured result of ordinary composition. For this end many a midnight hour must have been stolen from sleep,—though ostensibly devoted to prayer and recitation of God's word. To such employment may we attribute such references as this—

Oh thou that art wrapped up?

Arise during the Night, excepting a small portion thereof:

A Half of it, or diminish therefrom a little,

Or increase therefrom. And recite the Coran with well measured recitation.

Verily, We shall inspire thee with weighty words.

Verily, the hours of Night are the best for fervent Maceration, and distinct Utterance.

Truly by Day thou hast a protracted Labour.

And commemorate the name of thy Lord, and consecrate thyself solely unto Him.\*

It is possible that the convictions of Mahomet may have become so blended with his grand object and course of action, that the very *study* of the Coran and effort to compose it, were regarded as his best season of devotion. But the surreptitious manner in which he availed himself of Jewish information, producing the result, not only as original, but *as evidence of inspiration*, † begins to prove an active, though it may have been unconscious, dissimulation and course of falsehood, to be justified only by the miserable apology of a pious end.

Up to this period there is hardly any mention of the *Christian* Scriptures. The sources of available teaching regarding them were probably as yet imperfect.

\* Sura LXXXIII, 1—7.

† See Sura XXXVIII, 70. The story of man's creation, and the fall of Satan, is thus prefaced: "*I had no knowledge regarding the Heavenly Chiefs when they disputed; verily, it hath been revealed unto me for no other purpose than (to prove) that I am a public Preacher.*" So Sura XXVIII, 45—47, regarding the story of Moses at the Mount. Also XII., 102; after relating the history of Joseph, he adds: "*This is one of the secret histories, which we have revealed unto thee; thou was not present with them,*" &c.

## LIFE OF MAHOMET FROM THE TENTH YEAR OF HIS MISSION TO THE HEGIRA.

BY SIR W. MUIR.

1. *Strat Wäckidi.* Arabic MS.
2. *Strat Tabari.* Ditto.
3. *Strat Hishâmi.* Ditto.
4. *Life of Mohammed*, by A. Sprenger, M.D. Allahabad, 1851.
5. *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes pendant L'Epoque de Mahomet*: par M. A. P. C. de Perceval. Paris, 1848, vols. 1 and 3.
6. *Mohammed der Prophet.* Dr. Gustav Weil. Stuttgart, 1843.

IN the beginning of the tenth year of his Mission, (the 50th of his life,) Mahomet was still shut up in the isolated quarters of Abu Tâlib, whither all his near kinsmen, unbelievers as well as converts, had, in consequence of their support of the prophet, been forced to retire. No one ventured forth except at the annual pilgrimage. Buying and selling, giving and receiving in marriage,—all the intercommunications of social life, were suspended between them and the rest of the Coreish. The Hâshimites were thus virtually blockaded for the space of two or three years.

At last the sympathies of a numerous section of the Coreish were aroused. They saw in this form of persecution something more than a conscientious struggle against an Impostor. The justice of extending the ban to the whole Hâshimite stock seemed doubtful. Many, especially those related to the family, began to grieve at the breach.

It was discovered by some of the friends of Mahomet that the parchment in the Kaaba on which the ban was engrossed, had been almost entirely devoured by insects. The important news was told to Mahomet, and to Abu Tâlib, who resolved to found thereon an effort for the dissolution of the league. The venerable chief, now more than fourscore years of age,\* issued forth from his shut-up quarters, with a band of followers, to the Kaaba. Addressing the chief men of the Coreish, as usual assembled there, he said,—“Intelligence hath reached me that your deed hath been caten up of insects; if my words be found true, then desist from your evil designs,—if false, I will deliver up Mahomet that ye may do with him as ye list.” All agreed that it should be thus. So they sent for the document

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\* *Wäckidi*, p. 23.

and when they had opened it, lo! it had been devoured by white-ants and was no longer legible. Abu Tâlib, perceiving their confusion, bitterly upbraided them with inhumanity and breach of social obligation: he then advanced with his band to the Kaaba, and standing behind the curtain, prayed to the Lord of the Holy House for deliverance from their machinations. Having done this, he retired again to his abode.

The murmurs of the party that favoured the Hâshimites, now found an opportunity of effective utterance. The partisans of the Prophet were emboldened. The Coreish had hardly recovered from surprise at the sudden appearance, and as sudden departure, of Abu Tâlib, when five chief men rose up from their midst, and declaring themselves inimical to the league, put on their armour, and proceeded to the quarter of Abu Tâlib. Standing by, they commanded all that had taken refuge there to go forth to their respective homes in security and peace. So they went forth in the tenth year of the prophet's mission, 619—620 A. D. The Coreish, confounded by the boldness of the stroke, offered no opposition: they perceived that a strong party had grown up who would resent by arms any attempt to lay violent hands upon the Moslems.\*

The rest and liberty that followed the breaking up of the hostile league were not long to be enjoyed by Mahomet. In a few months he was visited by trials more severe than any that had yet befallen him. The tenth year of his mission (the third before the Hegira) had not yet passed when Khadija died, and five weeks later his protector Abu Tâlib also.†

\* Among the five chiefs was Abul Bokhtari, whose safety Mahomet endeavoured in return vainly to secure at Badr. Another was Zohair, a maternal grandson of Abd al Muttalib. A third was Mutîm, who shortly afterwards took the Prophet under his protection on his return from Tâyif.

The version in the text is chiefly from Wâckidi, (p. 40,) with the omission only of the fiction that *God had communicated to his prophet*, the information that the document had been eaten up *all except the words "in the name of God,"* with which (according to the ancient Meccan custom, *Tabari*, p. 147,) it commenced, and that Abu Talib told this to the Coreish.

Two separate traditions are given both by Hishâmi and Tabari. One as above. The other that the five chiefs had first concerted together to procure the dissolution of the league: and that the Coreish were already influenced by their appeal when Mutîm arose to tear up the document, and found that it had been eaten up. *Hishâmi*, 118—*Tabari*, 145.

We have endeavoured to weave both versions into the likeliest historical form. Weil supposes the document to have been destroyed during the night by some partizan of Mahomet. But this could hardly have been done. The ravages of white-ants could not thus have been easily counterfeited: they have a peculiar appearance.

† The authorities regarding these dates are contradictory, and we must be content with probabilities.



The death of his wife was a sore affliction. For five-and-twenty years she had been his counsellor and support, and now his heart and home were left desolate. His family, however, no longer needed her maternal care. The younger daughter, Fâtima, was approaching womanhood,\* and an attachment was perhaps already forming with Ali, her father's nephew and adopted son. Though Khadija, (at her death three score and five years old,) must have long ago lost the charms of youth, and though the custom of Mecca allowed polygamy, yet Mahomet was, during her life time, restrained from other marriages by affection and gratitude, and perhaps also by the wish to secure more entirely for his cause the influence of her family. His grief at her death was at first inconsolable, for he was liable to violent and deep emotion; but its effects were transient. The room of Khadija could be filled, though her devotion and virtues might not be rivalled, by numerous successors.

The loss of Abu Tâlib, who lived and died an unbeliever, was, if possible, a still severer bereavement. We may dismiss without much attention the legend that on his death-bed, in reply to the earnest appeal of his nephew, he declared that he was prevented from giving his assent to the creed of Islâm only because he feared the imputation of terror at the approach of death.† Whatever he may have said to comfort Mahomet, his whole life belies the accusation that the fear of the Coreish restrained him from avowing his convictions. The sacrifices and loss to which Abu Tâlib exposed himself and his

Wâckidi says (p. 23,) that Khadija died *after* Abu Tâlib a month and five days: Ibn Coteiba also, that she died after him three days. The authorities, however, quoted in the *Mowâhibâ alladoniya*, give Ramadhân (December 619,) as the date of Khadija's death, and Shawwâl (January 620,) for that of Abu Tâlib. Sprenger is not clear; in one place (p. 196, note 2.) he says that "Khadija died *after* Abu Tâlib;" but in the next page, "one month and five days after his wife he lost his uncle and protector, the noble-minded Abu Tâlib."

The middle of Shawwâl is the date generally agreed upon for Abu Tâlib's decease, (Wâckidi, p. 23 :) and the end of the same month, or about a fortnight later, as the period when Mahomet, downcast, and distressed at the *two* bereavements, set out for Tayîf. We must therefore either suppose that Khadija died within this fortnight, *i. e.*, within the last fifteen days of Shawwâl, or that she died *before* Abu Tâlib. Ibn Coteiba's tradition that she died three days after Abu Tâlib, would be consistent with the former supposition. But the interval between the two deaths is generally represented as thirty-five days; (Wâckidi, pp. 23-40.)

In this view it seems more natural to adopt the alternative that she died in the first half of Ramadhân, (December 619;) that Abu Tâlib died in the middle of Shawwâl (January 620;) and that Mahomet, overcome by despondency at these successive bereavements, and by the renewed opposition of the Coreish, set out for Tayîf the end of the latter month.

\* She would be then about twelve or thirteen years of age.

† See Weil's *Mohammad*, p. 67, note 79: and Wâckidi, p. 22½.

family for the sake of his nephew, while yet incredulous of his mission, stamp his character with singularly noble and unselfish features; while at the same time they afford strong proof of the sincerity of Mahomet himself. Abu Tâlib would not have acted thus for an interested deceiver; and he had ample means of scrutiny.

When the patriarch felt that life was ebbing, he summoned his brethren, the sons of Abd al Muttalib around his bed, commended his nephew to their protection, and having delivered himself of this trust, died in peace.\* Mahomet wept bitterly for his uncle; and not without good reason. For forty years he had been the prop of his childhood, the guardian of his youth, the tower of his defence in later life. The place of Khadija might be supplied, but not that of Abu Tâlib. His very unbelief rendered his influence the stronger. So long as he survived, Mahomet needed not to fear violence or attack. There was no strong hand now to protect him from his foes.

Grieved and dispirited by these bereavements, following so closely one upon the other, and dreading the now unrepressed insolence of the Coreish, Mahomet kept chiefly at home, and seldom went abroad.† The dying behest of Abu Tâlib had now an unexpected effect; for Abu Lahab, heretofore the avowed enemy of Mahomet, was softened by his despondency and distress, and spontaneously assumed his protection;—"Do," he said, "*as thou has been in the habit of doing, while Abu Tâlib was yet with us. By Iât! no one shall hurt thee while I live.*" But the generous pledge was not long observed. Abu Lahab was soon gained back by the Coreish to their party, and Mahomet left to protect himself as he best could.‡

\* "After his death Mahomet prayed for his salvation; but he had not yet gone forth from the house, when Gabriel descended with the verse forbidding to pray for unbelievers who have died in incredulity." *Wâkidi*, p. 23, *See Sura IX. 115.* This verse however occurs in one of the latest Suras; there is no reason to believe that the rule enunciated in it had yet been given forth before the Hegira, though the system was fast tending towards it.

• It is also said that Mahomet wept and commanded Ali to wash his father's corpse, and place it in the winding sheet, and bury him. *Wâkidi, Ibid.* But this looks like one of the Alyite traditions, which would refer all important commissions to Ali. It is not probable that the last services to a man of Abu Tâlib's position, surrounded by brothers and sons, would be left to Ali alone, acting under Mahomet's orders.

† *Wâkidi*, p. 40—*Hishâmi*, p. 138—*Tabari*, p. 149. The two latter say that the indignities he suffered at this time were so great that on one occasion the lower classes cast dirt upon his head. He returned to his house in this plight, and one of his daughters arose to wipe it off, and she wept. And Mahomet said, "*My daughter, weep not! for verily the Lord will be thy father's helper.*" They add that he suffered no such indignity as that while Abu Tâlib lived.

‡ This curious episode is given in detail by *Wâkidi*, p. 400 At first when Ibn Ghaitala abused Abu Lahab as a renegade for taking the part of Mahomet, the

The position of the Arabian prophet was now critical. He must either gain the ascendancy at Mecca, abandon his prophetic claims, or perish in the struggle. Islam must either destroy Idolatry, or Idolatry destroy Islam. He could not remain stationary. His followers, though devotedly attached to him, and numbering a few *once* influential citizens, were but a handful against a host. Open hostilities, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent them, might any day be precipitated, and his cause irretrievably lost. He was not gaining ground at Mecca. There had been no conversions, none at least of any note, since he was joined by Omar and Hamza, three or four years before. A few more years of similar discouragement, and his cause was lost.

Pondering thus, Mahomet began to look around him. The Meccans knew not the day of their visitation, and had well nigh sealed their doom. It was perhaps the will of the Lord that succour and salvation should come from some other people. Tayif (about seventy miles to the east of Mecca,) was the nearest city of importance: it might be that God would turn the hearts of its inhabitants, the idolatrous Thackifites, and use them as his instruments to chastise the Meccans, and establish his religion on the earth. To them, accordingly, he resolved to deliver his message.

Abu Tâlib had been buried hardly a fortnight, when Mahomet, followed only by the faithful Zeid, set out on his adventurous mission.\* His road (as far as Arafat it was the Pilgrim track) lay over dismal rocks and through barren defiles for about forty miles, when it emerged on the crowning heights of Jebel Kora, with its rich gardens and charming prospect. Thence descending through fertile valleys, the smiling fruits and flowers of which suggested perhaps the bright picture of the conversion of the Thackifites, he advanced to their city. Though connected by frequent intermarriage, the inhabitants

Coreish admitted the excuse of Abu Lahab, and even praised him for his attempt "to bind up family differences." But shortly after Ocba and Abu Jahl told him to ask in what place Abd al Muttalib was, and on Mahomet's confessing that he was in Hell, Abu Lahab left him in indignation, saying, "I will not cease to be thine enemy for ever!"

Whatever may have been the immediate cause, it is evident that Abu Lahab was led again to abandon his nephew through the instigation of the evil-disposed Coreish.

\* Hishâmi, (p. 136,) and Tabari, (p. 149,) say that he went entirely alone;—but Wâckidi, (p. 40½) that he was accompanied by Zeid, who was wounded in attempting to defend his master. As to the date, Wâckidi says, "there were still some days of Shawwâl remaining," when he started.

of Tâ'yif were jealous of the Coreish.\* They had a *Lât*, or chief idol, of their own. It might be possible, by appealing to their national pride, as well as to their conscience, to enlist them on the side of Islâm against the people of Mecca. Mahomet proceeded to the three principal men of the city, who were brothers,† and having explained his mission, invited them to the honour of sustaining the cause, and supporting him in the face of his hostile tribe. But he failed in producing conviction. They cast in his teeth the common objections of his own people, and recommended him to seek for protection in some other quarter.‡

Mahomet remained in Tâ'yif for about ten days; but, though many of the influential men came at his call, no hopeful impression was made upon them. One favour he asked, that they would not divulge the object of his visit, for he feared the taunts and hostility of the Coreish; but this, even if possible, the men of Tâ'yif were little likely to concede. For the first few days, perhaps, the common people regarded with awe the prophet who had turned Mecca upside down, and whose preaching probably many had heard at the pilgrimages or fairs. But the treatment he was receiving at the hands of their chiefs, and the disproportion to the outward eye between the magnitude of his claims and his solitary helpless condition, turned fear into contempt. They were stirred up to hasten the departure of the unwelcome visitor. They hooted him in the streets; they pelted him with stones; and at last he was obliged to flee out of their city, pursued by a relentless rabble. Blood flowed from wounds in both his legs; and Zeid, in endeavouring to shield him, received a severe injury in his head. The mob would not desist until they had chased him two or three miles across the sandy plain to the foot of the hills that surround the city. There, wearied and mortified, he took refuge in one of the numerous orchards, and rested under a vine. §

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\* • They were descended from a common ancestor with the Coreish, Modhar, (B. C. 31.) See *Article on the Ante-Mahometan History of Arabia*, p. 42. In illustration of their independent and antagonistic position, see their hostile conduct in siding with Abrahâ in his invasion of Mecca :—*Forefathers of Mahomet*, p. 17.

† One of them had a Coreishite wife of the Bani Jumah, a branch that contained many adherents of Islam, and must therefore have been intimately acquainted with the politics of Mecca and the claims and position of Mahomet.

‡ Hishâmi has given the words of each, but they are probably imaginary, p. 137.

§ "The town is celebrated all over Arabia for its beautiful gardens; but these are situated at the foot of the mountains which encircle the sandy plain.\* I did not see any gardens, nor even a single tree within the walls; and the immediate neighbourhood is entirely destitute of verdure." "The nearest gardens appeared

Hard by was the garden of two of the Coreish, Otba and Sheyba; for the wealthy Meccans had their pleasure grounds, (as they still have,) near Tâyif.\* They watched the flight of Mahomet; and moved with compassion, sent a tray of grapes for his refreshment.† Their slave, a Christian from Nineveh, who brought them to him, was charmed by the pious style of the prophet's address: and Mahomet was perhaps solaced more by the humble devotion of Addâs than by the grateful shade and juicy grapes.‡ After a little, composed and reassured, he betook himself to prayer, and several touching and submissive petitions are still preserved as those in which his burdened soul gave vent to its complaint. §

to be on the S. W. side, at the distance of about half or three-quarters of an hour." *Burkhardt's Travels in Arabia*, p. 85.

The quarter from which Mahomet made his escape, would be the west; so that he would probably have at least some three miles of sandy plain to cross before he secured his retreat to one of the gardens.

\* *Burkhardt*, p. 85.

† Burkhardt "tasted at Tâyif grapes of a very large size and delicious flavour. The gardens are also renowned for the abundance of their roses."—*Ibid.* The gardens on the eminences of Jebel Kora also abound in vines "the produce of which is of the best quality, besides a variety of other fruits:—*Idem*, p. 64. The grapes were ripe when the traveller passed in the months of August and September; the visit of Mahomet was (according to M. C. de Perceval's calculations,) about four months later.

‡ The story of Addâs is not in Wâckidi. Hishâmi and Tabari give it with many fanciful additions. When Addâs offered the grapes, Mahomet exclaimed, "in the name of God," as he stretched forth his hand to receive them. "Is this the mode of speech," asked the slave, "of the people of this country?" "And of what country" said Mahomet, "art thou, and what is thy religion?" "A Christian of the people of Nineveh."—"Ah!" replied Mahomet, "of the people of the righteous Jonas the son of Mattai!"—"And what hath made thee acquainted with Jonas son of Mattai?"—"He was my brother; for he was a prophet, and I too am a prophet." Whereupon Addâs fell to kissing the head and hands and feet of Mahomet, to the astonishment of his masters, who were looking on from a distance.

The story in this form is of course apocryphal; and we should have omitted the incidents regarding Addâs altogether, but that it is difficult to conceive how they could have found their way into this particular part of the history, without some foundation of fact. It is probable, therefore, that Mahomet did meet and converse with a Christian slave on this occasion.

§ The prayer is touching and plaintive. It is thus given by Hishâmi, (p. 137,) and Tabari, (p. 151):—

اللهم اليك اشكو اضعف قوتي و قلة حيلتي و هو اني علي  
الناس \* يا ارحم الراحمين انت رب المسضعفين و انت  
ربي الي من تكلمي الي بعيد يتهمني او الي عدو  
ملكته اموي ان لم يكن بك علي غضب لا ابالي ولكن

Reinvigorated by this pause, he set forth on his journey homewards. About half way, loth to return to Mecca, he halted in the valley of Nakhla, where was an idol-fane, a grove and a garden.\* There, as he arose at night to prayer, or perhaps as he dreamed, his excited and nervous imagination pictured crowds of Genii pressing forward to hear his exhortations, and ardent to embrace Islām. The romantic scene has been perpetuated in the Coran :—

"And call to mind when We caused a company of the Genii to turn aside unto thee that they might listen to the Coran; And when they were present at the recitation thereof, they said, *Give ear.* And when it was

عافيتك هي اوسع لي \* اعد بنو وجهك الكريم  
الذي اشرقت له الظلمات واصلح عليه امر الدنيا  
والاخرة من ان ينزل بي غضبك او يحل علي سخطك  
\* لك العتبي حتي قرضي ولا حول ولا قوة الا بك \*

"Oh Lord I make my complaint unto thee of the feebleness of my strength, and the poverty of my expedients; and of my contemptibleness before mankind. Oh thou most Merciful! thou art the Lord of the Weak, and thou art my Lord. In whose power wilt thou leave me? In the power of Strangers who beset me, or of the Enemy to whom thou hast given the mastery over me? If thy wrath be not upon me, I have no anxiety, but rather thy favour is the more wide unto me, I take refuge in the light of thy benign Countenance, which disperseth the Darkness, and causeth Peace both for this world and the next, that thy Wrath light not upon me, and that thine Indignation rest not on me. It is thine to show Anger until thou art pleased, and there is no Resource or Power but with Thee."

\* *Nakhla* was a valley about half-way between Mecca and Tâyif. It is famous as the scene of the first expedition planned by Mahomet against the Meccans in which blood was shed. In describing it on that occasion, Wäckidi says, "the valley of Nakhla is a garden of the son of Amir near to Mecca." But the *nearness* has reference only to Medina, from which the expedition proceeded, and is quite consistent with the assumed position half-way between Mecca and Tâyif.

There was an image of *Uzza*, held in estimation by the Coreish and other tribes, and destroyed after the taking of Mecca. Wäckidi, p. 129.—*Hishâmi*, p. 371.—*C. de Perceval*, vol. I., p. 269. III. 241. Its position is farther marked by the "engagement of Nakhla" in the sacrilegious war during the youth of Mahomet. The Hawâzin pursued the Coreish from the fair of Ocatz to this spot, which was within the sacred limits around Mecca, or at least close upon them;—See "*Life of Mahomet from his youth*," &c. p. 3, *C. de Perceval*, I., 307.

It may probably be the same as the "Wady Mohram" noticed by Burkhart, as the place where the pilgrims for Mecca assume the *Ihrâm* or pilgrim garb, (p. 67.) The supposition is perhaps confirmed by the fact that the party sent by Mahomet to Nakhla shaved themselves *there*, to deceive the caravan they were about to attack into the belief that they were peaceable pilgrims. Wady Mohram, like the Nakhla of Mahomet's time, has still fruit trees and gardens. Wäckidi's statement that there was a garden at Nakhla proves that it was on the Tâyif side of the mountain range, as all on the Meccan side is barren.

On the whole, M. C. de Perceval's description of Nakhla as "midway between Mecca and Tâyif," (vol. III., p. 34,) may be accepted as pretty accurate.

ended, they returned unto their people preaching :—they said, Oh our People ! verily we have been listening to a Book which hath been sent down since Moses, attesting the Truth of the Scripture preceding it. It guideth unto the Truth and into the straight Path. Oh our People ! Obey the Summoner from God, and believe in him, that He may forgive you your sins, and save you from an awful Punishment." *Sura XLVI.*, verse 29, &c.\*

After staying some days at Nakhla, he again proceeded towards Mecca ; but before entering the city, which he feared (now that the object of his visit to Tâ'yif could not remain a secret) to do without a protector, he turned aside by a northward path, to his ancient haunts in the vicinity of Mount Harâ.† From thence he despatched two unsuccessful messages to solicit the guardianship of influential chiefs. At last he bethought him of Mutîm, (one of the five who had been instrumental in procuring the cancelment of the ban,) and sent him word beseeching that he would bring him in unto the city under his protection ; and he assented. So having summoned his sons and adherents, Mutîm bade them buckle on their armour, and take their stand by the Kaaba. Mahomet and

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\* The scene is also described in *Sura LXXII.*, which opens thus :—

"Say ; it hath been revealed to me that a company of Genii listened, and they said,—Verily we [have heard a marvellous discourse (lit. *Coran*) :]  
It leadeth to the right direction ; so we believed therein, and we will not henceforth associate [any with our Lord ;

And as to him,—may the Majesty of our Lord be exalted !—  
He hath taken no Spouse neither any Offspring.

But verily the foolish people amongst us have spoken of God that which is unjust ;  
And we verily thought that no one amongst Men or Genii would have uttered a lie against God.  
And verily there are people amongst men, who seek for refuge unto people among the Genii, but [they only multiplied their Folly.

And verily they thought, as ye think, that God would not raise any from the dead.  
And we tried the Heavens, but found them filled with a powerful Guard, and with flaming Darts.  
And we sat on some of the Stations to listen, but whoever listeneth now-a-days findeth an ambush of flaming Darts.

And truly we know not whether evil be intended for them that are on Earth, or whether their Lord [intendeth for them right direction.

And verily there are amongst us righteous persons, and amongst us persons of another kind ;—  
we are of various sorts :

And verily we thought that no one could frustrate God on earth, neither could we escape from [Him by flight ;

Wherefore when we heard the direction, we believed therein,"—(and so on, the Genii speaking as true Moslems.)

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"And verily when the servant of God (Mahomet) stood up to call upon Him, they (the Genii) were near joining him by their numbers," &c.

Notwithstanding the *crowds* here alluded to, Hishâmi (whose traditional authorities seem to have had a wonderfully intimate acquaintance with the habits and haunts of the Genii,) states that they were *seven* Genii belonging to Nisibin, who happening to pass that way, were arrested by hearing Mahomet at his devotions reciting the *Coran*. Others say they were *nine* in number and came from Yeman, or from Nineveh. And it is added, that they professed the Jewish religion ! This, of course, from the reference made by them in the *Coran* to *Moses*.

† Burkhardt mentions that on the Meccan side of the Minâ valley (i. e., the Tâ'yif road,) there is "a side valley leading toward Jebel Nûr" or Harâ. It may have been by this or a similar glen by which Mahomet turned aside to his cave and old haunts.—*Burkhardt*, p. 279.

Zeid then entered Mecca, and when they had reached the Kaaba, Mutim stood upright on his camel and called aloud,—“Oh ye Coreish! verily I have given a pledge of protection unto Mahomet; wherefore let not any one amongst you molest him.” Then Mahomet went forward and kissed the corner stone, and returned to his house guarded by Mutim and his party. The generosity and faithfulness of Mutim have been perpetuated by Hassân the poet of Medina and friend of the Prophet.\*

There is something lofty and heroic in this journey of Mahomet to Tâyif;—a solitary man, despised and rejected by his own people, going boldly forth in the name of God, like Jonah to Nineveh,—to summon an idolatrous city to repentance and to the support of his mission. It sheds a strong light on the intensity of his belief in the divine origin of his own calling.

Mahomet now sought for solace, amid family bereavement and public indignities, in a fresh matrimonial alliance. Sakrân with his wife Sawda, both of Coreishite blood, (but of a stock remote from that of Mahomet,) had early become converts to Islâm, and emigrated to Abyssinia. They had again returned to Mecca, where Sakrân died. Mahomet now made suit to Sawda, and the marriage, (so far as we know not one of mere interest and convenience, but of affection,) was celebrated within two months from the death of Khadija.†

\* The following are the lines, which form a good illustration of the value of contemporary poetry, in bringing auxiliary evidence in support of traditional facts:—

عيني الا بكى سيد الناس واسفحى \* وان انزفته  
فا سبى الدما \* فلو كان مجد يخذك الدهر واحدا \*  
من الناس ابقى مجد ليوم مطعما \* اجرت رسول الله  
منهم فاصبحوا \* عبيدك ما لبي مهن واحرما \*

Weep, Oh my eyes! for the chief of men: let tears gush forth; and when they run dry, then pour forth blood!

If Greatness had caused any to survive for ever amongst mankind, then Greatness had preserved Mutim unto this day.

Thou pledgedst protection to the prophet of God from his enemies; and thy servants went forth [where he presented himself suppliant at the Holy House, and Sacred Precincts.

Mutim was a Chief descended from Abd Shamist the brother of Hâshim (great grandfather of Mahomet;) and along with Harb, son of Ossia, commanded his tribe in one of the great battles in the Sacrilegious War, 586 A. D.—*C. de Perceval*, I, 309.

† Sawda, (a cousin of her husband Sakrân, belonged to the distant branch of Amir ibn Lowey, which separated from the Hâshimite stem at the 7th remove. from Mahomet.—*Ibn Cotaba*.)

Sprenger says she had a son by Sakrân, but if so, he did not survive, for Ibn Coteba says that Sakrân left no issue.

Supposing Khadija to have died in December, 619 A. D., Mahomet's nuptials with Sawda may have taken place in February or the beginning of March 620.



About the same time he contracted a second marriage with Ayesha, the younger daughter of Abu Bakr :—a connection mainly designed to cement the attachment with his bosom-friend. The yet undeveloped charms of Ayesha could hardly have swayed the heart of Mahomet. Though her betrothed husband had reached fifty, she was now a child of only *six* years of age. Still there may have been something more than ordinarily precocious and interesting about her, for the real marriage took place not more than three years afterwards.

There is no information as to the terms on which Mahomet continued with the family of his deceased wife Khadija ; and whether he retained any part of the property that belonged to her. During the few troublous years that had passed of his mission, and especially under the ban, it is probable that her wealth had much diminished. Perhaps it was shared with the poorer brethren. It is certain that during his remaining stay at Mecca, the Prophet had not much property at his disposal ; and there are even indications (as we shall see below,) that he was straitened in his means. He appears still to have continued to live, at least occasionally, in the quarter, if not in the house, of Abu Tâlib.\*

Repulsed from Tâ'yif, and utterly hopeless of farther success at Mecca, the fortune of Mahomet was now enveloped in the thickest gloom, when hope suddenly dawned from an unexpected quarter.

The season of pilgrimage was at hand, [March 620 A. D. ;] and as his custom was, the Prophet plied his solicitations wherever the crowds of pilgrims afforded a likely audience. The ceremonies were nearly at an end ; Mahomet had followed the pilgrims to the hill of Arafat, and now back again to Minâ, whence, after sacrificing their victims, the multitude would disperse to their homes. Wandering over the valley, he was attracted by a little group of six or seven persons, whom he recognized as strangers from Medina. "*Of what tribe are ye ?*" said he, coming up and kindly accosting them,—"*Of the tribe of Khazraj.*" "*Ah ! confederates of the Jews ?*"—"We are."—"Then why should we not sit down a little, and I will speak with you ?" The offer was accepted willingly, for the fame of Mahomet had been noised abroad in Medina, and the strangers were curious to see more of the man who had created so great an excitement in Mecca. Then he expounded to them his doctrine, set forth

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\* Thus at the Mirâj or heavenly journey, Mahomet is said to have slept during the night in Abu Tâlib's house.—*Hishâmî*, p. 129,—*Wâhidî*, p. 41.

the difficulties of his position at home, and enquired whether they would receive and protect him at Medina. The listeners were not slow to embrace the faith of Islam: "but as for protecting thee," said they, "we have hitherto been at variance among ourselves, and have fought great battles, as that of Boâth. If thou comest to us thus, we shall be unable to rally around thee. Let us, we pray thee, return unto our people, if haply the Lord will create peace amongst us; and we will come back again unto thee. Let the season of pilgrimage in the following year, be the appointed time." So they returned to their homes, and invited their people to the faith; and many believed, and there remained hardly a family in Medina, in which mention was not made of the prophet.\*

This success at Medina, though unexpected, was not without perceptible causes. Numerous and powerful Jewish tribes were settled in the city or its immediate vicinity, and (as we have seen in a former paper) divided their adherence between the two contending factions of the Aws and Khazraj, whose strife frequently stained with blood the city and its environs. "When the Jews used thus to fight with the idolaters of Medina,"—relates Ibn Ishâc with much simplicity,—"they would say;—*'A prophet is about to arise: his time draweth nigh. Him shall we follow; and then we shall slaughter you with the slaughter of Ad and Irem.*" So when Mahomet addressed the pilgrims of Medina at Minâ, they spake one with another,—*'Know surely that this is the same Prophet, whom the Jews are wont to threaten us with. Wherefore let us make haste and be the first to join him.'*"† There is truth, though exaggerated and distorted, in this statement. In the close and constant intercourse between the Jews and the Arabs of Medina, the expectation of a Messiah, ingrained throughout the life and conversation of the former, could not but in some measure be borrowed by the latter. Nor could the idolatrous inhabitants live in daily contract with a race professing the pure Theism, and practising the stern morality of the Old Testament, without being influenced by the practical appeal thus continually made against the errors of Paganism, as contrasted

\* The words of tradition have been almost literally followed. *Wâckidi*, p. 41½,—*Hishâmi*, 142,—*Tabari*, 160. *Wâckidi* mentions six as composing the company, and in another place eight. It is impossible satisfactorily to reconcile the names. See *Sprenger*, p. 202. In one tradition it is said that the Prophet first met and spoke with two persons from Medina, not on the occasion of the yearly, but of the "Little" or personal pilgrimage (*Omra*.) It seems, however, more likely, from Mahomet's being at Minâ when he met the Converts, that it was the annual pilgrimage.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 143,—*Tabari*, p. 161.

with the spiritual worship of the one true God. Moreover, Medina was only half so distant as Mecca from the Christian tribes of southern Syria; the poet Hassân, and men of his stamp from Medina, used to frequent the Christian Court of the Ghassânide King; so that Christianity as well as Judaism, may have had an effect on the social position of Medina, more than was ordinary in Arabia.

The city had been long torn by internal war. The sanguinary conflict of Boâth, a few years before, had weakened and humiliated the Khazraj, without materially strengthening the Aws. Assassination had succeeded open fighting. There was none bold or commanding enough to seize the reins of Government; and the citizens, Arab and Jewish, lived in suspense and uncertainty. Little apprehension would be felt from the advent of a stranger, even although he was likely to usurp, or gain permission to assume, the vacant authority. Deadly jealousy at home, had extinguished the jealousy of influence from abroad.

Such was the position of Medina. A tribe addicted to the superstition of Mecca, yet well acquainted with a purer faith, was in the best preparation to join itself to a reformer of the Kaaba worship. An Arab idolater, with indefinite anticipations of a Messiah, would readily recognize Mahomet as his Prophet. A city wearied with faction and strife, would cheerfully admit him as a refugee, if not welcome him as a ruler.

The politics of Mecca, and the history of the Prophet, were not unknown at Medina. The Syrian caravans of the Coreish used to rest there; there was occasional intermarriage between the two cities. Mahomet himself was descended from a distinguished lady of Khazraj birth, espoused by Hâshim; and the interest of that tribe at least, was thus secured. Abu Cays, a famous Poet of Medina, had some time before, addressed the Coreish in verses intended to dissuade them from interference with Mahomet and his followers.\* The Jews were already

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\* *Hishâmi*, p. 75, *Caussin de Perceval*, I. 368. There is no apparent reason for doubting the authenticity of these verses. The following is one of them:—

ولي امرفا ختا رد بنا ولا يكن \* عليكم رقيباً غير رب التوب \*

"One who is his own master hath chosen a (new) religion, and there is none other keeper over you than the Lord of the Heavens."

Abu Cays had a Coreishite wife, and had lived some time at Mecca. When Islam began to spread at Medina, his adverse influence held back his own tribe (the Aws Monât, or Aws Allah,) from joining it. *Hishâmi*, p. 147.—*C. de Perceval*, III., p. 5. He commanded the Awsites at the battle of Boâth, *C. de Perceval*, II., 680.

acquainted with the Prophet as a zealous supporter of their Scriptures. Parties from Medina went up yearly to the solemnities of the Meccan Temple. A few had thus come under the direct influence of his preaching,\* and all were familiar with the general nature of his claims. To this was now superadded the advocacy of actual converts.†

This year was to Mahomet one of anxiety and expectation. Would the handful of Medina converts remain steady to his cause? Would they be able to extend that cause among their fellow-citizens? If they should prove unfaithful, or fail of success, what resource would then remain? He might be forced to emigrate to Syria or to Abyssinia, and seek refuge with the Najâshy, or amongst the Christian tribes of the northern desert.

At last the days of pilgrimage again came round, and Mahomet sought the appointed spot in a sheltered glen near Minâ. His apprehensions were at once dispelled; for there he found

\* The traditions regarding certain Jews coming to Mahomet when at Mecca, with questions to prove him, appear to be apocryphal. Yet there can be no doubt, from Mahomet's familiarity with Jewish history, as shown in the Coran, that there was a close relation between Mahomet and some Professors of the Jewish religion before the Hegira; and the Jews of Medina are the likeliest.

† There are, indeed, notices of actual conversion to Islâm, among the citizens of Medina, at an earlier period, but they are not well substantiated.

Thus, before the battle of Boâh, a deputation from the Bani Aws is said to have visited Mecca, to seek for auxiliaries from among the Coreish in the coming struggle; and they listened to Mahomet: and *Ayds*, a youth of their number, declared that this was far better than the errand they had come upon; but Abul Haysar their Chief cast doubt upon him saying, they had another business than to hear these things. *Ayds* who was killed shortly after in the intestine struggles at Medina, is said to have died a true Mussulman. *Hishâmî*, p. 142.—*Tabari*, p. 159.

Similarly *Suweid*, Son of Sâmit, an Awsite Poet, came and repeated to Mahomet the Persian tale of Loemân. Mahomet, saying that he had something better than that, recited the Coran to him. And the Poet was delighted with it, "and he was not far from Islâm, and some said that he died a Moslem." *Hishâmî*, p. 141.—*Tabari*, p. 158.

• *Anticipations* of Islâm are supplied by tradition for Medina as well as for Mecca. Thus: "The first that believed were Asâd ibn Zorâra and Dzakwan, who set out for Mecca to contend in rivalry with Othâ son of Rabia. But on their arrival, Othâ said to them.—*That prying fellow who fancieth himself to be the Prophet of God, hath occupied us to the exclusion of every other business.* Now Asâd and Abul Haytham used to converse at Medina with each other, about the unity of God. When Dzakwan, therefore, heard this saying of Othâ, he exclaimed,—*Listen, oh! Asâd; this must be thy religion.* So they went straight to Mahomet, who expounded to them Islâm, and they both believed and returned to Medina. And Asâd related to Abul Haytham all that had passed, and he said, "*I too, am a believer with thee.*" *Wâkidi*, p. 414. Sprenger adopts this version as the true one, it corresponding with his theory of the pre-existence of Islâm before Mahomet.

It is admitted on all hands that Asâd and Abul Haytham were forward, and early, in the movement at Medina.

a band of twelve faithful disciples ready to acknowledge him as their prophet. Ten were of the Khazraj, and two of the Aws, tribe.\* They plighted themselves thus to Mahomet: *We will not worship any but the One God; we will not steal, neither will we commit adultery; we will not slander in anywise; and we will not disobey the Prophet,† in anything that is right.* This was afterwards called the "Pledge of Women,"‡ because, as not embracing any stipulation to defend the prophet, it was the only oath required from females. When all had taken this engagement, Mahomet replied;—*If ye fulfil your pledge, Paradise shall be your reward: he that shall fail in any part thereof, to God belongeth his concern, either to punish or forgive.* This memorable proceeding is known in the annals of Islâm as THE FIRST PLEDGE OF ACABA.§ that being the name of the little eminence or defile whither they retired from observation.

These twelve men were now committed to the cause of Mahomet. They returned to Medina the Missionaries of Islâm, again to report their success at the following pilgrimage. So prepared was the ground, so zealous the propagation, that the new faith spread rapidly from house to house and from tribe to tribe. The Jews looked on in amazement, while the people, whom they had in vain endeavoured for generations to teach the errors of Polytheism and to dissuade from the abominations of Idolatry, suddenly, and of their own accord, began to cast their idols to the bats, and to profess their belief in the One true God. The secret lay in the adaptation of the instrument. Judaism, foreign in its growth, touched few Arab sympathies: while Islâm, grafted upon the faith, the superstition, the customs, the nationality of the Peninsula, found ready access to every heart.

The leaders in the movement soon found themselves unable to keep pace with its rapid progress. So they wrote to Mahomet for a teacher, well versed in the Coran, who might initiate the enquirers in the rudiments of the new Faith. The youthful and devoted Musâb, who had lately returned from exile in

\* We approach now to certain ground. There is no doubt or discrepancy whatever regarding the names of these twelve persons. *Wâkidi*, p. 42,—*Hishâmî*, p. 143.

† Literally "him."

‡ بيعة النساء

§ بيعة العقبه الاولى

Abyssinia, was deputed for that purpose.\* He lodged with Asád ibn Zorâra, who used to gather the converts together to him for prayer and the reading of the Coran. The combined devotions of the Aws and Khazraj, they say, were first conducted by Musáb, for even in such a matter they were impatient of a common leader from amongst themselves.† Thus speedily, without let or hindrance, did Islâm take firm root at Medîna, and attain to a full and mature growth.‡

The hopes and expectations of Mahomet were now fixed upon Medîna. Visions of his journey northwards flitted before his imagination. The musings of the day re-appeared in mid-

\* *Wâkidi*, p. 42. — *Hishâmi*, p. 144. — *Tabari*, p. 169. According to Hishâmi, Mahomet sent Musáb back with the twelve, after the first pledge of Aqaba. The statement of Wâkidi is clear, as in the text, that he was sent upon a written requisition from Medîna.

Musáb will be remembered as the youth, whose pathetic interview with his mother has been described in a former paper. — *Extension of Islâm*, p. 13.

† *Hishâmi*, *ibid.* The call to Mahomet for a teacher is stated by Wâkidi to have been made in common both by the Aws and Khazraj. Hishâmi mentions a Friday service, the first at Medîna, held at the instance of Asád, and attended by forty men; but it looks anticipative and apocryphal.

‡ The following narrative, though probably fabricated in many of its details, will illustrate at any rate the manner in which Islâm was propagated at Medîna.

"Asad and Musab on a certain day went to the quarters of the Awsites, and entering one of their gardens, sat down by a well, when a company of believers gathered around them. Now Sad ibn Muâdz and Oseid ibn Khuzair were chief men of the *Abdal Ashal* (an Awsite branch); and they were both idolaters following the old religion. So when they heard of the gathering at the well, Sâ'î, who was unwilling himself to interfere (being related to Asád,) bade his comrade go and disperse them. Oseid seized his arms, and hurrying to the spot, began to abuse them: — *What brings you two men here amongst us, to mislead our youth and silly folk? Begone, if ye have any care of your lives.* Musáb disarmed his wrath by courteously inviting him to sit down and listen to the doctrine. So he stuck his spear into the ground and seated himself; and as he listened, he was charmed with the new faith, and he purified himself and embraced Islâm. And he said "there is another beside me, even Sad ibn Muâdz, whom I will send to you; if you can gain him over, there will not be one in his tribe left uncovered." So he sent Sâd, and Musáb persuaded him in like manner. And Sâd returned to his tribe and swore that he would not speak to man or woman that did not acknowledge Mahomet; and so great was his influence, that by the evening every one of the tribe was converted.

"Such were the exertions of Asád and Musáb that there remained not a house among the Arabs of Medîna in which there were not believing men and women, excepting the branches of the *Aws Allah*, who, owing to the influence of Abu Cays the poet, continued unbelievers, till after the siege of Medîna." *Hishâmi*, p. 146. — *Tabari*, p. 165.

There is a story of Amr ibn al Jumoh, who like the other chiefs of Medîna, had an image in his house. This image the young converts used to cast every night into a filthy well, and the old man as regularly cleansed; till one day, they tied it to a dead dog and cast it into a well. Then the old man abandoned his image and believed. — *Hishâmi*, p. 153.

night slumbers. He dreamed that he was swiftly carried by Gabriel on a winged steed passed Medina to the temple at Jerusalem, where he was welcomed by all the former Prophets assembled in solemn conclave. His excited spirit conjured up a still more transcendent scene. From Jerusalem he seemed to mount upwards, and ascend from Heaven to Heaven, till he found himself in the awful presence of his Maker, who dismissed him with the behest that his people were to pray five times in the day. When he awoke in the morning in the house of Abu Tâlib, where he had passed the night, the vision was vividly before his eyes, and he exclaimed to Omm Hâni, the daughter of Abu Tâlib, that during the night he had been praying in the Temple of Jerusalem. As he was going forth to tell the vision to others, she seized him by the mantle, and conjured him not thus to expose himself to the mockery and revilings of the unbelievers. But he persisted. As the story spread abroad, the idolaters scoffed, the believers were staggered, and some are said even to have gone back.\* Abu Bakr supported the Prophet, declaring his implicit belief in the vision†, and in the end the credit of Islâm suffered no material injury among its adherents.

The tale is one in which tradition revels with congenial ecstasy. The rein has been given loose to a pious imagination. Both the journey, and the ascent to Heaven, are decked out in the most extravagant colouring of Romance, and in all the gorgeous drapery that Fancy could conceive.‡

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\* This, though stated both by Wâckidi and Hishâmi, appears improbable; and no names are specified. The words in Wâckidi are—“upon this many went back who had prayed and joined Islâm,” p. 41. *Hishâmi*, p. 127. But the whole story is one of those marvellous subjects upon which tradition, when it touches, runs wild, and anything is thrown in which adds to the effect.

† He said, *Sadacta*, “thou hast spoken the truth;” and hence according to some traditions, was called *Al Sadick*. He appears, however, to have had this name, as Mahomet that of *Al Amîn*, from his probity and truthfulness.

‡ What is here stated is all that historical criticism warrants us in attributing to Mahomet himself. It is possible that in later life he may have gratified the morbid curiosity of his followers, by adding imaginary details to the vision. But even this supposition is limited by the known reserve and taciturnity of the Prophet.

It is said that incredulous idolaters wished to throw him into confusion by asking for a description of the Temple he had thus, been to see: and he was in great straits, until Gabriel placed before him a model of the Temple, and he was able then satisfactorily to answer all their questioning. But this is only of a piece with the other childish stories of the occasion. Thus Mahomet replied to his questioners that on his way to Jerusalem, he had passed over a caravan from Syria, that the whizzing noise of orâc, the flying steed, had frightened away one of the camels, and that the people of the caravan could not find it till he pointed it out to them. So on his way back, he passed another caravan, in the encampment of which was a covered vessel filled with water: as he passed he drank up the

But the only mention in the Coran of this notable Vision, is contained in the XVII. Sura, which opens thus :—

Praise be to Him who carried His servant by night from the Sacred Temple, to the farther temple,\* the environs of which we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs. Verily He it is that heareth and seeth.†

water and restored the cover. And both caravans on arriving at Mecca confirmed the evidence! *Hishâmi*, p. 130.

Sprenger considers Mahomet here to have committed "an unblushing forgery : he sold a description of the Temple of Jerusalem, which he may have obtained from books or oral information, to the best advantage." We would rather look upon the tradition of the model in the same light as the two last foolish stories, equally worthless and fabricated. Sprenger holds by the respectability of the authorities : there is no event of his life, he says, "on which we have more numerous and genuine traditions than on his nightly journey." But on a supernatural and imaginary subject, *numerous* traditions forming around some early common type, were to be expected, and their number can add little if any thing to the historical value of their contents.

The earliest authorities point only to a vision, not to a real bodily journey. Sprenger seems to be in error when he says that "*all historical records are for the latter opinion*," (i.e., a bodily journey :) "*the former*" (that it was a mere Vision) "*is upheld by some Scriptures only*," p. 136. I. In opposition to this, we have the story of Omm Hâni, as in the text, given both by Wäckidi (p. 41) and Hishâmi (p. 129.) II. Cutâda and Ayesha are quoted as holding that "the Prophet's body did not disappear, but that God carried him away by night *in the spirit*." *Hishâmi*, *ibid*. III. Hasan applies the verse in the Coran (Sura XVII., 61.) regarding "*the Vision*" correctly to this heavenly journey, and Muâvia farther illustrates it by the Vision in which Abraham appeared to himself to be sacrificing his son. Others make the Vision in the verse referred to, to mean the model of the Temple held by Gabriel before Mahomet ! *Wäckidi*, p. 41. IV. *Hishâmi* draws the conclusion that whichever of the two views be accepted, "the vision at any rate was true and faithful." Tradition cannot therefore be said to be adverse to the theory that it was a simple Vision.

After his visit to Heaven, Mahomet is said to have consoled his faithful Zeid by telling him how beautiful and happy he saw his little daughter in Paradise ! *Hishâmi*, p. 153.

Most authors agree that the *Ascent to Heaven* (MIRAJ) occurred the same night as the journey to Jerusalem (ISRA :) but Wäckidi, who is more credulous and less critical than Ibn Ishâc and Hishâmi in this instance, makes the former to have happened on the 17th Ramadhân, a year and a half before Mahomet's flight to Medina ; and the latter on the 17th Rabi I, six months later, p. 40.

• من المسجد الحرام الى المسجد الأقصى \*

+ A farther allusion to the journey is supposed to be contained in v. 61 of the same Sura.

"And (call to mind) when we said unto Thee, *verily thy Lord hedgeth in mankind*; and we made not the Vision which we showed unto Thee other than a trial unto the people, and likewise the accursed Tree in the Coran ; and we (seek to) strike terror into them, but it only increaseth in them enormous wickedness."

This is quoted by traditionists as bearing out (but seemingly on insufficient grounds,) the falling away of those believers who were scandalized by the Vision. A pious gloss in Hishâmi goes still farther, for it says, that had the journey been a mere Vision, nobody would have been scandalized ; but scandal having been raised, and believers having gone back, therefore the journey was a real and a corporeal one ! *Hishâmi*, p. 128.



The political events in the North had long engaged the attention of Mahomet; his interest now quickened by the prospect of approaching so much nearer to the scene of action. Almost from the period at which he had assumed the prophetic office, the victorious arms of Chosroes had been turned against the Grecian border. The desert tract, with its Arab Christian tribes, that used to oscillate between one dominion and the other according to the fortune of war, fell first into the hands of Persia: the enemy ravaged the whole of Syria; Jerusalem was sacked; Egypt and Asia Minor overrun; an army advanced upon the Thracian Bosphorus, "and a Persian camp was maintained above ten years in the presence of Constantinople." \* In 621 A. D., when the fortunes of the Grecian empire were at the lowest ebb, Heraclius was roused from inaction, and after several years of fighting, rolled back the invasion and totally discomfited the Persians.

In this struggle the sympathies and hopes of Mahomet were all enlisted on the side of the Cæsar. Christianity was a Divine Faith that might coalesce with Islâm: but the Fire worship and superstitions of Persia were utterly repugnant to its principles. It was while the career of Persian conquest was yet unchecked, that Mahomet, in the opening of the XXXth Sura, uttered the following augury of the eventual issue of the conflict:—

The Greeks have been conquered  
In the neighbouring coast, but, after their defeat, they shall again be victorious  
In a few years. To God belongeth the matter from before, and after: and in that day, the believers shall rejoice  
In the aid of God. He saileth whom he chooseth: and He is the Glorious, the Merciful.  
It is the Promise of God. God changeth not His promise; but the greater part of Mankind know it not †

There was now a lull at Mecca. Mahomet despaired that by the simple influence of preaching and persuasion, any farther progress could be effected there. His eye was fixed upon Medîna, and he waited in quietness until succour should come from thence. At home, meanwhile, offensive measures were abandoned. Islâm was no longer aggressive; and the Coreish, congratulating themselves that their enemy had tried his worst,

\* *Gibbon's decline and fall.* Ch. XLVI.

† The commentators add a very convenient story in illustration. Abu Bakr, on the passage being revealed, laid a wager of 10 camels with Obba Ibn Khalf, that the Persians would be beaten within *three* years. Mahomet desired him to extend the period to *nine* years and to raise the stake. This Abu Bakr did, and in due time won 100 camels from Obba's heirs.

But the story is apocryphal. It is neither in Wâckidi nor Hishâmi; and bears the most suspicious stamp of being a late fabrication in illustration of the passage in the Coran.

and now was harmless, relaxed their vigilance and opposition. For this course Mahomet had, as usual, divine authority ;—

Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy Lord : there is no God but He : and <sup>[retire from the Idolaters.</sup>

If God had wished they had not followed Idolatry : and we have not made thee a keeper over <sup>[them, neither art thou unto them a Guardian.</sup>

And *revile not those that they invoke besides God, lest they revile God in enmity from lack* <sup>[of knowledge.</sup>

Thus have we adorned for every Nation their work, then unto the Lord Shall be their return, and He shall declare unto them *what which they have wrought.\** Sura VI, <sup>[106-108,</sup>

But with this cessation of aggressive measures, there was no wavering of principle, nor any distrust of eventual success. A calm and lofty front was maintained, of superiority, if not of defiance. Eventual success, in spite of present discouragement, was clear and assured. The Lord had given to *all* his Apostles of old the Victory, and he would give the same to Mahomet ;—

We shall hurl THE TRUTH against that which is false, and it shall shiver it, and Lo ! that which is <sup>[False shall vanish ;</sup> Wo unto you for that which ye imagine ;

Vengeance shall fall suddenly upon them : it shall confound them : they shall not be able to op- <sup>[pose the same, nor shall they be respited.</sup> Verily, Apostles before thee have been mocked ; but they <sup>[that laughed them to scorn were encom- passed by the Vengeance they mocked at.</sup>

The unbelieving (Nations) said unto their Apostles, *We will surely expel you from our Land,* <sup>[or ye shall return to our Religion. And their Lord re- vealed unto them, *Verily We shall destroy the Unjust ;*</sup>

*And We shall cause you to inherit the Land after them : this for him that feareth My* <sup>[appearing, and feareth My threatening.</sup>

So they asked assistance of the Lord, and every Tyrant and rebellious one was destroyed.

Verily, they have devised evil devices ; but their devices are in the hand of God, even if <sup>[their devices could cause the Mountains to pass away.</sup>

Wherefore do not thou think that God will work at variance with His promise that he made unto <sup>[His Apostles : verily the Lord is Mighty, and a God of Vengeance. †</sup>

A dearth fell upon Mecca : it was a punishment sent from God upon the citizens because of their rejection of His Messenger. Relief was vouchsafed, but it was meant to try whether the goodness of God would not lead to repentance ; if they still hardened their hearts, a more fearful fate was denounced.†

\* The opposite party begins to be termed "the confederates,"— *ا ح ز* | S. XI.,

v, 18. So in the same Sura, v. 25, "the likeness of *the two parties* *لفريقين* | is as the Blind and Deaf, compared with him that hath both Sight and Hearing : what ! are these equal in similitude ? Ah ! do ye not comprehend ?"

† Sura XXI., vv. 18, 41, 42. XIV., 14, 46, 47. Cnf. also Sura XLIII., 77-79. The whole tenor of the Coran at this period is indeed that of quiet but confident defiance.

‡ There is no satisfactory statement regarding this visitation in reliable tradition. The commentators have of course, invented details to illustrate the notices of it which occur in the Coran. Yet those notices are so clear and distinct as to admit of no doubt that *some* affliction of the kind did occur, which was attributed by Mahomet to the Divine Vengeance ;—

And if We have mercy upon them and withdraw the affliction that befel them, they plunge unto <sup>[their Wickedness, wildly wandering.</sup> And verily We visited them with Affliction, and they humbled not themselves before their Lord, <sup>[nor made Supplication ;—</sup> Until when we open unto them a Door of severe Punishment, Lo ! they are in despair thereat. <sup>[Sura XXIII., 77-79</sup>

That ten-fold vengeance would overtake the people if they continued to reject the truth, Mahomet surely believed. *He* might not live to see it; but the decree of God was unchangeable :—

What ! canst *thou* make the Deaf to hear, or guide the Blind, or him that is wandering widely ?  
Wherefore, whether we take thee away, verily We will pour our vengeance upon them,  
Or whether We cause thee to see that which We have threatened them with, verily We are all-  
[powerful over them.  
Therefore hold fast that which hath been revealed unto thee, for thou art in the straight path.†

Mahomet, thus holding his people at bay, waiting in the still expectation of victory; to outward appearance defenceless, and with his little hand in the lion's mouth; yet, trusting in His almighty power whose Messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved;—presents a spectacle of sublimity paralleled only in the Sacred Records, amongst such as the Prophet of Israel who complained to his Master, "I, even I only, am left." Nay, the spectacle is in one point of view *more* marvellous; because the Prophets of old were upheld by a divine inspiration, accompanied (as we may conclude) by an unwavering consciousness thereof, and strengthened by the palpable demonstrations of miraculous power; while with the Arabian Prophet, the memory at least of former doubt, and the confessed inability to work any miracle, must ever and anon have caused a gleam of uncertainty to shoot across the soul. But this only throws out in bolder prominence the amazing self-possession, the enduring enthusiasm which sustained his course.

Say unto the Unbelievers :— *Work ye in your place, we also are working. Wait ye in expectation; we, too, are waiting in expectancy.* Sura XI, 121.

His bearing towards his own followers, no less than his opponents, exhibits the full assurance of being the Vicegerent of

The *latter* punishment referred to in this passage the commentators will have to be the battle of Badr; but that of course is an anachronism. Again :—

And when We made the People to taste Mercy after the affliction that befel them, Lo ! they  
[devise deceit against our Signs. SAY, God is more swift than ye in  
deceit : Verily, Our Messengers write down that which ye devise.  
It is He that causeth you to travel by Land and by Water, so that when ye are in Ships, and  
[sail in them with a pleasant breeze, they rejoice thereat  
A fierce Storm overtaketh them, and the Waves come upon them from every quarter, and they  
[think that verily they are closed in thereby; then they call upon God, rendering unto Him  
[pure Service and saying, *If Thou savest us from this, we shall verily be amongst the  
Grateful.*  
But when He hath saved them, behold ! they work evil in the Earth unrighteously. Oh ! ye People,  
[verily your evil working is against your own Souls, &c.  
Sura X., 22-24, Chf. S. VII., 95.

\* Sura XLIII., 38-41. There are various other passages in the Suras of this period to the same effect. Thus: "Wherefore persevere patiently, for the promise of God is truth, whether we cause thee to see some part of that wherewith we have threatened them, or cause thee (first) to die; and unto Us shall they return, &c. Sura XL., 78. Compare also Suras XXIII., 95; X., 46; XXIX., 53; XXXVII. 178; XLII., 42.

God. Obedience to *God and his Apostle*, is now the watchword of Islām :—

Whosoever disobeyeth GOD AND HIS PROPHET, verily to him shall be the Fire of Hell ; they shall [always be therein,—for ever] :

The confidence in his inspiration is sometimes expressed with imprecations, which one cannot read without a shudder :—

(I swear) by that which ye see,  
And by that which ye do not see !  
That this is verily the speech of an honourable Apostle !  
It is not the speech of a Poet ; little is it ye believe !  
And it is not the speech of a Soothsayer ; little is it ye reflect !  
A Revelation from the Lord of Creation,  
And if he (Mahomet) had fabricated concerning us any sayings,  
Verily We had caught him by the right hand,  
Then had we severed the artery of his neck,  
Nor would there have been amongst you any to hinder therefrom †  
But verily it is an Admonition to the Pious,  
And truly We know that there are amongst you who belie the same :  
But it shall cause Sighing unto the Unbelievers.  
And it is the TRUTH : the CERTAIN !  
Therefore, praise the name of thy Lord,—the GLORIOUS !

*Sura LXIX., v. 38-52.*

It would seem as if the difficulties of the prophet were at this period increased by straitened means. Though supported probably by help from his relatives and followers, there was yet ground for care and anxiety. The Divine promise re-assures him in such terms as these :—

And stretch not forth thine eyes to the Provision we have made for divers among them,—the show of this present life,—that We may prove them thereby ; and the Provision of the Lord is better and more lasting.

And command thy Family to observe Prayer, and to persevere therein ; We ask thee not (to labour) for a Provision ; We shall provide for thee, and a successful issue shall be to Piety.

*Sura XX., 130-131.*

Thus another year passed away in comparative tranquillity, and the month of Pilgrimage, (March 662 A. D.,) when the Medina converts were again to rally around their prophet,

\* *Sura LXXII., 23.* The sequel of this passage is singular. God sends a guard to attend his prophet, in order that he may see that the message is duly delivered, as if God had reason to doubt the fidelity of his prophet in this respect :—

When they see that with which they were threatened, then they shall know which side was the [weakest in succour, and the fewest in number.

SAV, I know not whether that which ye are threatened with be near, or whether my Lord shall [make for it a limit of time.

He knoweth the secret thing, and he unveileth not His Secret unto any.

Excepting unto such of His Apostles as pleaseth him, and He maketh a Guard to go before and [behind him (i. e., His Apostle.)

That He may know that they verily deliver the messages of their Lord.

He encompasseth whatever is beside them,

And counteth everything by number. \*

In farther illustration of the text see *Sura LXIV. :—*

Wherefore believe in GOD AND HIS APOSTLE, and the Light which We have sent down, &c., [verse 9.

And obey God and obey the Apostle ; but if ye turn back, verily our Apostle hath only to deliver [his message. v. 13.

Thenceforward the expression becomes common.

† The commentators observe that the allusion is to the Oriental mode of execution. The condemned culprit is seized by the executioner by the right hand, while with a sharp sword or axe a blow is aimed at the back of the neck, and the head detached at the first stroke. This mode of execution is still practised by Mahometan states in India.

arrived. Written accounts, as well as messages, of the amazing success of Islâm had no doubt reached Mahomet, \* yet he was hardly prepared for the large and enthusiastic band ready to crowd to his standard, and swear allegiance to him as their prophet and their master. But it was necessary to proceed with caution. The Coreish, if aware of this extensive and hostile confederacy,—hostile because pledged to support (though only as yet defensively,) a faction in their community,—would have good ground for umbrage; the sword might prematurely be unsheathed, and the cause of Islâm seriously endangered. The movements were, therefore, all conducted with the utmost secrecy. Even the pilgrims from Medîna in whose company the converts travelled, were unaware of their object. †

Musáb, the teacher, who also joined the pilgrimage to Mecca, immediately on his arrival repaired to Mahomet, and related all that had happened during his absence at Medîna. The prophet, when he heard of the numbers of the converts and their eagerness in the service of Islâm, rejoiced greatly. ‡

To elude the scrutiny of the Meccans, the meeting between Mahomet and his Medîna followers was to be by night; and that the strangers might, in case suspicions were aroused, be for as short a time as possible within reach of their enemies, it was deferred to the very close of the pilgrimage, when, the ceremonies and sacrifices being finished, the multitude on the following day dispersed to their homes. § The spot was to be

\* The converts at Medîna had, as we have seen, written to Mahomet early in the year, for a teacher. Both they and the teacher (Musáb,) would no doubt communicate to Mahomet by letter and verbal message, the wonderful success they had met with.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 148,—*Tabari*, p. 169. Sprenger gives the total number of pilgrims from Medîna that year (both heathen and Mussulman) at upwards of 570; of whom seventy only were of the Aws tribe, and the remainder Khazrajites.

‡ *Wâkidi*, p. 201½. It was immediately after this that the affecting scene occurred, when Musáb went to visit his mother.—“*Extension of Islâm*,” p. 13.

§ This appears to be the likeliest date, as the events following seem to prove that the next day the multitudes broke up, and the Medîna party proceeded homewards. The date would thus be the night of the 11th Dzul Hijj, or that intervening between the 31st Maroh and the 1st April, A. D. 622.

The expression in all our three authorities is من اوساط ايام التشرىق—in the days of the Tashrick, i. e., between the 10th and 12th of Dzul Hijj. A tradition in *Hishâmi* adds that it was after the pilgrimage was ended:—

ثم وعدهم—فلما فرغنا من الحج  
من اوساط ايام التشرىق ليلة النفر الاول اذا هدائت الرجل

“Then Mahomet arranged that they should meet him at Minâ, in the days of the Tashrick, on the first night of departure (?) when men had fallen asleep,” p. 42½. (The exact meaning of the words in Italics is not quite clear.)

For the ceremonies here alluded to, see “*Ante-Mahomedan History of Arabia*,” p. 49.

the secluded glen, where the twelve had before met Mahomet, close by the road as you quit the valley of Minâ, and beneath the well-known Eminence of Acaba\*. They were to move cautiously thither, when all had retired to rest; "waking not the sleeper—nor tarrying for the absent."†

One or two hours before midnight, Mahomet repaired to the rendezvous, the first of the party.‡ He was attended only by his uncle Abbâs. To secure the greater secrecy, the assembly was perhaps kept private even from the Moslems of Mecca.§ Abbâs was the wealthiest of the sons of Abd al Muttalib, but he was weak in character, and ordinarily sailed with wind and tide. He was not a convert; but close relationship, and the long community of interest excited by the three years' confinement in the Sheb of Abu Tâlib, rendered him sufficiently reliable on the present occasion.¶

Mahomet had not long to wait. Soon the Medîna converts, singly and by twos and threes, were described through the moonlight moving stealthily towards the spot.¶ The number amounted to seventy-three men, and two women, and included all the early converts who had before met the prophet there

\* It is called "the right hand glen (*Sheb*), as you descend from 'Minâ, below the height (Acaba,) where the mosque now stands." *Wackidi*, p. 42.

في الشعب الايمن اذا نحد روا من منا با سفلى العقه  
حيث المسجد الدور\*

As the valley of Minâ descends towards Mecca, the "right hand" means probably that of a person proceeding to Mecca, and therefore points to the north side of the valley. See *Burkhardt*, pp. 59—277.

† *Wackidi*, *ibid*.

‡ *Ibid*.

§ Or if they were in the secret they were instructed not to be present, the less to excite suspicion. We may suppose that Mahomet's more intimate friends, Abu Bakr, Zeid, &c., were aware of his intentions. It is remarkable that not even Musâb appears to have come to the rendezvous with his Medîna converts: for it is distinctly said by *Wackidi* that "there was no one with Mahomet beside Abbâs."

¶ Hishâmi makes the Medîna converts to have assembled first, and to have waited for Mahomet, who arrived later, p. 148. *Tâbari*, p. 170.

¶ For more particulars of Abbâs, see the "Birth and Childhood of Mahomet," p. 16. Some hold Abbâs to have been a secret believer long before the conquest of Mecca: but this is evidently an Abbâside fiction. His faith was that of expediency. He held with the Meccans until Mahomet became too powerful to admit of doubt as to his eventual success; and then he colluded with him, shortly before the attack on Mecca.

The presence of Abbâs at this meeting is supported by traditions in each of our early authorities. *Tâbari* has one to the effect that the Medîna converts recognized him, because he used frequently to pass through their city on his mercantile expeditions to Syria.

¶ As the Meccan month commenced with the new moon, it would, on the 12th of Dzul Hijj, be within two or three days of full moon.

on the two preceding pilgrims.\* When they were seated, Abbās, in a low voice, broke the silence by a speech something to the following effect:—

"Ye company of the KHAZRAJ!† This my kinsman dwelleth amongst us in honor and safety. His clan will defend him,—both those that are converts, and those who still adhere to their ancestral faith. But he preferreth to seek protection from *you*. Wherefore, consider well the matter; and count the cost. If ye are resolved, and are able, to defend him,—well. But if ye doubt your ability, at once abandon the design."‡

Then spake Abu Barā, an aged Chief:—"We have listened to thy words. Our resolution is unshaken. Our lives are at his service. Now, let *him* speak."

Mahomet began, as was his wont, by reciting appropriate passages from the Coran, invited all present to the service of God, dwelt upon the claims and blessings of Islām, and concluded by saying that he would be content if the strangers pledged themselves to defend him as they did their own wives and children.§ From every quarter the

\* There were only eleven of the Aws tribe; the remaining sixty-two being Khazrajites. The two women were Nuseiba, daughter of Kāb (several traditions from whom regarding the assembly have been preserved;) and Asmā, daughter of Amr, whose husband (Hishāmi adds,) two sons, and *sister*, were present with her. This would seem to imply that there were *three* women there. *Hishāmi*, p. 157.

† Hishāmi states that the people of Medina, both of the Aws and Khazraj tribes used to be addressed collectively by the Arab as Khazrajites.

‡ The speech of Abbās is given in all three of our authorities, but with great variation. Indeed, it could not be expected that its purport should have been exactly preserved. It seems certain, however, that it was he who opened the proceedings. The sentiments are those which would naturally be attributed to him; and are appropriate enough, excepting that, both here and in the other addresses, there is an anticipation of the future armed struggle, which could not yet have been foreseen. Thus Abbās speaks of the people of Medina incurring by their league with Mahomet the enmity of "all the Arabs, who would discharge themselves against Medina, like arrows from one bow." And Abbās ibn Olāda, one of the Medina converts, tells his brethren that they have "now pledged themselves to fight *all mankind*," (lit *the red and the white amongst men*.) The last tradition is not in Wāckidi, and possesses little weight.

§ Hishāmi says that Abul Haytham interrupted Barā in his address, saying that by their present act they were cutting their bonds with their allies the Jews, and asked Mahomet whether, if God gave him the victory, he would not desert them and return to Mecca; whereupon Mahomet smiled graciously and said - *Nay! your blood is mine, your destruction would be that of my very self. I am yours ye are mine, I shall fight with whom ye fight, and make peace with whom ye make peace.*

But the sentiment is altogether an after-thought. There was not at that time the slightest suspicion that Mahomet would break with the Jews. One of the first things that Mahomet did on going to Medina, was to make a close and firm treaty with them.

The fact is that, by their present act in joining Mahomet, the Medina converts were drawing nearer to the Jews, rather than "cutting their bonds with them,"

seventy \* began to testify their readiness, and to protest that they would receive him at the risk of the loss of property, and the slaughter of their chiefs. Then Abbâs, who stood by holding his nephew's hand, called aloud :—" Hush ! † There are spies about. Let your men of years stand forth, and let them speak on your behalf. We fear our people on account of you. Then when ye have plighted your faith depart to your encampments." And their chief men stood forth. Then said Barâ : "Stretch out thy hand, Oh Mahomet !" And he stretched it out ; and Barâ clapped his hand thereon, as the manner was in taking an oath of fealty. ‡ Then the seventy came forward one by one, and did the same. § And Mahomet named twelve of the chief men and said :—" *Moses chose from amongst his people twelve Leaders. Ye shall be the sureties for the rest, even as were the Apostles of Jesus ; and I am the surety for my people.* And all answered ; " Be it so. " || At this moment the voice of one calling aloud, probably of a

\* Though there were seventy-three men, yet by tradition they are ordinarily called " the seventy. "

† Literally :—" *Hush your bells.* "

‡ As usual in such meritorious actions, other claimants of the honor are brought forward. The Najjâr say that Asâd was the first that struck the hand of Mahomet ; and the Abul Ashal, that it was Abul Haytham. *Hishâmi*, p. 151, — *Wâkidi*, p. 42½, — *Takwî*, p. 172.

Abu Raû, who bore so conspicuous a part throughout this transaction, died the next month (*Safar*, i. e., May 622, A. D.) before Mahomet reached Medina. He is said to have been the first over whose grave Mahomet prayed in the formula that became usual afterwards :—" *Oh Lord, pardon him ! Be merciful unto him ! Be reconciled unto him ! And verily thou art reconciled.* " He is said to have left a third of his property to Mahomet to dispose of as he chose ; and to have desired that he should be buried with his face towards the Meccan Kibla. The latter tale has reference to a curious fiction that Barâ anticipated the divine command, declared a year and a half later, that Mussulmans were to turn in prayer to the Kaaba, and not as hitherto to the Temple at Jerusalem. *Wâkidi*, p. 299.

§ The women, it is said, only repeated the words of the pledge taken by the twelve at the first Acaba :—" Mahomet never took a woman by the hand on such an occasion ; but they used to come forward, and then Mahomet would say, " Go : • for you have pledged yourselves. " *Hishâmi*, p. 157.

|| *Wâkidi*, or " Leader, " is the term, which was ever after honourably retained by the twelve. Four of them, Abul Haytham, Asâd, Râfi ibn Mâlik, and Obâda ibn Sâmî, were also of the number who met Mahomet here on the two previous pilgrimages. Only three were of the Aws tribes, the rest Khazrajites. Several of them, as well as many amongst the seventy, are mentioned as able to write Arabic ; and as being *Kâmil*, i. e., expert in that art, in archery and in swimming. *Wâkidi*, p. 285½.

According to *Hishâmi*, Mahomet desired the seventy themselves to choose their Leaders. *Wâkidi*, on the contrary, not only says that Mahomet chose them, but that he added, " Let no one among you be vex'd because another than he is chosen ; for it is Gabriel that chooseth. " p. 42½. His *Âmi* quotes poetry by Kaab (who was himself present on the occasion,) in which the names of the twelve are enumerated ; and it is probably genuine.



straggler seeking for his company, was heard near at hand; and the excited fancy or apprehensions of the party, conjured up a Meccan, if not an infernal spy. Mahomet gave the command, and all hurried back to their halting places.\*

So large a gathering could not be held close by Minâ without rumours reaching the Coreish enough to rouse their suspicion. It was notorious that great numbers at Medîna had embraced the doctrines of Mahomet. The clandestine meeting must have been on his behalf, and therefore an unwarrantable interference with the domestic affairs of Mecca. It was virtually a hostile movement. Accordingly next morning their chief men repaired to the encampment of the Medîna pilgrims,† stated their suspicions, and complained of such conduct at the hand of a tribe, with whom, of all others in Arabia, they declared it would grieve them most to be at war. The converts glanced at each other, and held their peace.‡ The rest, ignorant of their

\* Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi make the voice to have been that of a Devil or demon.

† And when the ceremony was ended, the Devil called out with a loud voice—*Ye People of Mecca! Have ye no concern for Mahomet and his renegades? They have counselled war against you.*" Wâckidi, p. 424. So Hishâmi:—When we had pledged ourselves to the Prophet, Satan called out with such a piercing cry as I never heard before,—*Oh ye that are encamped round about! Have ye no care for MUHAMMAD (the "blamed,"—a nickname for Mahomet,) and the renegades that are with him? They have resolved upon war with you.* Then said Mahomet;—"This is the demon of Acaba: this is the Son or the Devil. Hearst thou, enemy of God? Verily I will ease myself of thee!" p. 151. The word used is *Azabb*.

هذا ارباب لعنة هذا ابن ارباب

So at Ohad, the party that cried "Mahomet is fallen," is called "the Demon of Acaba, that is to say, the Devil;" *Azabb al Acaba yâni al Sheitan, Hishâmi*, p. 258. We shall meet the Devil (who is easily conjured up by tradition,) again at the council of the Coreish to put Mahomet to death, and it will be remembered that he appeared in order to oppose Mahomet at the placing of the corner stone when the Caaba was rebuilt.

Weil has mistaken the word for Izb or *Azab*, "a Dwarf." *Mohammad*, p. 75.

Both Wâckidi and Hishâmi add that Abdâs son of Olâda said to Mahomet:—"If thou wishest it, we shall now fall upon the people assembled at Mina with the sword." And no one had a sword that day but he. And Mahomet replied, "I have not received any command to do thus: depart to your homes." But the circumstance is most improbable. We do not believe that any command to fight was given, till long after the emigration to Mecca. Sprenger (p. 207) appears to us at fault here. Hishâmi (p. 157) and Tabari (p. 181) speak of the command to fight, but Wâckidi has nothing of it, and Tabari elsewhere (p. 190) says that the emigration to Medîna preceded the command to fight. Indeed, armed opposition was not dreamt of till long after. Mahomet and his followers were too glad to escape peaceably.

† Literally the "Sheb," *glens*, or defile, in which they were encamped.

‡ Hishâmi relates a story told by Kâb, one of the covenanters, that while this inquisition was going on, in order to divert attention, he pointed to a pair of new shoes which one of the Meccan Chiefs had on, and said to Abu Jâbir, one of his own party:—"Why could'st not thou, *our* Chief, wear a pair of new shoes like this Coreishite

comrades' proceedings, protested that the Coreish had been misinformed, and that the report was utterly without foundation. Their chief, Abdallah ibn Obey, assured them that none of his people would venture on such a step without consulting him. The Coreish were satisfied and took their leave.

During that day the vast concourse at Minâ broke up; the numerous caravans again prepared for their journey, and took each its homeward course. The Medina party had already set out, when the Coreish having strictly enquired into the midnight assembly, (which Mahomet hardly cared now to keep a secret) found to their disconcertment, that not only had it really taken place, but that far larger numbers than they suspected, had pledged themselves to the defence of Mahomet. Exasperated at being thus foiled, they pursued the Medina caravan, if haply they might lay hands on any of the delinquents; but though they scoured the roads leading to Medina, they fell in with only two. Of these one escaped: the other, Sâd ibn Obâda, they seized, and tying his hands, dragged him by his long hair back to Mecca. There he would no doubt have suffered farther maltreatment, had he not been able to claim protection from certain of the Coreish to whom he had been of service at Medina. He was released, and joined the caravan, just as his friends were about to return in search of him.

It soon became evident to the Meccans that, in consequence of the covenant entered into at Acaba, both Mahomet and his followers contemplated an early emigration to Medina. The prospect of such a movement, which would remove their opponents entirely out of reach, and plant them in an asylum where they might securely work out their machinations, and as opportunity offered, take an ample revenge,—at first irritated the Coreish. They revived again, after a long interval, the persecution of the believers, and wherever entirely in their power, sought either to make them recant, or to prevent their escape, by placing them in confinement.\*

Chief? "The latter taking off the shoes, threw them at Kâb, saying, "put them on thyself."—Abu Jâbir said, "Quiet! give back the shoes." Kâb refused, and the Meccan Chief said he would snatch them from him. A commotion ensued, which was just what Kâb desired, as it covered the awkwardness of the converts, *Hishâmî*, p. 151.

Such tales, containing supposed proofs of service rendered to the cause of Islam were plentifully fabricated, even in the earliest time, and deserve little credit.

\* *Wâkidi*, p. 43. The support of the Medina adherents, and suspicion of an intended emigration, irritated the Coreish to severity, and this severity forced the

Such severities, or the dread of them, (for the Moslems were conscious that they had now seriously compromised their allegiance as citizens of Mecca,) hastened the crisis. And, indeed, when Mahomet had once resolved upon a general emigration, no advantage was to be gained by protracting their residence amongst enemies.

It was thus but a few days after the "*Second covenant of Acaba*," that Mahomet gave command to his followers, saying: *Depart unto Medina; for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which ye may find refuge.\** So they made preparation, and chose them companions for the journey, and set out in parties secretly. Such as had the means, rode two and two upon camels, and the rest walked.†

Persecution and artifice caused a few to fall away from the faith. One example will suffice. Omar had arranged a rendezvous with Ayâsh and Hishâm at a spot in the environs of Mecca, whence they were to set out for Medina. Hishâm was held back by his family, and relapsed for a time into idolatry. "Thus I, and Ayâsh," relates Omar, "went forward alone, and journeyed to Cubâ,‡ in the outskirts of Medina, where we alighted, and were hospitably received at the house of Rifâa. But Abu Jahl and another brother (uterine,) of Ayâsh,§ fol-

Moslems to petition Mahomet for leave to emigrate. The two causes might co-exist and re-act on one another; the persecution would hasten the departure of the converts, while each fresh departure would irritate the Coreish to greater severity.

Tabari says:—"There were two occasions on which persecution raged the hottest; viz., first, the period preceding the emigration to Abyssina; second, that following the second covenant at Acaba," (p. 178.)

But there is good reason to suspect that stronger epithets have been used in tradition regarding this persecution than are warranted by facts. Had it been as bad as is spoken of, *we should have had plenty of instances.* Yet, excepting the imprisonment or surveillance of a few waverers, we have not a single detail of any injuries or sufferings inflicted on this occasion by the Coreish. There was, no doubt, abundant *apprehension*, and ground sufficient for it.

\* Wäckidi makes Mahomet first to see the place of emigration in a dream,— "a saline soil, with palm trees, between two hills." After that he waited some days, and then went forth joyously to his followers, saying:—"Now have I been made acquainted with the place appointed for your emigration. It is *Yathrib*. Whoso desireth to emigrate, let him emigrate thither." (p. 43.) If this incident be real, the first vision may have been a sort of feeler to try what his people thought of going to Medina; for long before this time he must have fully made up his mind where he was going. But the story is most probably a fiction, growing out of the idea that Mahomet must have had a divine and special command for so important a step as that of emigration to Medina.

† *Ibid.*, and page 242.

‡ A suburb of Medina, about three-quarters of an hour's walk on the road to Mecca.—*Burkhardt*, p. 328.

§ Being all three sons of Asmâ, a lady of the Tâmil tribe, but by different fathers.

lowed him to Medina, and told him his mother had vowed that she would retire beneath no shade, nor should a comb or any oil touch her hair until she saw his face again. Then I cautioned him (continues Omar,) saying;—"By the Lord! they only desire to tempt thee from thy religion.\* Beware Ayâsh, of denying thy faith!" But he replied:—"Nay, I will not recant; but I have property at Mecca; I will go and fetch it, and it will strengthen me: and I will also release my mother from her vow." Seeing that he was not to be diverted from his purpose, I gave him a swift camel, and bade him, if he suspected treachery, to save himself thereon. So when they alighted to halt at Dhajnân, they seized him suddenly, and bound him with cords; and as they carried him into Mecca they exclaimed:—"Even thus, ye Meccans, should ye treat your foolish ones! Then they kept him in durance."†

It was about the beginning of the month Muharram (19th April, 622 A. D.) that the emigration commenced.‡ Medina lies some 300 miles to the north of Mecca: the journey is

\* In Hishâmi, it is added;—"And the heat and lice will soon enough force thy mother to break her vow." (p. 160.)

† *Wâkidi*, p. 232½; *Hishâmi*, p. 160. Both Ayâsh and Hishâm afterwards re-joined Mahomet. From one account it would appear that Ayâsh, as well as Hishâm, relapsed into idolatry. Omar stated that until Sura XXXIX, v. 53, was revealed, it was thought that no apostate could be saved. When that passage appeared, he wrote it out for Ayâsh, and sent it to him at Mecca; which when Ayâsh had read he took courage, and forthwith quitted Mecca on his camel for Medina.—*Hishâmi*, p. 161.

There is another tradition, at variance with the above. Mahomet, when at Medina said one day, "who will bring me Ayâsh and Hishâm from Mecca?" And forthwith Walid, son of Mughfra, set out; and he traced them to their place of confinement, and assisted them with a stone and his sword to break off their fetters, and released them and carried them off to Mahomet. (*Ibâsem*.) But notwithstanding the details in this version, it is evidently a fiction to justify Ayâsh and Hishâm from the charge of apostacy, by making it appear that they were imprisoned at Mecca.

‡ Abu Salma was the first that set out. He reached Medina on the 10th Muharram (end of April) (*Wâkidi*, p. 225½.) His wife Omm Salma (afterwards married by Mahomet,) tells a piteous story, that they started for Medina a year before the second covenant of Acaba. Being attacked on the way, her husband escaped to Medina, but she and her infant Salma were kept in durance by her family, the Bani Mughîra. Her infant was taken from her, and she "wept for a year," after which they were all happily re-united at Medina. She ends ny saying;—"there was no family that endured such hardships in the cause of Islam, as that of Abu Salma." (*Hishâmi*, p. 159.) We see here, 1st, the desire of magnifying suffering for Islam: and 2ndly, the vain-glorious wish of appearing to be the earliest emigrants. For we know from *Wâkidi* that Abu Salma did not emigrate till two months before Mahomet, and several days after the second covenant of Acaba.

The next that emigrated was Amir ibn Rabia with his wife Laila. (*Wâkidi*, p. 42½; *Hishâmi*, p. 159.) Then Abdallah ibn Jahsh, and his wife, a daughter of Abu Sofîân.

accomplished by the pilgrim caravans "in eleven days, and if pressed for time, in ten."\* Within two months nearly all the followers of Mahomet, excepting a few detained in confinement, or unable to escape from slavery, had migrated with their families to their new abode. They numbered between one and two hundred souls.† They were received with the most cordial hospitality by their brethren at Medina, who vied with one another for the honour of having them quartered at their houses, and of supplying them with such things as they had need of.‡

The Coreish were paralysed by a movement so suddenly planned, and put into such immediate and extensive execution. They looked on in amazement, as families silently disappeared, and house after house was abandoned. One or two quarters of the city were entirely deserted, and the doors of the dwelling houses deliberately locked.§ There was here a determination and sacrifice hardly calculated upon. But even if the Coreish had foreseen, and resolved to oppose, the emigration, it is difficult to perceive, what measures they could have adopted. The multitude of independent clans and separate branches, effectually prevented unity of action. Here and there a slave or helpless dependent might be intimidated or held back; but in all other cases there was no right to interfere with private judgment or with family counsels; and the least show of violence might rouse a host of champions, who would forget their antipathy to Islam, in revenging the insulted honour of their tribe.

\* *Burkhardt*, p. 316.

† We have no exact enumeration of the numbers that emigrated at first with Mahomet. At the battle of Badr, nineteen months after the emigration, there were present 314 men, of whom eighty-three were emigrants from Mecca. A few of these may have joined Mahomet after he reached Medina; and we shall probably not err far in making the whole number that emigrated *at first*, including women and children, about 150. At Badr almost every one of the emigrants, who could, was present. For the numbers see *Wäckidi*, p. 295½.

‡ *Hishâmi*, p. 163.—*Wäckidi*, p. 43½.

§ "The Bani Ghanam ibn Dūdân," says Wäckidi, "emigrated entirely to Medina, men and women, and left their houses locked: not a soul was left in the quarters of the Bani Ghanam, Abul Bokier, and Matzûn,"—pp. 196 and 256½,—*Hishâmi*, p. 160.

"Otba, Abbas, and Abu Jahl passed by the dwelling place of the Bani Jahsh, and the door was locked, and the house deserted. And Abu Jahl sighed heavily, and said, 'every house, even if its peace be lengthened, at the last a bitter wind will reach it. The house of the Bani Jahsh is left without an inhabitant!' Then he added; 'this is the work of my good-for-nothing nephew, who hath dispersed our assemblies, ruined our affairs, and made a separation amongst us.'—*Hishâmi*, p. 160.

At last Mahomet and Abu Bakr, with their families, including Ali, now a youth of above twenty years of age, were the only believers left (excepting those unwillingly detained) at Mecca. Daily Abu Bakr pressed the prophet to depart; and he was ambitious of being his companion in the flight. But Mahomet told him that "his time was not come:—the Lord had not yet given him the command to emigrate." Perhaps he was deferring his departure until he could receive assurance from Medina, that the arrangements for his reception were secure, and his adherents there not only ready, but able, in the face of the rest of the people, to execute their engagement for his defence.\* Or, there may have been the more generous desire to see all his followers safely out of Mecca, before he himself fled for refuge to Medina. Is it possible that he may have waited with some indefinite hope that a divine interposition, as with the prophets of old, might subdue the hostile city, in which peradventure even ten righteous men could not now be found?

Meanwhile Abu Bakr made preparations for the journey. In anticipation, he had already purchased, for 800 dirhems, two swift camels, which were now tied up and well fed in the yard of his house. A guide, accustomed to the devious tracks and by-ways of the Medina route, was hired, and the camels committed to his custody†

The Coreish were perplexed at the course Mahomet was taking. They had expected him to emigrate with his people; and perhaps half rejoiced at the prospect of being rid of their enemy. By remaining almost solitary behind, he seemed, by his very loneliness, to challenge and defy their attack.

\* During the two months elapsing between the second covenant at Acaba and Mahomet's emigration, communications, as might have been expected, were kept up between Mecca and Medina. Thus, it is stated by Wäckidi, that after the foremost emigrants had reached Medina, a part of the Medina converts who had been at the Acaba covenant, returned to Mecca, where no doubt farther arrangements were concerted between them and Mahomet. It is added, that these Medina converts had thus the merit of being both *Emigrants* (muhājirīn,) and *Adjutors* (ansār.)

† The guide was Abdallah ibn Arcad; or as Wäckidi has it, Abdallah ibn Oreicat. He was of the Bani Duil, a tribe descended from Kināna; and thus affiliated with the Coreish. His mother was pure Coreish.

He was still an idolater; and Wäckidi, *anticipating the era when war was waged against all idolaters*, adds,—“but Mahomet and Abu Bakr had given him quarter,—or pledge of protection :”—( *مأوى* ) as if he required their protection at that stage! The expression is significant of the way in which subsequent principles and events insensibly threw back their light and colour upon the tissue of tradition.—*Wäckidi*, p. 212,—*Hishāmi*, p. 167.

What might his motive be for this strange procedure? The chief men assembled to discuss their position. Should they imprison him?—his followers would come to his rescue. Should they forcibly expel him?—he might agitate his cause among the tribes of Arabia, and readily lure adherents by the prospect of the supremacy at Mecca. Should they assassinate him?—the Bani Hâshim would exact an unrelenting penalty for the blood of their kinsman. But representatives from all their tribes, including even that of Hâshim, might plunge each his sword into the prophet: would the Hâshimites dare to wage mortal feud with the whole body of the Coreish thus implicated in the murder? Even then there would remain his followers at Medîna, whose revenge of their master's blood would surely be ruthless and desperate. Assassination by an unknown hand on the road to Medîna, might prove the safest course: but there the chances of escape would preponderate. At last they resolved that a deputation should proceed to the house of Mahomet. What was the decision as to their future course of action, what was the object even of the present deputation, it is impossible, amid the hostile and marvellous tales of tradition, to determine. There is small reason to believe that it was assassination, adopted, as the biographers assert, at the instigation of Abu Jahl, supported by the devil, who, in the person of an old man from Najd, shrouded in a mantle, joined the council. Mahomet himself, speaking in the Coran of the designs of his enemies, refers to them in these indecisive terms:—

*And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, that they might detain thee, or slay thee, or expel thee. Yea, they plotted: but God plotted likewise. And God is the best of plotters.*—Sura VIII., v. 29.

Assuredly had assassination been resolved upon for immediate execution, as represented by tradition, it would have been indicated by more than these alternative expressions. It would unquestionably have been dwelt upon at length, both in the Coran, and by tradition, and produced as a justification (for such indeed it would have been) of subsequent hostilities.\*

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\* The following is the general narrative of tradition, given with some variations by Wâkidi and Hishâmi,—Tabari following mainly the latter.

The Coreish, irritated by hearing of the warm reception the converts experienced at Medîna, held a council to discuss the matter. The devil, in the shape of an old man, shrouded in a cloak, stood at the door, saying that he was a Sheikh from Najd, who had heard of their weighty consultation, and had come, if haply he might help them to a right decision. So they invited him to enter.

One proposed to imprison, another to expel, Mahomet. The old man from

Whatever the object of the visit, Mahomet received previous notice, and anticipated danger by stealing at once from his house. There he left Ali; around whom, that the suspicions of his neighbours might not be aroused, he threw his own red Hadrhamaut mantle,\* and desired him to occupy his bed. He went straight to the house of Abu Bakr, and after a short consultation, matured the plans for immediate flight. Abu Bakr shed tears of joy when it was fixed that the hour for emigration had at last arrived, and that he was to

Najd warmly opposed both suggestions. Then said Abu Jahl; "Let us choose one courageous man from every family of the Coreish, and place in their hands sharp swords, and let them slay him with the stroke of one man; so his blood will be divided amongst all families, and the relatives of Mahomet will not know how to revenge it." The old man of Najd applauded the scheme saying,—"May God reward this man; this is the right advice, and none other." And they separated, having agreed thereto.

Gabriel forthwith apprised Mahomet of the design, who arose and made Ali to lie down upon his bed. The murderous party came at dusk, and lay in wait about the house. Mahomet went forth, and casting a handful of dust at them, recited from the 1st to the 10th verses of Sura XXXIV., ending with the words; *and we have covered them, so that they shall not see.* He departed without their knowing what had passed; and they continued to watch, some say till morning, thinking that the figure on the bed was Mahomet. As light dawned they found out their mistake, and saw that it was Ali. Others say they watched till one passed, and told them that Mahomet had left, when they arose in confusion and shook the dust from their heads which Mahomet had cast upon them.

The whole story of the council and the attempt on Mahomet's life is so mingled with what is marvellous and unlikely, as to render it almost impossible to disentangle the truth, or even a consistent and probable story, from the spurious details. Indeed, there is some reason for suspecting with Sprenger "the whole story of the Council, and the resolution of assassinating him, to be apocryphal." (p. 208.) Parts of the story are evidently fabricated to illustrate or support the verse of the Coran above quoted, and the other regarding the counterplot of God, (*Sura VII., v. 29*;)—and to cover the opponents of Mahomet with infamy.

The reasons given in the text make it in the last degree improbable that *assassination* was ever attempted or even resolved. The tale of the assassins surrounding the house for so long a period in the face of Mahomet's family and kinsmen, even apart from the miraculous details, is absurd. If intent on murder, they would at once have rushed on Ali, and finding their mistake, have set off for Abu Bakr's house, (*vide Sprenger. ibidem*). The clear intimation in Wackidi that Mahomet left for the house of Abu Bakr *in the middle of the day*, is also opposed to the whole story.

Mahomet's sudden flight, and long concealment in the cave, were probably supposed by his followers, to have been caused by the apprehension of immediate violence. This supposition would require illustrative grounds: and hence the fiction. It seems to us, however, that it was not violence at Mecca, *but assassination by the way*, which he most feared, and which led to his concealment in the cave, and thus to the securing of a free and safe road.

Upon the whole, *the council itself*, is not unlikely or improbable: and we have therefore given it a place in the text, endeavouring to adopt it as well as possible to the other incidents that are clearly proved.

\* Wackidi, p. 43½. Hishâmi calls it *green*, (p. 165.)



be the companion of the prophet's journey.\* After a few hasty preparations (among which Abu Bakr did not forget to secure his remaining wealth,) they both crept in the shade of evening from a back window, escaped unobserved through the southern suburbs of the city, and ascending the lofty mountain Thaur (about an hour and a half distant in that direction,) took refuge in a cave near its summit.† Here they rested in security, for the attention of their adversaries would in any case be fixed upon the country north of Mecca on the route to Medîna, whither they knew that Mahomet would proceed.

Eight or nine years after, Mahomet thus alludes in the Coran to the position of himself and his friend in the cave of Thaur:—

If ye will not assist the Prophet, verily God assisted him when the unbelievers cast him forth, in company with a second only,‡ when they

\* Ayesha, in a somewhat loose tradition quoted by Hishâmi, relates as follows: Mahomet regularly visited her father's house either in the morning or the evening: that day, however, he came at mid-day. Being seated on Abu Bakr's carpet, Mahomet desired that he and Abu Bakr might be left alone. The latter replied that the presence of his two daughters only did not signify, and besought that he would at once tell him what he had to say. Then follows the conversation in which Mahomet tells him that the time had now come for emigrating, and that Abu Bakr was to be his fellow traveller;—whereat Abu Bakr wept for joy. Ayesha adds;—"I never knew before that any body could *weep* for joy, till I saw Abu Bakr weeping that day." (*Hishâmi*, p. 166.) There is, of course, a tendency in all Ayesha's traditions to magnify her father's share in the matter.

Tabari gives a tradition to the effect that Abu Bakr proceeded to the house of Mahomet. Ali, whom he found there alone, told him that Mahomet had gone to the cave in Mount Thaur, and that if he wanted him, he should follow him thither. So he hurried in that direction, and made upon Mahomet by the way. And as he approached, the prophet hearing the footsteps thought that it was the Coreish in pursuit, and he quickened his pace and ran, and burst the thong of his shoe, and struck his foot against a rock, so that it bled much. Then Abu Bakr called aloud, and the prophet recognized his voice, and they went both together; and blood flowed from Mahomet's leg, till they reached the cave at break of day, (p. 187.)

Notwithstanding the apparent freshness and circumstantiality of these details, the story is no doubt spurious. It looks like an Alyite or Abbasside fabrication to detract from the honour of Abu Bakr's being selected by the prophet as the companion of his flight, by representing it as an accidental, and not previously planned arrangement.

† Hishâmi describes it as "a hill in Lower Mecca:" **جبل با سفلى مكة**

—i. e., adjoining the lower or southern quarter.

The following is from Burkhardt. "JEBEL THOR. About an hour and a half south of Mecca, to the left of the road to the village of Hosseynye, is a lofty mountain of this name, higher it is said than Djebel Nour. On the summit of it is a cavern, in which Mohammad and his friend Abu Bekr took refuge from the Mekkawys before he fled to Medîna." (p. 176.) But he did not visit the spot. Nor does Ali Bey appear to have done so either.

‡ Lit: *the second of the two* **ثاني الاثنين**

two were in the cave alone : when he said to his companion :—*Be not cast down, for verily God is with us.* And God caused to descend tranquillity \* upon him, and strengthened him with Hosts which ye saw not, and made the word of the unbelievers to be abased ; and the word of the Lord, it is exalted ; and GOD is mighty and wise.†

The “sole companion,” or in Arabic phraseology, *the second of the two*, became one of Abu Bakr's most honoured titles. Hassân, the contemporary poet of Medina, thus sings of him :—

And the second of the two in the Glorious Cave, while the Foes were searching around, and they [two had ascended the Mountain ;  
And the Prophet of the Lord, they well know, loved him,—more than all the world ; he held no [one equal unto him ;

Whatever may have been the real peril, Mahomet and his companion felt it to be a moment of jeopardy. Glancing upward at a crevice whence the morning light broke into the cave, Abu Bakr whispered ;—“What if one of them were to look beneath him ; he might see us under his very feet !” “*Think not thus, Abu Bakr !*” said the prophet, “WE ARE TWO, BUT GOD IS IN THE MIDST, A THIRD.”§

\* The word used is سَكِينَة *sekinah* : borrowed from the “Shekinah” of the Jews. The expression occurs repeatedly in the Coran.

† Sura IX., v. 42.

‡ “Mahomet asked Hassân ibn Thâbit, whether he had composed any poetry regarding Abu Bakr, to which the poet answered that he had, and at Mahomet's request repeated the following lines, (as in the text) :—

وَتَأْنِي الْاِثْنَيْنِ فِي الْغَا رَسَنِيْفِ الْقَدْ طَانَ الْعَدُوْهَ لَدَا صَعْدِ الْجَبَلَا  
وَكَانَ حَبَّ الرِّسُوْلِ اِلَهٌ قَدْ عَلِمُوْا مِنْ الْمَرْئِيْهِ لَمْ يَدْرُكْ بِهِ رَجُلَا

And Mahomet was amused thereat, and laughed so heartily as even to show his back teeth ; and he answered ;—“Thou hast spoken truly, Oh Hassân ! It is just as thou hast said.”—*Wâckidi*, p. 212.

§ فَقَالَ يَا أَبَا بَكْرٍ مَا ظَنُّكَ بِالْاِثْنَيْنِ اِلَهٌ تَائِيْ لَهُمَا—

*Wâckidi*, p. 212.

The crowd of miracles that cluster about the cave, are so well known as hardly to need repetition. It will be interesting, however, to note how far they are related by our early authorities.

Wâckidi says that after Mahomet and Abu Bakr entered the cave, a spider came and wove her webs one over another at the mouth of the cave. The Coreish holily searched in all directions for Mahomet, till they came close up to the entrance of the cave. And when they looked, they said one to another ;—*Spiders' webs are over it from before the birth of Mahomet.* So they turned back, (p. 44.)

Another tradition is that “God commanded a tree and a spider to cover His prophet, and two wild pigeons to perch at the entrance of the cave. Now two men from each branch of the Coreish, armed with swords issued from Mecca for the search. And they were now close to Mahomet, when the foremost saw the pigeons, and returned to his companions, saying that he was sure from this that nobody was in the cave. And the prophet heard his words, and blessed the wild pigeons, and made them sacred in the Holy Territory.—*Ibidem*,

The verses (quoted in the text,) in Sura VIII., v. 29, about God *plotting* so as to

Amir ibn Foheira, the freed-man of Abu Bakr,\* who in company with the other shepherds of Mecca, tended his master's flock, stole unobserved every evening with a few goats to the cave, and furnished its inmates with a plentiful supply of milk. Abdallah, the son of Abu Bakr, in the same manner, nightly brought them victuals cooked by his sister Asmâ.† It was his business also to watch closely by day the progress of events, and of opinion, at Mecca, and to report at night the result.

Much excitement had prevailed in the city, when it became first known that Mahomet had disappeared. The chief of the Coreish went to his house, and finding Ali there, asked him where his uncle was. "I have no knowledge of him," replied Ali:—"am I his keeper? Ye bade him to quit the city, and he hath quitted."‡ Then they repaired to the house of Abu Bakr, and questioned his daughter Asmâ, but failing to elicit from her any information,§ they dispatched scouts in all directions, with the view of gaining a clue to the track and destination of the prophet, if not with less innocent instructions. But the precautions of Mahomet and Abu Bakr rendered the search fruitless. One by one the emissaries returned with no trace of the fugitives; and it was believed that, having gained a fair start, they had outstripped pursuit. The people soon reconciled themselves to the fact. They even breathed more freely now that their troubler was gone. The city again was still.

deceive the Meccans, and in Sura IX., v. 42, about God assisting the two refugees in the cave, have probably given rise to these tales.

There are some miraculous stories, but of later growth, regarding Abu Bakr putting his hand into the crevices of the cave to remove the snake that might be lurking there, and being unharmed by their venomous bites.

\* See "Extension of Islam" (p. 6)

† Hishâmi says that Asmâ also used to take them food at night; but that is doubtful. She certainly carried to them the victuals prepared for the journey, on the third day. Hishâmi adds Amir ibn Foheira used to lead his goats over the footsteps of Abdallah in order to obliterate the traces. —*Wâckidi*, pp. 44, 212, — *Hishâmi*, p. 167.

‡ *Wâckidi*, p. 44. — *Tabari*, p. 189. The latter adds:—"Thereupon they chided Ali, and struck him, and carried him forth to the Kaaba, and bound him for a short space, and then let him go." The notice is, however, quite unsupported by any other proof or collateral evidence, and is evidently fabricated to enhance the merits of Ali.

§ Hishâmi has the following.—"Asmâ relates that after the prophet went forth, a company of the Coreish, with Abu Jahl, came to the house. As they stood at the door, she went forth to them. 'Where is thy father?' said they. 'Truly I know not where he is,' she replied. Upon which, Abu Jahl who was a bad and impudent man, slapped her on the face with such force, that one of her ear-rings dropped." (p. 168.)

On the third night, the daily tidings brought by Abdallah satisfied the refugees that the search had ceased, and the busy curiosity of the first agitation relaxed. The opportunity was come. They could slip away unobserved now. A longer delay might excite suspicion, and the visits of Abdallah and Amir attract attention to the cave. The roads were clear; they might travel without the apprehension (and it was a fear not unreasonable,) of an arrow or dagger from the way-side assassin.

Abdallah received the commission to have all things in readiness the following evening. The guide wandered with two camels close about the summit of mount Thaur. Asmâ prepared food for the journey, and in the dusk carried it to the cave. In the hurry of the moment, she had forgotten the thong for fastening the wallet. So she tore off her girdle; with one of the pieces she closed the wallet, and with the other fastened it to the camel's gear. From this incident Asmâ was ever after honourably known as "She of the two Shreds."\* Abu Bakr did not forget his money, and safely secreted his purse of between five and six thousand dirhems.†

The camels were now ready. Mahomet mounted the swifter of the two, Al Cuswâ thenceforward his favourite, ‡ with the guide; and Abu Bakr having taken his servant, Amir ibn Roheira, behind him on the other, § they started. Leaving the lower

\* *Hishâmi* ذات النطاق *Wâkidi*, pp. 44-212. ذات النطاقين

p. 168. These little incidents add life and reality to the story. The names, "*the Second of the Two*," and "*She of the Shred*," must have been current generally. They could hardly have been invented for the story, and are therefore corroborative of it.

† *Hishâmi*, p. 168. A curious tradition is given here. Abu Bakr's father, Abu Cuhâfa, now so old that he could not see, came to visit his grand-daughters (Asmâ and Ayesha,) after Abu Bakr had departed, and consoled with them on being left without any means. To comfort the old man, Asmâ placed pebbles in a recess, and covering them with a cloth, made him feel them, and believe that it was his son's money, which he had left behind, so the old man went away happy.

‡ *Hishâmi* adds that Mahomet refused to get on the camel until he had purchased it, or rather pledged himself to pay the price which Abu Bakr had given for it. — *Hishâmi*, p. 168.

§ A tradition in *Wâkidi* says that Amir rode upon a *third* camel, and that Mahomet getting tired on Al Cuswâ, changed to Abu Bakr's camel; the two others changing also. (p. 212.)

This may be explained by the fact, that when the party reached Arj, within a few stages of Medina, the animals were so fatigued, that they hired an extra camel and servant from the Bani Aslam tribe that inhabited the vicinity. Thus they arrived at Medina mounted upon *three*, which is no doubt the origin of the tradition referred to—*Hishâmi*, p. 171.

quarter of Mecca\* a little to their right, they struck off by a track considerably to the left of the common road to Medîna; and hurrying westward, soon gained the vicinity of the sea-shore nearly opposite Osfân.† The day of the flight was the 4th Rabî I., of the first year of the Hejira, or by the calculations of M. Caussin de Perceval, the 20th June, A. D. 622 ‡

In the morning they had reached the Bedouin encampment of a party of the Bani Khuzâa. An Arab lady sat in the door of her tent ready to give food and drink to any travellers that might chance that way. Mahomet and his followers were fatigued and thirsty (for it was the extreme heat of the year) and they gladly refreshed themselves with the milk which she offered them in abundance.§ During the hottest part of the day, they rested at Cudeid; and in the evening, thinking they were now at a safe enough distance from Mecca, they joined the common road. They had not proceeded far when they met one of the Meccan scouts, returning on horseback. Surâca, (for that was his name) seeing that he had no chance of success single-handed against four opponents, offered no opposition; but on the contrary pledged his word, that if permitted to depart in peace, he would not reveal that he had met them. ||

\* *Hishâmî*, p. 170.—*Tabarî*, p. 194. سلك بهما إلى أسفل مكة

† Osfân is a pilgrim station at the present day, on the highway from Mecca to Medîna.

‡ *Hegira*, "emigration." Though applied *par excellence* to the flight of the prophet, it is also applicable to the rest of the emigrants to Medîna, *prior to the taking of Mecca*; and they are hence called *Muhâjirin*, *i. e.*, those who have undertaken the *Hejira*, or emigration. We have seen that they commenced to emigrate from the first of Moharram, *i. e.*, from the first month of the *Hegira era*.

The chronology of M. C. de Perceval is supported by the notices of extreme heat. وذاك في أيام حارة *Hishâmî*, p. 171.

§ Wâckidi here gives miraculous details omitted by *Hishâmî*. The former relates that it was a time of dearth, and the scarcity of fodder had so reduced the flocks, that they gave no milk. Omm Mâbad (the Arab lady, at first told them of her inability in consequence to entertain them. But there was in the corner of her tent a miserable goat, that not only gave no milk, but was so weak as to be disabled from accompanying the flocks to pasture. The prophet spied it, and going up prayed and touched its udders which immediately filled with milk, and all drank to their hearts' content! *Wâckidi*, p. 44.

Her husband who had been absent, shortly after returned; and on her giving a description of the prophet, he perceived who it had been, and said that he too would have gone with him, if he had been at home.

Omm Mâbad herself is said to have emigrated to Medîna and been converted. —*Ibid.*

|| The marvellous tales and probabilities connected with the story of Surâca are so great, that one is almost tempted to omit all mention of him as fictitious. Yet there may probably be this ground of truth, that they did fall in with one of

The party proceeded. The prophet of Arabia was safe.

The first tidings that reached Mecca of the real course taken by Mahomet, were brought two or three days after his flight from the cave, by a traveller from the Khuzaites camp at which he had rested. It was now certain from his passing there, that he was bound for Medina.\*

Ali remained at Mecca three days after the departure of Mahomet, appearing every day in public, for the purpose of restoring the property placed in trust with his uncle by various parties. He met with no opposition or trouble, and leisurely took his departure for Medina.†

The families of Mahomet and Abu Bakr were equally unmolested. Zeinab continued for a time to dwell at Mecca with her unconverted husband. Rockeyah had already emigrated with Othman to Medina. The other two daughters of Mahomet, Omm Kolthûm and Fatima, with his wife Sawda, were for some weeks left behind at Mecca.‡ His betrothed Ayesha,

the scouts, or with a Meccan traveller coming the same road,—around which the fiction has grown.

The tale, as given by Hishâmi, is that the Meccans offered a reward of 100 camels to any one who would bring back Mahomet. Suraca had private intimation that a party of three camels had been seen on the Medina road, and forthwith set out in pursuit. When he had made up on them, his horse stumbled and threw him, then it sank in the earth and stuck fast. Mahomet at his entreaty prayed that it might be loosened, and it was accordingly freed. This happened over again, and then Suraca pledged that he would go back, and turn from their pursuit all the emissaries that were out in quest of Mahomet. He farther begged of Mahomet a writing in remembrance, which Abu Bakr having written "on a bone, or a piece of paper, or a bit of cloth," threw down to him. Suraca picked it up and slipped it into his quiver. *He kept the whole transaction secret till after the capture of Mecca*, when he produced the writing as an introduction to the favour of Mahomet, and embraced Islâm.—*Hishâmi*, p. 169.

The tradition in Wâckidi, though not quite so absurd as the above, are sufficiently marvellous, (p. 44‡.)

\* Here again we have the marvellous. Asmâ relates that they waited three days without knowing whither the party had gone; when one of the genii, whose voice was heard, but who could not be seen, entered Lower Mecca, passed through the town and made his exit from Upper Mecca, singing the while, verses in praise of Omm Mâbad, the Khozaite lady, for her entertainment of Mahomet and Abu Bakr. From the position of this encampment, the people then knew which way Mahomet had taken. The very verses of the genius are given both by Hishâmi and Wâckidi; and the latter adds couplets by Hassân ibn Thâbit in reply to them.—*Hishâmi*, p. 168,—*Wâckidi*, p. 44,—*Tabari*, p. 197.

† *Wâckidi*, p. 182.—*Hishâmi*, p. 167, 172—*Tabari* p. 200.

‡ Omm Kolthûm had been married to one of the sons of Abu Lahab, but was now living in her father's house, Zeinab's husband, Abul As, was still an

with the rest of Abu Bakr's family, and other females, likewise remained.\*

Mahomet and Abu Bakr would no doubt look to their respective clans to protect their families from insult. But no insult or annoyance of any kind was offered by the Corcish: nor was the slightest attempt made to detain them; although it was not unreasonable that they should have been detained as hostages against any hostile incursion from Medina. These facts lead us to doubt the intense hatred and bitter-cruelty, which the strong colouring of tradition is ever ready to attribute to the Corcish.†

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unbeliever. It is said, that he kept her back in Mecca in confinement. But subsequent events show that she was strongly attached to him. The story of their both joining Mahomet at Mecca, some time afterwards, is romantic and affecting.—*Wäckidi*, p. 46.—*Hishâmi*, p. 234.

\* When Zeid was sent back from Medina to bring away Mahomet's family, he carried with him also his own wife Omm Ayman (*i. e.*, Mahomet's old nurse, Baraka, and his son Osama, then a boy.

Abdallah brought away the family of his father Abu Bakr, and Ayesha among the rest.—*Wäckidi*, p. 46.

† In accordance with this view, is the fact that the first aggressions after the Hegira, were solely on the part of Mahomet and his followers. It was not until several of their caravans had been waylaid and plundered, and blood had thus been shed, that the people of Mecca were forced in self-defence to resort to arms.

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## THE CHRONICLE OF KRISHNAGHUR.

BY REV. J. LONG.

*Kshitisha Bansavali Charitam. A Chronicle of the Family of Raja Krishna Chandra, of Navadvip, Bengal. Berlin, 1852, pp. 155.*

THE Germans are men of wonderful research, whether we consider their labours in the departments of Physiology, Metaphysics, History or Chemistry—but in nothing do we see it more conspicuously than in the fact that, without the aid of pandits, but guided solely by their own philological acumen, they have launched successfully on the sea of Sanskrit literature, and have certainly yielded us from it many articles valuable for history, manners and religion. One German has published *Jagynavalkya's* valuable abridgment of Hindu law, with a German translation; another gives us the *Vrihatkatha*, a series of curious national tales, with a German translation. Another German, Boehtlink, is issuing at the present time, from St. Petersburg, the most elaborate Sanskrit Lexicon that has ever been given to the world. But the Germans are not the only people who, without any special connexion with India, are threatening to leave England behind in Oriental studies. Even Denmark sends us a profound work on Sanskrit roots; and America, with her young blood, is entering on the same field of Oriental research.

The work we undertake to notice is another specimen of German research. The late Sir R. Chambers, Chief Justice in Bengal, had purchased a large number of Sanskrit MSS., which his widow took to England and offered for sale to the British Government, but they declined the offer. The king of Prussia then purchased them, and this is one of them. It contains the Sanskrit text, with an English translation and notes. So little is known of the past history of Bengal, except from Persian sources, that this book is a very acceptable addition to our local histories. It bears about it the air of *vraisemblance*. We have found upon enquiry in the Krishnaghur district, that the native traditions there correspond with it. The history begins its account about the year 1000, with the settlement of Kanauj Brahmans in Bengal; we have the notices of the rise of the Nuddea family, and their connection with the Moslem sovereigns, with glimpses here and there of the relations subsisting between the Hindu Rajas and the Musalman Viceroy.

We have read through the original Sanskrit itself, and here present an analysis of the contents, with occasional notes.

The author begins with stating that he is to celebrate the race of



Bhattanáráyan (the ancestor of the present Nuddea Raja) which is to destroy the rust of the Kali Yug. Adisur, King of Gaur, who had expelled the Buddhists from Bengal, alarmed at the omen of a vulture alighting on his palace, by the advice of a Kanauj Brahman invited five Brahmans from Kanauj to avert the omen by sacrifices, A. D. 999. One of these Brahmans was Bhattanáráyan, the son of the King of Kanauj: the King was disgusted at seeing the Brahmans in leather shoes, and needle-sewed garments, with lips betel-stained—he therefore pretended to be asleep, and they could not see him; the Brahmans on this, by incantation, made a wrestler's stick to send forth buds; the King next day hearing of this, and fastening his clothes round his neck, went to deprecate the wrath of the Brahmans, who forgave him: adding, however, that their wrath could reduce him and his city to ashes. The vulture was sacrificed, and the King built five cities for those Brahmans and their families; and Bhatta, the son of a famous King in Kanauj, having pleased the King, he offered him villages. The other would not take as a present villages filled with cows, gold, iron, sesamum, as being an unsuitable present for a Brahman, but he purchased at a low price villages where his descendants for eleven generations ruled tax-free.

A quarrel took place among Bhatta's sons for sovereignty, and Mahmud of Gizni having just conquered Delhi, they appealed to him: he was not able to decide at once: he then required tribute, only one, however, Vishvanath, paid it, he in consequence was selected as Rájá; after him his sons succeeded to the rule, and after them Kásináth. But elephants being sent as a present from the King of Tripura to the Emperor Akbar, one of them on the road strayed away, and was killed by Kásináth; on this the Emperor enraged sends an army to take Kásináth prisoner and carry him to Jamhagir or Dacca—Dacca was at that time the capital of Bengal. Kásináth fled to the banks of the Bhagirathi, and at the village Anduliya seeing some fish, and having no money, he pledged his gold-ring to purchase them: sometime after Moslem soldiers coming up and seeing the ring on a fisherwoman, found out who owned it—they took the King prisoner while bathing; after this, the Governor of Dacca on hearing him one day repeating the names of Bhagavan, in a rage had him killed.

Ksáináth's wife bore a son named Ram, one of whose sons, Durgadas, being one day at Ballabhpur city\* to witness the games—the

\* Can this be the village of Bhallabhpur on the Bhairab, in the Krishnaghur district? There are still the remains of a wide road which ran from Bhallabhpur to Krishnaghur. Certain it is that the river Bhairab there was formerly almost as wide

attendants of Durgadas seeing a Musalman Governor on his way from Delhi pass there, fled in alarm, but Durgadas shewed such thorough knowledge of the localities, in giving the particulars of the route to Hugly, that he was invited to Hugly, where he studied Persian, and received from Delhi the title of Bhavánanda Majumdar. He built a palace after this at Ballabhpur. At this time there were twelve Bengal Rajas exempt from taxes, the chief among them was Pratápadiitya, wealthy, famous; eleven were compelled by the Emperor's armies to pay tribute, but Pratápadiitya refused; the Governor of Dacca and Hugly informed the Emperor of his oppressions of the zemindars, and of his keeping an army of 100,000 men, armed with leather shields, mallets and arrows, besides mad elephants, and that a young prince Kachu, whose father Pratápadiitya had killed, had to escape for his life to the forest. Akbar on hearing this, with lips swollen from anger, ordered Mán Sing to lead an army against Pratápadiitya. Mán Sing, laying the King's order on his head, marched on, the people of the villages running away as the armies advanced.\*—They came to Chapada, on the river banks; here Majumdar met Mán Sing, and taking off his signet ring from his fingers, gave it to Mán Sing as a mark of homage—after this the river was crossed on elephants, horses and boats, by Majumdar's aid. A tempest came on which detained them seven days, but Majumdar, being unable to celebrate the festival of the nuptials of the deities Lakshmi and Goverdhan, gave to Mán Sing's army and bards the provisions which had been accumulated for this festival: after seven days they marched for Pratápadiitya's city, but he fortified himself so strongly in a fort as to repel the enemy, but on the second attack the fort was taken: skirmishes took place between the armies for several days, at last Mán Sing by the advice of Majumdar, made a charge with all his cavalry on Pratápadiitya, who had but few horsemen, he defeated them, took the Raja prisoner and put him into an iron cage to carry him to Delhi; but he died on the way to Benares. Akbar appointed Kachu, whom Pratápadiitya had tried to kill, the Governor of Jessore, while Majumdar was made ruler over fourteen districts, and fixed his

as the Ganges, and formed probaly the route by water from Delhi to Hugly; it is probable that a city might then be on its banks—there are still near the Church Mission House there, the remains of a large temple and of an ancient road which extended to Krishnaghur. The native tradition is that the Rajas of Krishnaghur had pleasure and kachari houses at Bhallabpur: this is confirmed by the fact of Matiyari, so often mentioned in the Chronicle, being situated also on the Bhairab.

\* This with other points in the narrative indicates what oppressions the Moslems exercised on the Hindus, and shews why the Hindus in various places adopted the practice of secluding their women,—though from the *Vrihat Katha* we can see there was much seclusion of women even before the Moslem invasion.

residence in the palace of Ballabhpur, building palaces at Mátyári city and Deoliá village. The village Báhwán, near Ballabhpur, was the birth-place of Majumdar, and here Mán Sing visited him on his march from Burdwan to Jessore, to put down Pratápaditiya.

After this the Governor of Dacca wishing to get Majumdar's territory, induced him to visit Dacca and imprisoned him there. Majumdar's son, Gopi Mohan, one day bathing at Dacca, saw a number of men with an elephant trying in vain to lift a stone out of the river for the worship of the goddess. Gopi Mohan did it with ease; the fame of this spread to the Governor, who sent for him; he repeated the feat; the Governor then told him to ask any favor he wished; he asked for the release of Majumdar, who had been chained in prison for not paying his tribute; this was granted, and Majumdar returned home.

Majumdar wished to divide his territory among his three sons, but the eldest refused to take a share, went to Delhi, and obtained a new grant. Majumdar died after twenty years' rule: the eldest son soon after died of small-pox: his brother Gopal died, and the cleverest of his three sons, Rághav, was elected Raja. He erected in Reui, \* a delightful palace, with two palaces towering like mountains to the east and west of it, and to the south a zenana surrounded with palaces: here he spent his time very pleasantly. After a time the Governor of *Satsaika* † came to visit him, and remarked, "how can you live in your palace happily, you are an exile, while your zenana is so distant, that you cannot hear the cries of children and tinkling of ornaments?" The Raja in consequence of this remark had the zenana pulled down, and another one built near his palace; in Madarna village also he built another palace; he was famous also for his almanacs and mystic songs.

At this time he dug a large tank in Krishnaghur, devoting 300,000 silver pieces to its dedication, and had an image of Siva placed in it. Brahmans from Anga, Banga, Maghad

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\* Reui is Krishnaghur, and the palace is still standing, though in ruins; the palace is the residence of the Raja. The traditions in Krishnaghur, state, that Rághu, grandfather of Krishna Chandra, built it about 210 years ago, at a cost of 3,36,000 Rupees. The palace is now in a state of dilapidation, but bearing the traces of ancient greatness, and occupies about forty bigahs of ground.

† This must, we think, be Satgan, as the Governor is stated to have been on very friendly terms with him, which implies neighbourhood, and we have no account of any city with a name similar to this. Satgan was then getting into "the sere and yellow leaf." The capricious Hugly was abandoning it, as it may one day Calcutta, while the Portuguese were drawing off its trade to Hugly. Gladwin states "Satgan was formerly a very considerable city, and the residence of the Faujdar and other officers of the Government: but having been very much impaired by the encroachments of the river, they removed to Hugly, which soon became a very flourishing city."

Kalinga and Kasi were invited ; oceans of ghi, milk and honey were drunk, and even spirituous liquors. After this Raghav, for his punctuality in paying the tribute, received from the Emperor of Delhi a present of elephants ; he erected at Nuddea a temple to Gonesh, and had half finished another to Siva, when he died, having ruled for fifty-one years.

Rudra Ray his son succeeded him. The Emperor of Delhi was so pleased with him, that he gave him the title of Maharaja, and allowed him to have a tower on the top of his palace. He gave to Reul village the name of Krishnaghur, in honor of Krishna, and because many herdsmen lived there, while he called Madarna village Shrinagar, from the number of lotus plants growing there.

A Moslem General once anchoring in the rains on the river banks near Rudra Ray's seraglio at Krishnaghur, his servants beat the Moslem servants off. A fight ensued, and some were killed ; in consequence the Rajah stopped up the river and made a canal from north to south, connected with the trench that surrounded the palace. The Rajah not having paid tribute to Dacca for six years, he was arrested in Hlighly by stratagem, and carried prisoner to Dacca ; while there his servants had a quarrel with a shoe merchant about the price of shoes, in which Rudra Ray interfered and a fight took place ; complaint was made by the shoe merchant to the Governor, but Rudra Ray bribed him with Rs. 100,000 and the case was dismissed. Rudra Ray then bought Rs. 100,000 worth of shoes and distributed them among the people, which brought him such praise, that the Governor released him. He took an architect with him, Alá-bakhashan, to build the palace at Krishnaghur. He erected four palaces east of his own ; at the lower story was a road wide enough for elephants and beasts of burthen to pass ; over it was a story, and at the top a range of rooms variously adorned—there were also an elephants' stable, music hall, a temple of Durga, and a large seraglio. He made a road from Krishnaghur to Santipur, as high as a man, planted with fig trees at regular intervals on both sides.

Rudra Ray was a great devotee to the Brahmins. Once at Dacca the Governor gave him among other presents a drum which he was to put on his shoulder and present to the Governor, but he refused as a Brahman to do so. The Governor yielded to his scruples ; as he did on another occasion, when he would wear a garment with three hems only, the Musalman etiquette requiring him to appear before the Governor with an embroidered garment covering all his person.

One day two Brahmins came to the King to decide a dispute

about a property called *Bhattácharjea*, near *Mátiyári*, but he found no property was left,—only the name; he then divided that, giving to one the name *Bhatta*, to another that of *Acharjea*!

One of *Rudra Ray*'s sons, *Ram Krishna*, was famous as a great wrestler and great eater. One day sporting in the water he thrust back a thirty-two oared boat which was pulled with great force against him; the sailors were so astonished, as to become petrified with astonishment like painted dolls. He built a hunting seat at *Bhempur*, and once killed a wild buffaloe with a blow of his mace, plucking out as trophies the horns with his hands. Wrestlers came from distant countries to contend with him, but were afraid. A *Faujdar* also came to *Krishnaghur* for the same purpose, and before him he plucked up a mango tree, five years old, by the roots. He went to *Dacca*, where his fame was great for wrestling and eating, but he refused to let the *Prime Minister*, because he was a *Sudra*, see him eating, even though he stood at a distance clad in a white robe. He mounted a fine horse, but his legs pressed so strong against the animal as to crush the horse's ribs and bones, and he fell dead. *Ram Chandra* rode only horses procured from *Balk* and *Turkistan*. He also pulled down the pillars of a house, and exhibited wonderful powers in eating.

*Ram Chandra* was not able to converse with *pandits*, and was disobedient to his father, therefore, at the latter's request, the *Emperor of Delhi* allowed him to nominate a successor. After a time *Rudra Ray* fell ill and goes to *Sukh Ságar* to view the *Ganges*: he was cured, but he again fell sick and went again to *Sukh Ságar*. While there he made provisions for his concretion by presents to *Brahmans*; he was on his death-bed, and his anxiety was relieved by a boat laden with sandal-wood arriving from *Hughly*; then appointing *Rámjivan*, his younger son his successor, he forsook life and attained absorption, calling on *Ram's* name, having half his body immersed in the stream of the *Bhagirathi*.

From *Sukh Ságar* \* they returned to *Krishnaghur*, where a splendid feast was provided for the *Brahmans* and princes of *Anga*, *Banga*, *Magadh*, *Sauráshtra*, *Káshi*, *Kánci*, where in a camp a koss in extent, they feasted ten days. On the eleventh took place the *Dán Ságar*, or present of vessels of gold, silver and

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\* *Sukh Ságar* was of note in *Warren Hastings'* time, who had a country seat there, to which he often retired from the turmoils and contentions of *Calcutta* society: about 1760 there was a *Silk* factory there. Very probably the name *Sukh Ságar*, or the *Ocean of Bliss*, was applied to it, because it was another *Ságar* for the *Rajahs* of *Kishnagur* and *Jessore*, where they could bathe in the *Ganges* and enjoy the quiet of a river villa. It was situated in the vicinity of *Hughly*, which was, two centuries ago, a place of great trade and political importance.

brass, of elephants and horses : 100,000 persons were fed. Before the assembled pandits Ram Chandra inquired how he was to be supported.\* He demanded Mátiyári village, the tank *Poyaldehu*, four horses and Rs 10,000 annually for himself—his brother evaded making a reply. On this Ram Chandra mounted horse and rode to Hughly, laid the case before the Faujdar, who, struck with his heroism, represented the matter to the Dacca Governor, who, hereupon, ordered Ram Chandra to assume the rule, but as Rámjivan paid the taxes regularly, the matter was overlooked, though fights took place between the brothers for three years. Rámjivan getting into arrears, a Commissioner, Radhá Ballabh Ray, was sent to make enquiry ; he took Rámjivan prisoner, who had previously sent Ram Chandra a prisoner to Dacca, and installed in his stead his younger brother Rám Krishna.

At this time Krishnaram, Rajah of Burdwan, plundered the capital of Sobha Sing, Rajah of Chatua : the latter, boiling with rage, marching along a forest road, crossed over the Damuda and came before Burdwan. The Rajah, not able to defend himself, sent away his son Jagat Ram, dressed in woman's clothes, to Krishnaghur, where he lived concealed at Mátiyári ; to prevent his women falling into Sing's hands, he killed them with his own hand, and then himself fell fighting. His daughter was taken by Sing as a mistress, contrary to the advice of his Ministers. He continued his conquests. Arungzib being engaged at that time in conflict with "the Southern barbarians," the English, sent his grandson Ajim-o-Saha, with an army against Sobha Sing ; they had proceeded as far as Murshidabad, but the Burdwan Rajah's daughter, while Sobha Sing was sleeping with her in a state of helpless intoxication, drew a small sharp knife from her hair and stabbed him mortally in the belly.

Hemat Sing, Sobha Sing's younger brother, succeeded ; he attacked the Rajah of Krishnaghur, who routed his army as if it had been grass roots. After this, while Ajim Shah was encamped at Pálasí, Hemat Sing attacked a part of his army at Cutwa, and his General Neamat Khan, employed an elephant, which, with a sword in its trunk, destroyed numbers of the Moguls : they retreated ; on this Ajim advanced from Palási, and employing jingals (small cannon) against the Sings, they fled. After this Ajim remained to regulate affairs, the Rajas waited on him, some with folded hands, with garments hemless and without ornament, and others in mean attire, afraid of displaying their wealth.

But Ram Krishna came from Krishnaghur with a splendid retinue, which pleased Ajim Shah very much. After this Jafir

Khan was anxious to injure Ram Krishna, but owing to the favor of Ajim Shah he could not. He ruled eleven years in Krishnaghur, but owing a great sum as arrears of tribute, he was allured to Dacca and imprisoned there, where he soon after died of small-pox. He left no son or grandson to succeed, Ramjivan was then taken out of prison and appointed Raja ; he ruled well, being] also skilled in song, poetry, and dramatic exhibitions. Raghu Ram his son, a hero, and an excellent archer, soon after was at Murshidabad attending on his father, who, with other Rajas, was imprisoned by Jafir Khan. At this time the Raja of Rajshahi revolted, Raghu Ram was sent with the army, and through his skill in archery saved them ; he got high praise for this and also the release of his father.

In 1710 Raghu Ram's son was born : great joy arose : Rajas came from different directions to the ceremonies. A camp lined with cloth was erected one coss long by half a coss broad—the piles of food were beyond calculation ; Brahmans recited from the Vedas ; philosophers disputed on the Mimanasa and Nyaya ; dancing women became slow through their great joy ; sham battles took place. The earth shone with joy.

Raghu Ram succeeded after Ramjivan's death at Murshidabad ; he was confined by Jafir Khan in Murshidabad, but even in jail he gave away land to the Brahmans ; afterwards he was released, and died on the banks of the Bhagirathi. His son Krishna Chandra succeeded in 1728, appointed Raja by the Governor of Murshidabad.

Thus ends our analysis of this work. The Sanskrit style is very plain ; it abounds with anomalies and approaches to Prákrit. We have in Bengali a Life of Raja Krishna Chandra Ray, with the account of whose birth our chronicle ends ; subsequent to that period we enter on the demesne of European history. But this chronicle leads us back to the misty past, and we shall make some cursory remarks in connection with it : the oldest account we have seen of an historical kind relating to Bengal, is the chronicle of Tripura, part of it written in Bengali four centuries ago,—the oldest specimen of Bengali writing we have extant, for the Life of the Reformer Chaitanyea is a century later.

Adisur ruled a short time previous to A. D. 1000, when Gaur was in its prime, "the glory of kingdoms," with its population of two millions, and its walls thirty miles in circumference and sixty-one feet high, now, like Rajmahal, a relic of the past ; the chronicle states that Adisur invited Brahmans from Kanauj, on account of the degeneracy of Bengal Brahmans—the cause of that degeneracy, no doubt, was that they were infected with Buddhist

notions, which at that period were dying out in Bengal, in consequence of brahminical persecution. Adisur, the founder of the Vaidya dynasty was, probably, a new and zealous convert to Hinduism, as his predecessors in Gaur, the Pál Rajahs, were supporters of Buddhism, but the reason given in the Chronicle that the Brahmans were not admitted to the king, because they came in "needle-sewed" garments, does not accord with the statement of Rajah Radhakant Deb who, in his celebrated *Kalpadrūm*, states they were rejected because of their warlike habiliments,—both may be probable—the Brahmans, as the ruins of Sárnáth in Benares shew, used fire and sword to expel their ascetic Buddhist adversaries from their cloistered retreats, and very likely, in opposition to the plain garb of the Buddhist priests, the Brahmans dressed themselves in "silk and satin."

These Kanauj Brahmans, the founders of the Krishnaghur family, fully carried out the spirit of brahmanism; isolation from the people, seeking only the interests of their own class. We have accounts of palaces built by them, and of political movements made,—but no regard to the people: they were great zemindars or Rajahs, and held their titles, though generally hereditary, yet reversible on bad conduct: they were in the condition of feudal lords. The skill in athletic exercises displayed by some of them, and for which they received rewards from the Moslem Governors, was a remnant of their northern origin, and which seems to be to a great extent lost with the modern Rajahs. Where could we meet now with a Bengali Rajah able to pull up a young mango-tree by the roots? Not till they use more animal food, and until gymnastics are made a branch of national education.

The earliest mention we have of Nuddea, is in the time of Rághav Rám, who both erected a magnificent palace at Krishnaghur, and also a statue of Gonesha, and temple of Siva, at Nuddea. This was probably about the commencement of Jehangir's reign. Nuddea had been, for six centuries previous, one of the chief cities of Bengal. We insert here an account of the origin of the Nuddea University, which we met with lately in an old publication, the *Calcutta Monthly Register* for January 1791. We know not what authority the writer has for his statements, but in various ways it coincides with points mentioned in the Sanskrit work.

"The joguy or fakeer Abdehoad, has the glory of being its founder, it is said, upwards of four hundred years ago. The tradition is, that the place being a perfect jungle, or uncultivated forest, Abdehoad retired into it, to lead a life of devotion and abstinence. His residing there, induced two or three



"other persons to build huts there. The place soon began to wear a flourishing aspect ; when it appeared, that this holy man was, in a most distinguished manner, an object of the divine favour. He was inspired with a perfect knowledge of the sciences, without any application or study, and his benevolence induced him to impart to his neighbours the supreme happiness which he derived from the gift. As he described the nature of it to them, they expressed so great a desire to partake of it, that he offered to instruct them in it. The success attending this generous undertaking, was so remarkable, that it is believed to have been preternatural.

"By the time he had read one leaf to them, they comprehended what would have filled ten. They soon read and transcribed all that he had committed to writing, and with the utmost facility, composed new works of their own ; about this time the place began to engage attention.

"Fortunately the Rajah or principal person of the district, was a man of liberal mind, and a friend to religion and learning. His name was Roghow Roy, a Brahman of the sect Gaur. This illustrious person visited the fakeer's school, and became one of his disciples. He afterwards patronized the seminary, and made it a regular and permanent institution. He in a princely manner endowed it with lands, for entertaining masters and students, building houses at the same time for their accommodation. He also bestowed prizes upon certain degrees of proficiency in literature ; for example, he that could explain the Nea Shaster, received from the Rajah a cup filled with gold mohurs, and he that explained any other of the Shasters, received a cup filled with rupees. In short, the Rajah's liberality, and the fakeer's supernatural knowledge, soon rendered Nuddeah the most frequented as well as the most learned university in the East. It has been, and is this day, peculiarly celebrated as a school of philosophy.

"The learned Serowmun, one of the first professors of philosophy at Nuddeah, wrote a system of philosophy, which has continued to be the text book of that school ever since. Fifty-two pundits, of considerable note in the republic of letters, have written each a commentary on Serowmun's treatise of philosophy.

"The pundit Shunkur, one of the present professors, is a descendant from Serowmun, and supports the literary reputation of his own family and of Nuddeah, in a very distinguished manner.

"Other sciences have also been cultivated at Nuddeah, with

"peculiar success, particularly astronomy and astrology; although there is no man there at present very eminent in this department.

"The names of the Nuddeah Rajahs, since the foundation of the university, are as follows: Roghow Roy, Rooddre, Ram Jeeinur, Rugguram, Kissen Chund and Sivachund.

"The present Rajah's son is about twenty-five years of age, and named Issurchund. All these have been remarkably long lived, owing no doubt, in some degree, to the nature of their pursuits, by which they were never exposed to violence or danger. Rooddre, in particular, lived to be upwards of one hundred years of age; and as he inherited his father's taste and liberality, his long reign was the means of establishing and perpetuating the fame of Nuddeah. The family place of residence or palace is at Sivanibass, and the courts of judicature are held at Kishnaghur.

"The grandeur of the foundation of the Nuddeah University is generally acknowledged. It consists of three colleges, Nuddeah, Santipore and Gopalparrah. Each is endowed with lands for maintaining masters in every science; whenever the revenues of these lands prove too scanty for the support of the pundits and their scholars, the Rajah's treasury supplies the deficiency; for the masters have not only stated salaries from the Rajah for their own support, but also an additional allowance for every pupil they entertain. And these resources are so ample, and so well administered, that in the College of Nuddeah alone, there are at present about eleven hundred students and one hundred and fifty masters. These numbers, it is true, fall very short of those in former days. In Rajah Rooddre's time there were at Nuddeah, no less than four thousand students, and masters in proportion. Still, however, it must be acknowledged, that the seminary is respectable, and must be supported by no inconsiderable talents and learning.

"Shunkur pundit is the head of the College of Nuddeah, and allowed to be the first philosopher and scholar in the whole university; his name inspires the youth with the love of virtue, the pundit with the love of learning, and the greatest Rajahs, with its own veneration.

"The students that come from distant parts, are generally of a maturity in years, and proficiency in learning, to qualify them for beginning the study of philosophy, immediately on their admission; but yet they say, that to become a real pundit a man ought to spend twenty years at Nuddeah in close,

"application. Thus in the east, as well as the west, the fruit of the tree of knowledge, costs the high price of *viginti annorum lucubrationes*.

"Any man that chooses to devote himself to literature, will find a maintenance at Nuddeah from the fixed revenues of the university, and the donations of the Rajah. Men in affluent circumstances, however, live there at their own expense, without burthening the foundation.

"By the pundit's system of education, all valuable works are committed to memory; and to facilitate this, most of their compositions, even their dictionaries, are in metre. But they by no means trust their learning entirely to this repository; on the contrary, those who write treatises or commentaries on learned topics, have at Nuddeah always met with distinguished encouragements and rewards.

"The time of attending the public schools and lectures, is from ten o'clock in the morning until noon. Their method of teaching is this—two of the masters commence a dialogue, or disputation on the particular topic they mean to explain. When a student hears any thing advanced or expressed that he does not perfectly understand, he has the privilege of interrogating the master about it. They give the young men every encouragement to communicate their doubts, by their temper and patience in solving them. It is a professed and established maxim of Nuddeah, that a pundit who lost his temper in explaining any point to a student, let him be ever so dull and void of memory, absolutely forfeits his reputation and is disgraced.

"The Nuddeah Rajahs have made it their frequent practice to attend the disputations. On all public occasions, especially, the Rajah assists and rewards those who distinguish themselves. But instead of cup-fulls of gold and silver, as formerly, all that this prince can now afford to bestow is *sa loatta* and *dhoatty*, *i. e.*, a brass cup and a pair of drawers. These, however, from the Rajah's own hands are, by no means, considered trivial rewards. No Emperor's chelat communicates a higher pleasure, nor inspires a nobler pride. Nothing can be more characteristic of philosophic simplicity and moderation, than the value which they set upon it. "Is it not," say they, "the dress and furniture which nature requires?"

Jessore is mentioned in the Chronicle in connection with Prátápaditiya its ruler, who refused to pay tribute to Akbar, but the Moslem General was aided against a Hindu by another Hindu, Majumdar of Krishnaghur. "Every man for

himself" was evidently the maxim in ancient days as now. From the numerous Moslem families in Jessore settled for a long period, from the magnificent city erected to the south of it by Prátápāditiya, and from the former cultivated state of the Sunderbunds, we infer that Jessore was in Akbar's days a place of much greater importance than of late times—the Bhayrab flowed through it with a mighty stream, forming a communication between the Upper Provinces and the Eastern Districts. The Vernacular Literature Committee have published a Life of Prátápāditiya, which contains various interesting particulars about Jessore.

We have a notice of Burdwan in the Chronicle, in connection with a deed equalling that of Lucretia in Roman history. Burdwan seems to have been formerly a place of importance, secured by a fort which stood probably to the west of the church, where also the old palace was situated. It was the wife of a Governor of Burdwan who, on her husband Uriah-like being assassinated in Burdwan, became the Queen of Jehangir, under the name of Nur Jehan, and was a second Elizabeth in India. Shah Jehan remained at Burdwan some time, and there received the refusal from the Portuguese of his request for artillery, which made him afterwards wreak his vengeance on Hugly. It was at Burdwan the English obtained the grant of land on which the city of Calcutta stands, from Arungzib's grandson, who was Governor there, and who ornamented Burdwan city with a palace and mosque. The revolt of Sobha Sing, mentioned in the Chronicle, will be ever memorable in this country, as it led to the English getting permission to erect Fort William in Calcutta, and thereby securing for themselves a local habitation and a name. The present Rajah of Burdwan is only an adopted son, the old family was of Khetriya origin; we have some notice of them five centuries ago.

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## THE TAMIL LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

BY A MISSIONARY IN THE CARNAṬIC.

1. *The Nannul, an Original Tamil Grammar.* By Pavananti.
2. *Grammars of the Common and High Dialect of the Tamil Language,* by the Rev. Constantius Joseph Beschi, Jesuit Missionary in the Kingdom of Madura.
3. *Rudiments of Tamil Grammar,* by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service. London, 1821.
4. *A Grammar of the Tamil Language,* by the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, Missionary, C. M. S., 1836.
5. *Oriental Manuscripts in the Tamil Language : translated with Annotations.* By William Taylor, Missionary. 2 vols. 1835.
6. *A Dictionary of the Tamil and English Languages.* By the Rev. J. P. Rottler, D. Ph. Edited by the Rev. W. Taylor.
7. *Translations of the Kural of Tiruvalluvar.* By F. W. Ellis, Esq., and Rev. W. H. Drew.

WE need no apology for introducing our readers to the knowledge of a language, which is emphatically called *Ten Mozhy*, or Southern speech, in opposition to *Vada Mozhy*, or Northern speech, *i. e.*, the Sanskrit. Among the nineteen vernacular languages of India, we think the Tamil has especial claims on the attention of scholars, not only as being a rival of the ancient Sanskrit, but as being rich in indigenous literature, and opening an extensive field for philological research and ethnological science. If the Sanskrit is, as its name imports, a thoroughly finished language,—the Tamil is, as its name signifies, a sweet and harmonious tongue. *Drávida*, or *southern*, is the name by which it is known in Sanskrit books. Colebrooke, in his *Dissertation on the Sanskrit and Prakrit languages*, derives the name *Tamil*, which he writes *Tamla*, from *Tamraparna*, the name of the river in Tinnevely. Tamil writers themselves have no such idea ; they confine their speculations on the term to *sweetness* ; and who that knows any thing of its flowing poetry and melodious song, will deny the language this peculiar appellation ?

The language is spoken by a population of more than eight millions, being current throughout South India, from Cape Comorin to Vengadam, a mountain sacred to Vishnu, about 100 miles north of Madras. It is also the language of the eastern and northern parts of Ceylon. It is more or less connected with Canarese, Maleali and other dialects in the Madras Presidency, constituting the speech of more than twenty millions of people.

In an able article, forming an *Introduction to Campbell's Telugu Grammar*. Mr. Francis W. Ellis, whose knowledge of the various spoken dialects of Peninsular India, added to his acquirements as a Sanskrit scholar, constitutes him a great authority, has proved, in opposition to Carey, Wilkins, Colebrooke, and others, that the Tamil is not derived from the Sanskrit, but is an original language. Babington, the translator of *Beschi*, a competent judge on the subject, in his preface to the adventures of *Gooroo Paramartan*, says:—

“The Tamil is not derived from any language at present in existence, and is either itself the parent of the Telugu, Malcailam and Canaese languages; or, what is more probable, has its origin in common with these in some ancient tongue, which is now lost, or only partially preserved in its offspring. In its more primitive words, such as the names of natural objects, the verbs expressive of physical action or passion, the numerals, &c., it is quite unconnected with the Sanskrit, and what it thence so largely borrowed, when the Tamils, by intercourse with the more enlightened people of the North, began to emerge from barbarity, has reference to the expression of moral sentiments and abstract metaphysical notions, and is chiefly to be found in the colloquial idiom. In this remarkable circumstance, and also in the construction of its alphabet, the Tamil differs much from the other languages of the South, which are found to admit the Sanskrit more largely in literary and poetical compositions than in the ordinary dialect of conversation, and which adopt the arrangement of the Sanskrit alphabet with scarcely any variation. The higher dialect of the Tamil, on the contrary, is almost entirely free from Sanskrit words and idioms, and the language retains an alphabet which tradition affirms to have heretofore consisted of but sixteen letters, and which, so far from resembling the very perfect alphabet of the Sanskrit, wants nearly half its characters, and has several letters of peculiar powers. Since, therefore, as might have been expected from its geographical situation, the Tamil language has stronger traces of originality than any of the cognate dialects of Southern India, it is, with propriety, taken first in the order of study, and he who adds a knowledge of this southern tongue to the more polished language of the north, has more than half accomplished the acquisition of all the Hindu languages of India.”

Taking the *Nannul* for our guide, we shall endeavour, in the

first place, to set forth the principles and peculiarities of the language, before we draw any conclusion regarding its connection and origin.

The Tamil has two dialects, namely, the <sup>high</sup>, and the low. The classical or learned dialect is called *Shen Tamil* (*Shen* or *Sem* meaning perfection.) The vulgar or colloquial dialect is called *Kodum Tamil* (*Kodum* meaning rude.) The *Nannul* specifies three kinds of Tamil, viz., the *Iyal*, *Isai*, and *Nádaka Tamil*, i. e., the Prose, Poetic, and Dramatic Tamil. The last contains a mixture of both prose and poetry, as well as of the high and low dialects.

The *Shen Tamil* or high dialect is remarkable for its conciseness and copiousness. It is the pliant and glowing language of the Tamil poets. The *Kodum Tamil* is the spoken language of the people. All business is transacted in this dialect. All stories and prose translations are written in it; while the one is for ornament, the other is for use. We may be familiar with the one without comprehending the other. It strikes us that the same analogy exists between these dialects as between the Sanskrit and the Prakrit. The high dialect, however, must have been the more ancient, for the hill tribes, supposed to be the aborigines, use more of the high than the low Tamil words. The Tamil scholars of the present day, not natives, (for they would adhere to what is fixed and ancient), combine both the dialects in their writings and translations.

The Tamil alphabet consists of thirty letters, viz., twelve vowels, and eighteen consonants. They may be represented in Roman characters thus:—

Vowels.	{ Short	a	i	u	e	o
	{ Long	á	í	ú	é	ó
	{ Diphthongs	ai	av			
Consonants.	{ Hard	k	ch(s)	d	th	p r
	{ Soft	n.	ñ	n	n	m ñ
	{ Medial	y	r	l	v	zh l

Comparing this with the Sanskrit alphabet, it will be perceived that the Tamil rejects all aspirates. The vowels *e* *o*, and the consonants *zh* *r*, *n*, and *l*\* are peculiar to it: words in which these letters occur are exclusively Tamil, and they have no letters in the Sanskrit to express them. The Tamil retains the क, च, ट, त, and प, of the Sanskrit, and rejects

\* *l* This letter, however, occurs in Sanskrit Vedic words, and is given in Wilson, ॐ tr.

all the aspirates and corresponding soft consonants, as well as all the sibilants. The second consonant *ch* is made to express *s* also. The Sanskrit sibilants and the aspirate *ḥ*, are introduced into some books in the *Grandonic* characters. The Tamil has no *visarga* nor *anuswara*. The most difficult letter for a European to pronounce is the *zh*, or as some represent it *rl*. Even some of the natives skip over it by substituting *l* or *y* instead.

Mr. Ellis thinks the Tamil letters are totally different from the Sanskrit *Devanagari*; we think otherwise. The Tamil and its parent, the *Grandonic*, are evidently derived from the *Devanagari*. A close inspection and comparison of the Tamil alphabet, with the elements of the *Devanagari* characters given in Wilkins' and Williams' Grammars, will prove that the one is derived from the other. The Tamil characters, however, are formed with a view to an easy flow in writing.

The vowel is very expressively called *uyir*, *life* or *soul*, and the consonant *mey*, *body*; and the compound or syllabic letter *uyirmey*—*soul and body*. The *Nannul* only admits of three original vowels, *vis.*, *a*, *i*, *u*. As in Sanskrit, the vowels are represented as medials and finals by certain signs, and the first vowel is inherent in all consonants. A dot (*Virmah*) is placed over the quiescent or mute consonants, which are divided, according to the distribution of Greek mutes, into three classes, as indicated above.

The Tamil consonants, rejecting as it does all the aspirates and corresponding letters of the Sanskrit, represent them all, but of course, in an imperfect and inconvenient way. No other combination of consonants is admitted than the duplication of mutes, and the junction of the nasal and the mute.

We have not been able to ascertain where Mr. Babington, and some others after him, got their information of there having been only sixteen letters originally in Tamil.

The combination and permutation of letters, called *Sandhi*, are as refined as in the Sanskrit. Grammatical rules on this subject were given more for poetical compositions. In official papers they are entirely neglected, and admitted in printed Christian books only when absolutely necessary. The Madras Bible Society have come to the noble resolution of printing each word *separately and in its natural form*, without change or addition of letters: excepting in the case of compound forms of expression, and in such words as are united according to the usage of good writers. The *Sandhi* is also



omitted in all cases where a coma or other marks may be used, and when retained, the words are not separated : this certainly facilitates reading, and allows the eye to run over a passage and catch its meaning.

The *Nannul* admits only four parts of speech, *viz.*, the noun, the verb, the particle, and the adjective. There is no article. The pronoun is included in the noun ; the prepositions or properly post-positions, conjunctions, and interjections in the particle, and the adverb in the adjective.\* There is only one declension of nouns, and not many as in Sanskrit, which has as many declensions as there are terminations of nouns. There are eight cases, which with very few exceptions, have the same terminations. There are only two numbers. The gender is simple and natural. Every word according to its sex and nature is called he, she, or it. Six common relations of nouns are specified, *viz.*, substance, place, time, parts, quality and action, to which every noun is referred in construction. All nouns, besides being divided into common and proper, causal and arbitrary, are also divided into two grand classes (*jāṭi*), *viz.*, the superior and inferior class. Names of men, gods, and demons belong to the superior class. Names of all animate and inanimate things belong to the inferior class.

Personal pronouns and nouns have two plural forms, both of which are sometimes used as honorifics, designed to mark superiority in the person to whom they are addressed. Verbs used with such nominatives change their terminations accordingly. Example :—

<i>Nān</i>	I	<i>Num</i> or <i>Nāngal</i>	We	(by way of honorific, I)
<i>Ni</i>	Thou	<i>Nir</i> or <i>Nīngal</i>	Ye You	(by way of honorific, Thou)
<i>Avan</i>	He	{ <i>Avar</i> or <i>Avargal</i>	They	{ (by way of honorific, { He ) She )
<i>Avai</i>	She			

There is another peculiarity in the use of the plural *nām* and *nāngal*. *Nām* includes both speaker and hearer ; as in the sentence *we are all sinners*. *Nāngal* excludes those spoken to, and is the proper correlative of *nīngal*, ye. In addressing the deity, it is common to use the plural *nīr*, *devarir*, literally, *ye gods!* This usage is frequently violated by Europeans ; and there are certain individuals who have the hardihood to introduce innovations in the Tamil and Telugu Scriptures, and to use the singular *nī* in addresses to the Deity, because they think it is more grammatical, and because some of the native authors have thus used it.

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\* The noun is called *Peyar*, *name*.

We shall only note the Tamil numerals, and where they agree with the Greek and Sanskrit :—

Onu or Oru	One	έν	(हन)
Reridu	Two	δυο	हि
Mūridru	Three	τρεις	त्रि
Nāl or Nangu	Four		
Ainthu	Five	πεντε	पञ्चने
Aru	Six		
Ezhu	Seven		
Ettu	Eight	ὀκτω	अष्टन्
Onpathu	Nine		
Paththu	Ten		

The Tamil verb is not so complex as the Sanskrit. It is termed *vinai*, *action*; and is divided into three parts, *viz.*, the *root*, the *termination*, indicating person or thing; and the *particle*, or intermediate augment, showing time. There is an exact correspondence in the termination between the demonstrative pronouns and the third persons of verbs. A Tamil verb possesses only three original moods, *viz.*, the indicative, imperative, and the infinitive. The optative and subjunctive are added. The last three are formed directly from the indicative in various ways. The imperative is generally the root. The indicative has three tenses, formed on a very simple method, and each tense has three persons; and the genders are indicated by characteristic terminations in the third person singular and neuter plural. The six incidents of the verb are, *the agent, instrument, place, action, time and object*. This part of Tamil grammar is beautifully simple and clear.

All verbs have a *causative form*, made from the future indicative—Thus, from *nadaṣṣēn*, I will walk, are formed the following causatives :—

Nadapikkiren .....	I cause to walk.
Nadapikkaray .. .....	Thou causest to walk.
Nadapikkeran .....	He causes to walk.

• There is also a double or reflex causal verb, but seldom used. The Tamil language has a *negative verb*, which, without the aid of particles, conveys a negative signification. Anderson in his Grammar, remarks : “The formation of a negative verb, by the mere removal (except in the third person neuter and its derivatives) of the several characteristic augments of the *affirmative*, is one of the striking peculiarities of the Tamil language.” From the root *nada*, walk, and from the indicative *nadakkiren*, I walk, is formed the negative *nadavēn*, I will not walk.

In connection with verbs the *defective*, or auxiliary words are

to be considered. They are the participles and gerunds, which are constantly used in Tamil sentences. Participles supply the place of relative pronouns, which, except in the interrogative forms, do not exist in Tamil: as *avan thantha panam ithu*, "this (is) the money (which) he gave." *Thantha* is a participle: there is no substantive or finite verb in the sentence, which in Tamil, as in Sanskrit, is frequently suppressed and understood. The verbal participle, or as Beschi calls it the gerund, is analogous to the compound perfect participle in English, as *vanthu pōnān*, 'having come, he is gone.'

The *vinaikuripu* or symbolic word is peculiar to Tamil; we know of no other language in which it exists. It exhibits in a striking light the scientific refinement of the high dialect. Appellatives which are declined like common nouns abound in the language. Symbolic words are somewhat different; they have the form and regimen of both nouns and verbs. As, in common with other languages, the verbal noun, in Tamil, is liable to inflection, so by a remarkable interchange of the properties peculiar to different parts of speech, its symbolic words are liable to be conjugated as verbs. Of the six incidents of the verb, already enumerated, the symbolic word, or nominal derivative, indicates only the first, *viz.*, the agent, and is conjugated through each person, gender, and number; but is entirely indefinite as to mood, tense, &c. It is employed mostly in high Tamil, and is usually formed from a root or primitive noun, used chiefly as an adjective. It may also be formed from any noun. Thus from *adi*, step, foot, root, servitude, is formed *adiyen*, I your servant, &c. The existence of a conjugated derivative gives the Tamil, a peculiarity of idiom, and the stamp of originality.

The structure and idiom of the language are, we think, very simple and natural. Tamil grammarians do not treat of Syntax apart from Etymology. There are only two parts of a sentence, the subject and object, or the subject and predicate. The subject always precedes the finite verb, which concludes the sentence. The most important of the dependent words is placed nearest to its principal, and the least important farthest from it. The adjective always precedes the substantive. The adverb precedes the verb. The infinitive precedes the governing verb. The negative branch of a sentence precedes the affirmative. The comparative precedes that which is compared. The similitude precedes that which is similar. The genitive precedes the governing noun. The cause precedes the effect. The reason precedes the inference. The purpose precedes the determination. The condition or supposition pre-

cedes the consequence. These simple and natural rules are fully exemplified in Rhenius' Grammar, of which they occupy nearly 200 pages.

In active transitive verbs, both the subject and object precede the verb ; as, *nān avanai aditten* : ' I him beat.' The English sentence, *The man who came here yesterday*, would be reversed in Tamil, thus : yesterday here (who) came (the) man.

Adjectives admit of no variation of form to express gender, number or case, or even degrees of comparison. The comparative is expressed by the dative or ablative case of the noun. As—"this is better than that," would be, *to that this is better* : the superlative is expressed by *of all*, as, "God is greatest," would be, *of all, God (is) great*.

The remarkable idiom of the language is said by Anderson, to be, "in point of terseness, energy, and spirit, perhaps unrivalled."—(p. 134). Dr. Schmid, a fellow labourer with Rhenius, and a good linguist, gives this testimony : — \* "The mode of collocating its words follows the logical or intellectual order, more so than even the Latin or Greek." He adduces a passage from Horace, in which the rules of Tamil collocation are strictly observed ; so that in translating it into Tamil, we need not change the position of a single word ; we quote the passage for the benefit of those who are fond of translating :—

"Linguenda tellus, et domus, et placens  
Uxor, neque harum, quas colis, arborum  
Te, præter invisas cupressos,  
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

Carm. Lib. II., Ode 13.

We shall give an example, too, which cannot but be translated word for word—Here it is :—

Isocrates orator unam orationem viginti talentis vendidit.  
*Isocrates endra (called) prasangi oru prasangatai irupathu ponnukku vittan.*

Or let us take another shorter Latin sentence, and put it into Tamil and Sanskrit, and see how they stand.

*Illi multa res est  
Avanuku mikka porul undu.  
Tasya bahu dhanam asti.  
To him much money is.*

After this we need not say with Mr. Percival in his *Land of the Vedas*, that "the idiom or syntax of the language is widely different from that of the Indo-Germanic tongues ; and for the most part the order of arrangement is the opposite of that

which is followed by them." We quote, however, the following passage, from his interesting book, with much pleasure :—

"Perhaps no language combines greater force with equal brevity; and it may be asserted that no human speech is more close and philosophic in its expression, as an exponent of the mind. The sequence of things, of thought, purpose, action and its results, is always maintained inviolate. Rank and station are provided for by the use of various pronouns, extending to several degrees of honorific expression. The language teems with words expressive of the different degrees of affinity. Where, in European languages, a long periphrasis would be required, Tamil presents the thing in its own single term: and this fecundity extends to all the ramifications of the family tree. If I speak of a sister, I may either take a word that gives the relationship subsisting between us, or I may select one that will indicate our relative ages. Measures and divisions of time are equally minute and expressive. The language, thus specific, gives to the mind a readiness and clearness of conception, whilst its terseness and philosophic idiom afford equal means of lucid utterance."

Other characteristic points in the language might be specified; but we deem it necessary to add a few of the very common roots and words peculiar to Tamil, to enable philologists to determine its place in the classification of languages. They are: *udu*, clothe; *edu*, take; *kodu*, give; *padu*, become, suffer, lie down; *vidu*, quit, leave; *pira* to bring forth, to be born (Latin *pario*); *udai*, break; *vai*, place; *po*, go; *kan*, see; *sey*, do; *kal*, learn; *kol*, kill; *chol*, tell; *nil*, stand; *vil*, sell; *thin*, eat; *odu*, run; *kattu*, tie; *padu*, sing; *podu*, put; *mīdu*, shut; *thira*, open; *para*, fly; *mara*, forget; *kā*, watch; *thā*, give; *theri*, know; *vā*, come; *avā*, desire; *kudi*, drink; *arī*, know. Some of the very common nouns are; *tharai*, earth, (Latin *terra*); *vān*, sky, heaven; *vashy*, way, (Latin, *via*); *ān*, man; *pen*, woman (English *hen*); *magan*, son; *magal*, daughter; *thalai*, head; *muriju*, face; *kan*, eye; *pal*, teeth; *na*, tongue; *udal*, body; *uyir*, life; *kal*, foot; *kai*, hand; *pasi*, hunger; *nāyiru*, sun; *nilū*, moon; *aram*, virtue; *maram*, vice.

The classic word for God is *Kadavul*, and one of the significations given to it is *good*. Here we have the Saxon word *God*, the Gothic *Guth*, the German *Gott*, the Danish and Swedish *Gud*, and the Persian *Khoda*; and it is pleasing to know, that people so far apart from one another, worship God under the same name.

Mr. Percival says that he has been informed by those competent to give information, *that there is a striking similarity*

between the Tamil and the Scythian tongues—(p. 94.)\* Mr. Hoisington, of the American Mission in Ceylon, in a paper published in the *American Oriental Journal*, traces analogies between the Tamil and Hebrew. His account of the history and relations of the language is not unworthy of a place in our pages. He says:—

“There is reason to believe, that India was originally settled “by two branches from the family of Shem. One branch came “in at the north-west, across the Indus; the other at the “south-west, by sea. The language of the latter branch of “this Indo-Shemitic family was Tamil. This may be shown “in several ways.

“The *Mum Agastya* is claimed by the *Tamilars* to be the “father of their purer, or high dialect. He prescribed its “grammatical rules, and polished the language. This Agastya “is said to have resided on the hill Pothiya, which belonged “to the Pandian kingdom. It was not the Pothiya of the “north, another name for Tibet. It stated in the *Ramayana* “that Rama, the hero of the earliest of the Hindu epics, on “his first visit to the south, found Agastya in that region, as “the head of a company of Rishis. This would seem to estab- “lish the existence of the Tamil, as the language of the “south of India, as early, at least, as 1200 B. C. It had then “already received its distinctive poetic character, which marks “the high dialect. As the language of the masses, it must “therefore have existed much earlier.

“Some of the best authors among the natives of Southern “India, admit that the father of their pure Tamil dialect was “from the north of India, where the Tamil was the native “language, and where he learned the Sanskrit. This accords “with recently developed facts respecting the relation of the “Tamil to the aboriginal tribes of Northern India, which go “with augmented force, to indicate that the *Tamil was the “original language of all India*. The dominion of the Sanskrit “over this early language, has been like the conquests of the “Hindus, whose proper language it was, over the earlier tribes, “extending gradually from the north-west and being nearly “complete in the fields of its first conquest: but less so at “the south.”

“Again, this position is confirmed by a reference to the “Bible. The five articles mentioned in *1st Kings x. 22*, were “all to be obtained in Ceylon and Southern India, and it was

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\* In the recent Numbers of the Asiatic Researches there are some interesting papers on this subject; but we have not seen them.

"believed collectively in no other place. In that passage the word rendered peacock *tōkai*, is a pure Tamil word, a primitive trilateral dissyllabic term. It is not found in Sanskrit, nor in any other Indian language not allied to the Tamil. Some lexicographers have considered this to be radically the same as the Sanskrit *sikhi*. But this word has been adopted in the Tamil in the form of *siki*. Every Tamil scholar knows that *siki* and *tokai* are radically distinct. The term *kapi* rendered ape, but more properly meaning monkey, is just as it stands in Tamil. This is found also in the Sanskrit. But we know that Sanskrit was introduced into Southern India before Solomon's time; and therefore the word may be regarded as transferred from the Tamil to the Hebrew, especially as it is found in such close mention with the pure Tamil word above named. The same may be said of the word rendered *ivory*, in the passage referred to, literally tooth of elephants. The part meaning elephant is found in Tamil as well as in Sanskrit. These considerations seem to indicate very clearly whence the Trashishan fleet of Solomon brought those articles, and also, to determine the language of the people from whom they were obtained.

"There are other considerations which go to show that the Tamil was the language of the first settlers of Southern India. The earliest names of places, things, &c., of the south are pure Tamil, having no connection with the Sanskrit. These have been in many cases displaced by terms from the language of the dominant religion, *Brahmanism*. Such is the case with regard to Madura, Ramnad, Rama's bridge, Travancore, which were formerly called respectively *Alavāy*, *Mukavai*, *Kallanai*, *Malaiyālam*. The same of Tinnevely, a country where the *Shaguars* abound, who are undoubtedly a portion of the aboriginal race. Its name is in pure Tamil. *Tirunelvēti*. The original term for Point Calimere is in Tamil *Kōdi Karai*.

"These remarks intimate, what it is believed will be found to be the fact, that *the Tamil belongs to the Shemitic family of languages*. If so, it presents a new and interesting variety; and one, it is thought, well deserving the attention of the philologist and ethnologist.

"The roots, which are mostly verbal, are generally *trilateral dissyllabic*. A few words are composed of but two letters, and few have more than two syllables.

"Some Tamil words are so similar to Hebrew as at once to indicate their common origin. The following are given as

examples of this similarity in vocables, being about one in every ten compared." Many more doubtless exist :—

Tamil.	Hebrew.
<i>Pāri</i> , to produce.	כָּרָא to create.
<i>Aru</i> , to reap, pluck, &c.	אָרָה to reap, pluck.
<i>Era</i> , to ascend, increase.	אָרַס to be high.
<i>Ari</i> , lion.	אָרִי lion.
<i>Ari</i> , light.	אָור light.
<i>Araṇ</i> , Lord.	אָרֹן Lord.
<i>Patti</i> , house, gold.	בֵּית house.
<i>Ur</i> , town.	עִיר-עַ town.
<i>Punna</i> , to make.	בָּנָה to build.
<i>Mayvu</i> , death.	כָּוַת death. *

"The Tamiliars use *athu*, *that*, as indicative of the Supreme "Eternal God ; it is one of their most expressive appellations "for the undeveloped or unorganized Deity. This suggests "the remark of Lowth, that the Hebrew word הוּא He is "often equivalent to the true Eternal God.† *Dieut. xxxi.*, 3—32, "39. *Psalms cii.*, 27."

There are others who think there is a greater similarity between the Tamil and Greek. Anderson, in the Preface to his Grammar, notices the following points of coincidence : (1.) "The Tamil alphabet, like that of the Greek, consisted originally of only sixteen letters. (2.) As in the ancient Greek, so "in Tamil, there is not any *spiritus asper*. (3.) In the rules of "*Sandhi*, specially after short dissyllables ending in *u*, and after "final vowels, the letter *y* or *v* must be inserted before a vowel, "which illustrates, in a remarkable manner, that part of the "operation of the digamma in ancient Greek, which seemed to "obviate the hiatus produced by the collision of vowels. (4.) "In Tamil the letters *p* and *v* are interchangeable."

Mr. Anderson's remarks tempt us to add a few Greek words, which in sound and sense bear a remarkable resemblance with Tamil :—

<i>aṛpw</i>	to raise	Tamil <i>era</i> .
<i>ἀρετή</i>	virtue	" <i>aram</i> .
<i>γάλα</i>	milk	" <i>pāl</i> .
<i>εγγυς</i>	near	" <i>inge</i> , here.
<i>εγείρειν</i>	to awaken	" <i>egurn</i> , raise.

\* Adam Clarke's theory that the Hebrew *nāḥash* (the serpent that deceived Eve) was a monkey, would be borne out in Tamil ; for *nāga* signifies monkey as well as serpent.

† तत् that तत्त्वमसि the sole reality. See *Vedanta Sara*, by Dr. Ballantyne, p. 60, 61. Greek το, τα. Latin *ista*, *istud*.



ἐνέω	to put on	Tamil <i>udu</i> , (from which <i>udal</i> , the body.)
εἰπείν	to speak	„ <i>iyamba</i> .
θηλυς	a female	„ <i>thaiyal</i> , wife, woman.
ἰδόν	behold	„ <i>ithó</i> .
καινός	new	„ <i>kanni</i> , virgin.
κρέας	flesh	„ <i>kari</i> .
κυνεω	to adore	„ <i>kani</i> , to bow.
παιών	a song	„ <i>pá</i> , song.
παις	child	„ <i>paya</i> , boy.
παλαιός	old	„ <i>palya</i> .
παρρησία	openly	„ <i>parásam</i> .
πειθεῖν	to persuade	„ <i>paithu</i> .
ποιεῖν	to make	„ <i>pannu</i> .
πόλις	city	„ <i>páláyam</i> , encampment, suburb.
πολύς	much	„ <i>pala</i> .
πολλοί	many	„ <i>pulcr</i> .
ποτε	a long time	„ <i>pothu</i> , time, when.
ταῦς	peacock	„ <i>thogai</i> .
πυρ	fire	„ <i>pori</i> , spark.
ψηρ	it is necessary	„ <i>akkarai</i> .
σειώ	to shake	„ <i>asai</i> .

Many words in all languages agree in sound and signification, thereby evidently indicating a common origin. We might even draw analogies between English and Tamil. Mr. Stokes, in an excellent translation of a Tamil work, has noted the following :—

Cash.	<i>kāsu</i> .
Kill.	<i>kol</i> .
Boy.	<i>paya</i> .
Penny.	<i>panam</i> .
Put.	<i>pōdu</i> .
Want.	<i>vcndu</i> .
Hen.	<i>pen</i> .
Go.	<i>pō</i> .
Hole.	<i>pallam</i> .
Behind.	<i>pín</i> .
Sack.	<i>sāku</i> .

On this portion of our subject we have perhaps occupied too much of our space. We regret, indeed, we have not had the benefit of the papers that have recently appeared on this subject in the publications of the Royal Asiatic Society; and we therefore refrain from offering any decided opinion of our own: at present we feel our inability for the task of theorizing. But we must allow the learned Editor of Dr. Rottler's Dictionary to give us the benefit of his researches. In his elaborate Preface to the fourth part of the Tamil Dictionary, he states his views of the language. He is decidedly on the side of Ellis in thinking the "Sanskrit to be not of the same genus or stem" as the Tamil. "It is possible to write," he says, "a simple sentence in pure native Tamil; and then

"to express the same meaning in words almost wholly of Sanskrit derivation: the difference, in the two cases, being something like the difference in the English style of Swift and Johnson. • He hazards an opinion, (derived, in a very great degree, from wading through the polyglot Mackenzie collection of MSS.) that there was originally one simple, homogeneous dialect spoken by the rude aborigines, from Himalaya to Cape Comorin. The earliest probable refinement was in the Pali of the north, and the Tamil of the extreme south. That the old Tamil could have done without much of the gilding which it has received (from Sanskrit) is certain. The result, however, of a process, not very dissimilar to that which the early Saxon has undergone, is to render the Tamil language (like our native English) one of the most copious, refined, and polished languages spoken by man."

We now come to the second, and perhaps, more interesting part of our subject, *the Tamil Literature*. Native authors have divided their literature into two great divisions, *viz.*, *Ilakkanam*,\* the art of writing elegantly or grammatically; and *Ilakkiam*,† elegantly written works or classics. The first comprises all works on Grammar, including Logic, Prosody, and Rhetoric, and also the *Nigandus* or Dictionaries. The second includes all approved poetical compositions, original and translated. *Ilakkiam* is composition constructed on the principles of the *Ilakkanam*.

*Ilakkanam*, or *Belles Lettres*, as Beschi calls it, is treated under five heads: 1. *Letters*. This constitutes that part of Grammar which treats of the number, name, order, origin, form, quantity, initials, finals, medials, substitutes, and combinations of letters. In one word it is Orthography. 2. *Words*. This part treats of the four parts of speech, *viz.*, the noun, the verb, the particles, and the adjectives. This includes Etymology and Syntax. 3. *Matter*; or the mode in which, by writing words, a discourse is formed. This treats of amplification, the passions and affections of the mind, which act internally on man, and things of the external world. 4. *Versification*, or the laws of Prosody. 5. *Embellishment*, or Rhetoric. Under all these heads the Tamil is very full and complete.

*Agastiar* is said to have written the Institutes of Tamil Grammar. His work, with the exception of a few *Sutras*, which have been recently printed, is supposed to be lost. The work of one of his immediate disciples, named *Tholkapianar*

(*ancient author*), bearing his name, exists. The scholar has evidently not followed the simplicity of the master. *Pavananti*, a learned Jain, has the honour of producing the *Nannul*, which has superseded all other grammatical treatises, and is deservedly held in the highest estimation. This work has had many commentators. *Pavananti* only wrote on *letters and words*. Mr. Stokes has justly remarked of this work, that it "stands conspicuous among the grammatical treatises of all nations, for logical arrangement and comprehensive brevity." The term *Nannul*, literally *good thread*, corresponds exactly to the French *Belles Lettres* and the Latin *Litteræ Humaniores*. We have seen the *Laghu Kaumudi*, and the excellent translation of it by Dr. Ballantyne, of the Benares College, and we have tried to read some of the *Sutras* of *Pāṇini* incorporated in that work; but we must reiterate of them the remark of Sir William Jones, that they are "*dark as the darkest oracle*." The *Sutras* of *Pavananti*, however, are concise yet comprehensive: they are simple, plain, and obvious. A part of this work has been translated and published at Madras, by W. Joyes, a Young East Indian, and Samuel Pillay, a native Christian; and the work, as far as it goes, shows much labour and carefulness, and does the translators great credit. We have a manuscript translation of the whole work, a copy of which we placed in the hand of a learned German, who is now in his native land publishing Tamil books. Of the author *Pavananti*, nothing more is known than that he was the son of *Sanmathi* of *Sanagapuram*. From his invocation to *Arga Deva*, we learn that he was a Jain or a Buddhist, who lived in the Pandya kingdom, in the palmy days of Tamil literature. We have no way of ascertaining the period when he lived. In his Preface he says that he wrote under the patronage of one *Gangan*. He acknowledges that he *follows the path hewn out by ancient authors*. He considers Tamil as one of the eighteen languages. There is certainly *multum in parvo* in the 462 *Sutras* he has written.

*Pavananti's* Preface is a learned dissertation, replete with instruction, well worth the attention of any student. It contains what would be called the philosophy of education. In his general Preface, for he writes two, a general and a particular, he treats on the five following subjects: 1. The nature of a classical work. 2. The character and qualifications of a teacher. 3. The method of teaching. 4. The character and qualifications of the scholar, and, 5. The conduct of scholars during the time of instruction. He writes largely on the first subject. Some of his remarks, to the fastidious ears of a European, would be irrelevant. He deals, in what would be consi-

dered, far-fetched illustrations. All works, he says, are of three kinds: *Primary*, *Supplemental*, and *Deductive*. The *Primary* work originates from the Deity, who is of perfect and infinite understanding: thereby attributing language and letters to a divine origin. *There is no wisdom without Revelation.* *Supplemental* and *Deductive* works are human, but must be in accordance with the divine. Original communications should be quoted in all their purity and integrity. He enumerates seven principles or characteristics of authorship, *viz.*, consent, dissent, neutrality, originality, selection, criticism, and dogmatism. He specifies ten defects and ten beauties of language. The defects are: brevity, redundancy, tautology, contradiction, vulgarisms, ambiguity, weakness, irrelevancy, inappropriate transitions, and unintelligibleness. The ten beauties are: conciseness, clearness or comprehensiveness, agreeableness, use of appropriate words, harmony, profundity, method, respect for standard authorities, choice of proper subjects, and illustrations. He enumerates thirty-two canons of criticism, some of them, we confess, we cannot understand. "True criticism," he says, "consists in (1) showing the consistency of the subject of a work with generally received opinions as well as "with those of approved authors, and (2) in a nicety of judgment by the exercise of which fit places are awarded "to appropriate topics." His definition of a Sutra is good: "a Sutra contains as much matter in as few words as possible, and still the force and minuteness of the same is so unaffected thereby, that they appear as clear as the reflexion "of an object in a mirror." In his estimation a commentary should contain fourteen particulars, *viz.*, the text, its purport, its several bearings, definition, divisions, examples, objections, answers, explanatory notes, analysis, paraphrase, dogma, advantage, and proof.

His estimate of the character and qualifications of a teacher is by no means low. He should be respectable both in his connexions and in the amount of his knowledge. He should have experience, and possess a facility in communicating knowledge. Like the sea-girt earth he should be encompassed with the circle of the sciences, be patient and immoveable as a mountain, just and equitable as a balance, and his reputation should be as fragrant as the rose. In teaching, a suitable time and place should be selected, and then, on an elevated seat, *the teacher is to invoke the Divine Being for a blessing on his work.* This is wholesome advice, emanating from a heathen; and worth the attention of the school masters of a Christian government in a heathen land! Having well digested

the subject of his lectures, he should in a gentle and agreeable manner communicate instruction, considering well the capacities of his scholars, and the objects of their pursuits. The best attention of the teacher is to be bestowed on his own sons, the sons of his own preceptor, the sons of his sovereign, *those who pay well*, those who are promising, and those who are likely to prove eminent in the public service.

He classifies scholars under three orders. The first is compared to a swan and cow, indicative of *discrimination and reflection*. The second is compared to parrots who learn and prattle, but understand not. The third is compared to a vessel full of holes, that lets the instructions received by one ear escape by the other. No instruction is to be imparted to drunkards, slothful, self-opinionated, lascivious, thievish, sickly, and stupid fellows.\* Together with thirst for knowledge and a maintenance of good character, the duties of a scholar are punctual attendance, strict obedience and conformity to rules.

The mode of improvement is said to consist in extensive reading, revision and digest of studies, and in the acquaintance and conversation of the learned. The first, even careful attention to a subject is insufficient. A second revisal is necessary. The subject is mastered only in the third review: one-fourth of perfection is attained by self-exertion; another fourth is obtained by communication with the learned; the remaining half is secured, and the summit of perfection reached, by teaching others.

In the *Particular Preface*, Pavananti treats on various subjects regarding authorship, and the art of book-making. We shall simply touch on a few of them. A work is to be named from the nature of its contents, the name of the author, the character of the metre or style in which it is written, or according to the author's option or fancy. There are four ways in which a book may be produced: by abridgement, by enlargement, by a union of both, and by translation. A preface should not be written by the author himself; at least that part of the preface which must be necessarily egotistic; but by the author's tutor, or a fellow student, or a pupil, or by a fit commentator or editor. There are circumstances, however, when a man may praise himself. They are, when appeal is made to a superior for support; when

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\* "Till a man learns that the first, second, and third duty of a schoolmaster is to get rid of unpromising subjects, a great public school will never be what it might be, and what it ought to be."—*Arnold*.

it is necessary to make known one's own worth ; and when railed at for ignorance by opponents.

Notwithstanding the existence of so excellent a Grammar, the Tamilians did not cultivate the science of philology. There is no attempt at tracing the meaning of roots, and there is very little on the connexion of their own language with Sanskrit, or any of the other vernaculars. They confined themselves to the study of their own language, and endeavoured to enrich it with words and idioms of Sanskrit. We think the same remark applicable to all the Indian languages, even the Sanskrit. The Brahman was too proud to trace connexion between *the language of the Gods* and the spoken tongues. They may have canons of criticism ; but the remark is true that "in the west the free spirit of criticism was developed ; in the east never."

Ziegenbalg, the first Protestant Missionary in India, was the first who wrote a grammar of Tamil in Latin. His *grammatica Tamulica* was printed at Hallé in Germany in 1716. Of all European writers in Tamil the first rank must be awarded to Constantius Joseph Beschi, whose grammars of the low and high dialect are held in great estimation. His grammar of the colloquial dialect was written in Latin, and dated *Mission of Madura, 29th January 1728* ; and printed at Tranquebar in 1739. A second edition was printed at the College Press of the Madras Government in 1813 : an edition of the same book was recently issued from the Jesuit Press at Pondicherry. An English translation of this work was first made by the Rev. C. H. Horst, in 1807, and printed by the Christian Knowledge Society's Press at Madras in 1831. An improved edition, or as the editor would have it, a new translation, by the Rev. G. W. Mahon, was printed in 1848. The book was originally written for the use of Jesuit Missionaries. It has proved an invaluable aid to many who have studied the language, and especially to Protestant Missionaries. From the author's preface, we extract the following passage :—

—"Nor, have I meditated writing this new grammar of the Tamil language, under the presumption that I know more than others. But a certain personage, both connected with me by old acquaintance, and conspicuous to all by his singular worth, so urged this work by his requests, that observant whether of my love or my respect, I thought I could no longer refuse what was solicited with so much anxious earnestness by such a man, especially since the mere desires of men of this note, although they come in the guise of entreaty, are,

"in fact, commands, which it is unlawful for an ingenuous mind 'to pass by.' He concludes thus: "Nor will I detain you 'longer, most religious fathers, who performing this embassy 'for Christ, soon to become preachers of the Gentiles, have by his counsel become converted to the simplicity of children; and with admirable zeal, though wont elsewhere to instruct others in the sublimest matters, have here begun to lisp the 'barbarous sounds, which, you have modestly not disdained to 'learn from others. To this your apostolic desire, this little 'work of mine, wishes to afford its service. If you are of 'opinion that you have received any assistance from it, pray 'ye the common Lord of the harvest, that I also, following 'your example, may not sit down in slothful idleness in His "vineyard—Farewell."

To this useful book, he soon afterwards added his grammar of the high dialect, written in 1730. This will always be considered a standard work. The two grammars put together complete the subject, and contain all that a student needs to know concerning the language. Though others have written grammars since, in our estimation, Beschi stands unrivalled. His second grammar was translated into English by the accomplished Babington of the Madras Civil Service. Beschi has also written a grammar for the use of the natives, on the native plan in *Sutras*, containing all the five parts of *Ilakkanam* or grammar, and called it *Thonnul* (the old or ancient work) in opposition to *Nannul*, the popular Tamil Grammar.

Beschi's knowledge of the Tamil language and literature was very extensive. He was a master of the language; knew more of it perhaps than any native of modern times. His writings in prose and poetry, original and translated, are voluminous. It is natural to wish to know something of the history and private life of such a man. We have a full published life of him in Tamil. He was called by the natives *Viramāmuni*, i. e., the *Heroic Devotee*. He was born in Italy; he was educated for the Church at Rome; and joined the order of Jesuits. Having distinguished himself as a man of superior natural and acquired attainments, he was appointed by the Pope to the East India Mission, and arrived at Goa, according to one account in 1700, and to another 1707. Fired with ambition to follow in the track of Francis Xavier, and with zeal to propagate his faith, he was diligent in the study of the language. He studied even Persian, with the Jesuit policy of fitting himself for the service of the State, and for the promotion of the views of his religious order. As Schwartz, so Beschi, became connected with the State, and was employed by a native prince under

*Chanda Sahib*, the Nabob of Trichinopoly ; he acted as *Dewan* or Minister, in 1736.

He was sent to the Madura Mission ; where, a century before, Robert de Nobili, nephew to the famous Cardinal Bellarmine, established himself as a Brahman from the West. This de Nobili was called by the natives *Tatva Pôthagar* (Teacher of Truth,) and wrote a treatise in Tamil on the nature of the soul, showing the identity and individuality of the human spirit. He also composed a book on Christian doctrines ; and is said to have forged certain writings in Sanskrit. Beschi succeeded in a place where such a man laboured ; and acting under the orders and approbation of his provincial, the Archbishop of Cranganore, he followed in the footsteps of his order, who then acted in direct opposition to the express injunctions of their master, the Pope. Beschi conformed in his dress, food, &c., to the customs of the people ; and assumed the pomp and pageantry of a Hindu guru. He fell in with their prejudices, went about dressed in purple flowing garments, a white turban, and yellow slippers. In his hand he carried a silver-mounted cane. In his ears and fingers he wore rings set with precious stones. He travelled on a white horse or in a stately palanquin ; a man held a purple silk umbrella over him, another fanned him with peacock feathers. He was seated on a tiger skin ; and a retinue followed. When he was the *dewan* of Chanda Sahib, he was called *Ismathi San-nyâse*, and got for his maintenance four villages yielding an annual revenue of 1,200 Rupees.

He is said to have been a great linguist. The most celebrated of his works are the *Thonnul* or *Grammatical Institutes* ;—the *Thembirvani* (*the Unfading Garland*), an epic setting forth the History of the Bible, and specially the Life of our Lord ;—and the *Chaturakarâthi*, a Dictionary of the high dialect. In his great poem which no native would think was written by a European, he follows the plan of the Hindu Epics, and fills it up with much that is fabulous. It was printed for the first time at Pondicherry, in 1850, in three volumes. His *Chaturakarâthi* is a Dictionary in four parts, *viz.*, 1. Containing all words in general and classical use. 2. Synonyms. 3. Various words which are included under the generic or technical terms of the language, and 4. Rhythmical words to aid poetical composition. His Dictionary in Latin, French, and Tamil has been published at Pondicherry. He also wrote a *Clavis Humaniorum Tamulicæ Idiomatis*, but we have not seen it.

In 1740, when the Mahratta army under Nâdar Sing besieged Trichinopoly, and took Chanda Sahib captive, an end was



put to the political power of the Jesuit. He retired to Manapár, thirty miles south-west of Trichinopoly, and there, in the service of his church, he died in 1742.

His translator, Mr. Babington, says regarding him: "It remains a subject of regret, that talents so rare should have been devoted to the promotion of a religion scarcely less replete with error than that which it supplanted: but we may draw 'this practical conclusion from Beschi's success, that a thorough 'acquaintance with Hindu learning and a ready compliance in matters of indifference, with Hindu customs, are powerful human means, to which the Jesuits owed much of their success, and which should not, as it is too much the case, be despised by those who undertake the task of conversion in a better cause."

The *Rudiments of the Tamil Grammar*, by Robert Anderson, of the Madras Civil Service, was published in London, in 1821. The author was compelled, in 1819, by a declining state of health, to relinquish his Civil appointment in India, and was appointed Assistant Oriental Professor at Haileybury. His grammar was composed for the benefit of English students. He has made Beschi's two grammars the basis of his own; following the scheme of Wanostrocht's French grammar, he points out analogies; and it is altogether a well-digested, neatly got up book.

He was followed by Rhenius, missionary in the service of the Church Missionary Society in Tinnevely. "Finding," he says, "the grammatical works previously published, defective in various respects, especially in regard to Syntax," he wrote his grammar; the first edition of which was printed in 1836. On Orthography and Etymology he follows the order of native grammars. He is pretty full on Syntax; but has made one great mistake, and that is, he has coined his examples instead of giving them from native books. He professes to give us *pure Tamil*; but pure Tamil of his own concoction. With the helps he had, and with his clearness of head and general scholarship, he might have written a better grammar than he has done. But his work has thrown the others into the shade, and has greatly helped the student. His experience regarding the best method of learning the language is worthy of attention. "It will be asked, he says, how shall we acquire 'the proper Tamil idiom? I answer, that it can only be acquired by the assistance of a learned native, who knows the 'native grammars well, has had no practice in English and 'foreign compositions, possesses a clear and logically thinking 'intellect, and is no flatterer. With persons of this character

"I was early brought into connexion ; and to this providential circumstance must be attributed whatever degree of critical knowledge I have obtained." Rherius' Tamil compositions are clear and idiomatic ; but he wanted the poetical turn of mind, which characterises Beschi and even Fabricius. Besides the revision of the New Testament, he has written a Body of Divinity, a book on the Evidences, and many useful tracts.

The first English and Tamil Dictionary, by Fabricius and Breithaupt, missionaries at Madras, was published in 1779. We do not think Fabricius and Breithaupt had any means of consulting Beschi's Dictionary in manuscript. Their work appears to be an independent compilation ; and was written chiefly by Fabricius, when he was in jail, for debt contracted by standing security for other people. The Dictionary enabled him to discharge his liabilities.

The American missionaries at Jaffna have put forth a very useful English and Tamil Dictionary, which is now extensively used. Rottler's great Dictionary was the work of his long life. It is in four parts ; but he died before the second part was printed. The first part was printed in 1834. The work then devolved on Mr. Taylor, the editor, who has carried the whole through the press. The plan of the work is said to be philosophical, referring all words to the simplest roots or primitive forms. But the plan has its disadvantages. It occupies too much space, and makes the book very large and expensive. A Dictionary on an improved plan is now in the Madras American Mission Press ; but we do not think it will supersede Rottler.

We now enter upon the province of *Ilakkiam* or Tamil classical works ; and as Poetry always pleases, we trust this part of our subject will not be uninteresting. In various periods of the world men have arisen to astonish and delight it. In times when the minds of men were not distracted by the attempt to attain a variety of knowledge, a single faculty, and one capable of great improvement by exercise, might easily be supposed to attain to a great degree of excellence. Every nation has its poets. Poetry has always its birth in the infancy of the social state, and is the means of transmitting events to a higher antiquity than Prose. Thence we have the *Iliad of Homer*, the *Ramayana of Valmiki*, and the *Chintamani* of some unknown writer in Tamil. The Hindus appear to have cultivated both the *Contemplative and Plastic Kinds of Poetry*. The great popular Tamil Epic is the *Ramayana of Kamban*, and the great moral book in Tamil is the *Kural of Tiruvalluvar*.

We have both the great Hindu Epics in Tamil, and all the

great *Puranas*, so that we are well stocked with mythology. *Kamban*, the writer of the *Tamil Ramayana*, deserves special notice as being a genuine poet. It has been well remarked that no translation of an ancient Poem in rhyme can be faithful, and that no translation of poetry, unless it be in rhyme, will ever be read. These remarks apply to the *Tamil Ramayana*. *Kamban* does not strictly translate, but gives his own version of the story, not differing materially from the original. We have read both, and at times we were at a loss to know to which of the poets the palm of victory was to be assigned. *Kamban's Tamil Ramayana* may be compared to *Pope's Iliad*. *Valmiki* is diffuse and simple; *Kamban* abridges but elaborates. There is a profusion of ornament at times; here and there abounding in beautiful touches of expression. We believe it will generally be found that a copy deviates from its original, not in becoming more simple, but in the addition of graces, the necessity of which was not felt by those, to whom the first impression belongs.

With the failing common to all Hindu poets, *Kamban* devoted one verse in every hundred he composed, to the praise of his patron and benefactor; on which account, when the poem was submitted to the Madura College for sanction, some of the Professors objected to it on the score of having human praise mixed up with divine. The Brahmans were jealous of the rival poem; but on proper representation by *Kamban*, of the necessity of his offering some tribute to the memory of his benefactor, the collegians allowed him to retain one verse to every thousand he composed in praise of his benefactor. The poet overjoyed at this concession, rose up in the midst of the learned assembly, and said, "*I considered my benefactor as one in a hundred, but this illustrious assembly have considered him one in a thousand*"! It is reported of the poet, that after he finished his *Ramayana*, he entirely lost his poetic inspiration, and was known to listen with intense admiration to his own poems when recited, without knowing that he was the author.

Beschi, in an Appendix to his high Tamil grammar, has given us his thoughts on the art of Tamil poetry. The Tamil poets, he remarks, use the genuine language of poetry. They rarely mention any object to which they do not couple some ornamental epithet. When they speak of a tree, they describe it either as green, or loaded with flowers, or shady, or majestically large, or as having all these qualities. They never mention a mountain, without representing it as rising among woods or watered by fountains, or decked with flowers. Sometimes they employ this embellishment to excess. They are full of

metaphor and allegory. They are at times extravagantly hyperbolic. In the Tamil *Naishadam*, it is said of *Damayanti*, the consort of the hero, that when Brahma had created her, her beautiful form had only one rival in the universe, and that was the fair moon. But Brahma, determined that every beauty should centre in *Damayanti*, took a handful of beauty from off the face of the moon, and threw it into that of *Damayanti's*. The deformity thus made, is still apparent, in the moon. The Tamil poets delight in similes as all eastern poets do. They indulge in fiction, and pay little regard to nature. Their Parnassus is *Pudiyamalac*, near Cape Comorin. They have neither Apollo nor Mercury. Their Minerva is Saraswati. They invoke Ganapati. Pathos and sweetness rather than vigour, are the characteristics of Indian poetry. They are not "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," so much as thoughts that please and words that charm. Milk and honey flow, but such milk and honey, as to prove an unwholesome diet to some minds.

The Tamil language is rich in ethical writings. When Professor Wilson was lately asked to name some Sanskrit work that might be read with advantage by the European student, he could only refer to the *Hitopadesha*. But we have something better in Tamil. The productions of the elite of the Madura college were chiefly of an ethical nature. In the reign of Vamsa Sekhara, probably in the third century of the Christian era, was founded the Madura college, for the cultivation of the Tamil language and literature. His son Vamsa Churamani completed his father's design, and established the college on a proper footing. This was then most probably the most celebrated seat of learning in all Hindustan. If the court of Vikramāditya had its nine gems, the Madura college is reported to have had more than five times that number—of the forty-eight *Sangatter* or professors, *Narkīvar*, *Pānar*, and *Kapilar*, were chief. In connexion with this subject, Professor Wilson, in his historical sketch of the kingdom of Pandya, remarks:—

"These (professors) received instructions in the Sutras or rules of the Dravira language, it is said, from the god Siva himself, who appeared amongst them as the forty-ninth professor, and enabled them to expound and propagate the primitive institutes of the language, which are invariably attributed in the Dekhan to the Muni Agastya. The cultivation of the Tamil language, is supposed by Mr. Ellis, to have preceded that of Sanskrit in the South; and this would be a circumstance in favour of the early existence of the *Sangattar*,

"for it could not have been long after the Christian era, that the fables of Northern India were domesticated in the Peninsula. However, the opinion evidently is correct only within certain limits. The Sanskrit language, in prayers, hymns, and legends, must have accompanied the introduction of the Saiva faith anterior to the Christian era, and must have been cultivated as far as it was connected with religion. Its profane literature, and even its Puranic mythology, may have subsequently become objects of study; and they apparently superseded the cultivation of the native tongue, till the eighth or ninth century after Christianity, when its revival was effected.

"The prominent figure which Agastya is thus made to assume in the literary history of the south of India, attaches an interest to his existence which, it is to be apprehended, will scarcely derive much satisfaction from the accounts of the sage which are recorded. In the first place, a high antiquity must be assigned to him on the authority of the *Ramayana*, the oldest work, after the *Vedas*, perhaps in the Sanskrit language. His migration to the South is there detailed; and, disregarding the fabulous motives assigned for his residence there, it seems not a forced conjecture to infer his being a chief agent in diffusing the worship of Siva in the Dekhan. Neither this remote date, nor his character as a foreigner, renders it likely that he was the first Tamil teacher; and if we are not allowed to suppose that this character originated in his legendary reputation, we must conclude that the author of the various works attributed to Agastya was a different individual, although of similar name. There are still many works current attributed to Agastya, besides his grammatical aphorisms. These consist of poems in praise of Siva, and a number of medical works. It is not very probable, however, that the appropriation is generally correct. At the first institution of the Madura *Sangattar*, it would appear that some dispute arose immediately between the professors and the Saiva priests, connected, not impossibily, with that contention for pre-eminence of knowledge which has ever prevailed in the Tamil countries between the Brahmans and inferior castes. The priests, however, proved the more powerful; and reconciliation took place between them and the literati of Madura. At least, we may thus interpret the legend of Narakira incurring the wrathful glance of Siva, and only escaping being burnt to ashes in the flames emanating from the eye in the forehead of the god, by plunging into the holy pool Pat-tamari, and there composing the *Andadi Panyam*, a poem in

"honour of Siva. After this event, the parties continued upon good terms; and Siva presented to the professors a diamond bench of great critical sagacity, for it extended itself readily for the accommodation of such individuals as were worthy to be upon a level with the sages of the *Sangattar*, and resolutely detrudd all who pretended to sit upon it without possessing the requisite qualifications. In other words, the learned corporation of Madura resembled learned bodies in other countries, and maintained as strict a monopoly as they possibly could of literary reputation."

A little before the reign of Kūna Pandyan, the Madura college was abolished; and the *Samana*, or Jain religion was established.

"The abolition of the *Sangattar*, says Professor Wilson, is narrated in the usual marvellous manner. A candidate for the honour of a seat on the bench of professors, appeared in the person of Tiruvallavar, a Pariah priest of Marlāpur, and the author of an ethical poem. The learned professors were highly indignant at his presumption, but, as he was patronised by the Raja, they were compelled to give his book at least the trial. For this purpose it was to find a place upon the marvellous bench, which the professors took care to occupy fully. To their astonishment, however, the bench extended itself to receive the work, and the book itself, commencing to expand, spread out so as to thrust all other occupants from the bench. The Raja and the people of Madura witnessed the scene, and enjoyed the humiliation of the sages; and the professors were so sensible of their disgrace, that, unable to survive it, they issued forth, and all drowned themselves in a neighbouring pool. In consequence the establishment was abandoned.

"If we contemplate this event in a literary view alone, we need not be at a loss to understand it. The first professors were eminent in Tamil composition, for the cultivation of which the college appears to have been founded. The members, however, had subsequently, in all probability, directed their attention more to Sanskrit composition and had, at all events, neglected the cultivation of their literature. That the latter was the case, is evident from the remark of Avayar, that the old Tamil was preferable to the new; indicating that, even in the ninth century, the dialect had been so far neglected as to have become partially obsolete. With Tiruvalluvar, however, circumstances changed. The old system was subverted, and a new impulse was given to the study of Tamil, which produced, in

"[the course of the ninth century, in the Pandya and Chola kingdoms, a number of the most classical writers in the Tamil tongue.

"The date at which the subversion of the college occurred, is another subject of enquiry, and if we trust to the tradition which connects it with Tiruvalluvar, we must identify it with the period of his existence. Other legends make him a brother of Avayar; but, as this family story is altogether fabulous, no stress need be laid upon the assertion. The MS list of Tamil authors states his works to be 1600 years old: and Mr. Kindersley, who has translated a prose version of part of it, mentions that the original is understood to have been written fourteen hundred years ago. He also notices the extreme difficulty of the style, from which a high antiquity may be inferred; and, from these considerations, we may conclude that the age of Tiruvalluvar may have been between the sixth and ninth centuries.

"As far as we can judge from the extracts of the *Kural*, which have been translated, we have some reason to suppose that their author was not a very orthodox member of the Hindu faith. He appears to have advocated moral duties and practical virtues above ceremonial observances and speculative devotion, and so far trespassed upon the strict law. By his allusion to the heaven of Indra, and to various parts of the regular pantheon, as well as the respect he inculcates to Brahmans and ascetics, he does not appear to have been a seceder or a sectary. How far, therefore, he contributed to the introduction of the Jain or Buddha faith, into the Madura monarchy, may be doubted, although the diffusion of his doctrines was calculated to undermine the brahminical system. At any rate, it is agreed that Kings of Madura had adopted sectarian principles, and that Kuna Pandyan was a follower of the samanal doctrines, intending by those the Jain faith; although the term will apply also to that of Buddha, with which there is equal reason to identify it."

To humble the pride and arrogance of the Brahmans, a poor despised Pariah is raised up by Providence to be the first of Tamil philosophers, and perhaps the chief of Hindu moralists. We are ignorant of his real name. He has had many Commentators, and not one of them has mentioned it. *Valluvar* is the appellation by which soothsayers and learned men of the Pariah tribe are distinguished. *Tiru-Valluvar* means the divine soothsayer. His work is superior to the *Institutes of Menu*, and is worthy of the divine Plato himself. It is called *Kural*, signifying short or condensed. It is divided into

three parts, *viz.*, virtue, wealth and pleasure. It contains 133 chapters of ten distichs each, resembling the Sanskrit sutras, the first line containing four feet, and the second line three. The verses are very terse and sententious, and the style perfectly pure. The learned Beschi translated the work into Latin. Dr. Caemmerer, of Tranquébar, it is said, published a translation of it in German. Some portions of it were translated into English by the great Tamil scholar and admirer of Hinduism, the late learned and talented F. W. Ellis, Esq., with critical notes and annotations. The Rev. W. H. Drew has published a useful edition, with a translation of sixty-three chapters, occasional notes, and an index verborum. It is the great class book in all Tamil schools. "The work itself," says Mr. Drew, "is held in the highest veneration by the Tamil people. The writer of it is deemed an incarnation of wisdom. It is called the first of works, from which, whether for thought or language, there is no appeal. The Commentary of Parimelazhagar, a Brahman, is considered the best of the ten that has been written upon the *Kural*, and the first of Commentaries."

To give our readers an idea of the estimation in which the work was held by the literati of the Madura College, we shall here quote the sayings of some of them, and the decisions they pronounced on the work and its author. An aerial voice was heard to declare that he should be allowed to sit on the bench of the learned. Saraswati declared that the *Kural* was the fifth *Veda*. Siva pronounced it "*An Unfading Flower*." Kapilar said, "though the book was small, the meaning was extensive, even as in the drop of water on the top of a blade of grass might be seen reflected the image of a great tree." Paranar said, "the two feet stanzas of the poet measured the thoughts of all mankind, even as Vishnu, when incarnate as a dwarf, put one foot on earth, extending the other even to the heavens." Narkirar said, "the poet fully understanding the four subjects, virtue, property, pleasure, and paradise, was benevolently inclined to make others understand three of them as well as himself. The gratitude due to him is like that owed to the cloud that showers down fertilizing rain without requiring anything in return." Mamulanar said; this, as we thought stupid Pariah, is in reality no other than a god." Kaladanar remarked: "the book has the rare merit of harmonizing the suffrages of the six sects, who would all admit the system to be their own."—(See *Taylor's Manuscripts*, vol. I, p. 178.)



The work, though like all human compositions, it has its blemishes, is yet worthy of the attention of scholars as a production of intrinsic excellence, both as regards matter and manner. It is difficult to know to what sect the poet belonged. We are inclined to believe that he was not an orthodox Hindu. His first stanza has the word *Bhagavan*, which is properly neither a Saiva nor a Vedantic term. It indicates a being possessing attributes; and points not to an abstract but a personal Deity. He is said to be "the eternal God: the creator of all;" "possessed of pure knowledge," "who is without likeness:" "a gracious being, even a sea of virtue." The second stanza is thus translated by Ellis:—

What is the fruit that human knowledge gives,  
If at the feet of Him who is pure knowledge,  
Due reverence be not paid!

The third couplet has been the bone of contention amongst the learned commentators. We give Mr. Drew's translation of it, which is literal.

"They who are united to the glorious feet of him who passes swiftly over the flower (of the mind), shall flourish long above all worlds."

The expression, *He who passes swiftly over the flower (of the mind)*; or as Ellis renders it, "whose grace gladdens with sudden thrill the fervent heart:" has been explained by Vaishnavas to refer to Brahma, who is fabled to have sprung from a lotus, which originally grew from the navel of Vishnu. The Jains who claim the author to belong to their sect, adduce this verse in support of their claim, alleging that their God, the twenty-fourth *Tirthaka* called *Arugan*, (Sanskrit *Arhah*, meritorious) ascended up into heaven over a ladder of flowers. The great Saiva commentator paraphrases it thus: "He who passes suddenly over the lotus flower of the heart of those who think on him with affection, appearing to their minds' eyes in that form in which their several systems of religious belief tend their imagination to represent him."

We have known persons disposed to find fault with the following couplet:—

"To those who are united to the feet of Him who is without desire of aversion, evil shall never come."—*Drew*.

"To Him, whom no affection moves nor hate,  
Those constant in obedience, from all ill  
In this world and the next are free."—*Ellis*.

They say to represent the Divine Being as *one who is without desire or aversion*, is to deprive him of his moral character and make

him an irrational being ; forgetting, however, that the poet here simply alludes to what the Commentator beautifully points out, a being *who is not affected by any thing, nor averse from any thing*: i.e., a Being *who is without bias*. the All-pervading Spirit the universal witness, who takes cognizance of all things, whether good or evil, but is affected by none. Even our own Chrysostom has a similar idea : θεου μάλιστα ιδιον το ανεργεες. "It is God's peculiar property to stand in need of nothing." The expression *united to the feet of Him*, in this couplet and in the former, indicates, *worship, reverence and obedience*. "Evil shall never come to him who worships the true God." Man is said to be liable to evil (or affliction) from three sources, *vis.*, from himself, from others, and from God. It is from religion alone he can derive that the knowledge which delivers him from the first, raises him above the second, and averts from him the third.

The following couplet is so beautiful and true, that we cannot withhold it from our readers :—

"The anxious mind, against corroding thought,  
 No refuge hath, save at the sacred feet  
 Of Him to whom no likeness is."—*Ellis*.

Not merely, says the commentator, that there is none like the Deity, but that there is no similitude by which He can be described, no figure of human speech by which His nature can be expressed.

Since all virtue, wealth, and enjoyments, by divine appointment, depend on rain, the poet has written one chapter in its praise. We quote here the first and fifth couplets :—

"As by abundant rain the world subsists,  
 Life's sole elixir (*ambrosia*) in this fluid know."

"It spreads destruction round ; its genial aid  
 Again revives, restores all it destroys ;  
 Such is the power of rain."—*Ellis*.

"Such is the power of rain." Drew renders it, "Rain does all this." Literally *all is ruin*, "*τα παντα το νεωρ*."

In his chapter on the character of holy men, we have the following :—

"He who guides the five senses by the book of wisdom, will be a seed in the world of excellence."

In the following couplet the poet insinuates, that the virtuous man is the true Brahman, the great man. We think it a good definition of the word *gentleman*.

"The virtuous are truly called *andanar* ; (beautiful, gentle, a name given to Brahmans) because in their conduct to all creatures they are clothed in kindness."

In his chapter on *virtue*, there are some beautiful thoughts ; for example :—

“ That which in spotless purity preserves the mind, is real virtue ; all besides is evanescent sound.”

The paraphrase of this couplet by the Commentator is thus translated by Ellis :—“ Every species of virtue is included under the two general heads of domestic virtue and religious virtue. It is here said, that by purity of mind eminence and worth are obtained, and, that devotion or charity, and all other acts performed by one whose mind is not pure, have only the empty sound, and not the essence of virtue. The two significations of this *Kural* are thus distinctly shown. When thus explained, the truth and falsehood shine forth, and the true measure of virtue, whence substantial profit is derived, becomes apparent, and if we reflect on this and act accordingly, the path leading to salvation will be seen. Although loss be sustained by the expenditure of vast wealth in the purchase of a false jewel, is it not yet a greater loss, after the wealth has been expended, the body emaciated, and the soul afflicted, that a few false virtues only, not current in heaven, should be collected. Avoiding this, therefore, and endeavouring to preserve that which is really profitable to the soul, reflect seriously on the purport of this *Kural* (couplet).”

This true description of virtue is followed up by the following injunction and recommendation :—

“ Refer not virtue to another day ;  
Be virtuous now, and at thy dying hour  
It will be to you a deathless help.”

“ Pleasure from virtue springs ; from all but this  
No real pleasure e'er ensues, nor praise,”

His definition of virtue is simple, and if properly explained, is both intelligible and accurate :

“ Know that is virtue which each ought to do ;  
What each should shun is vice.”

The Tamil word rendered by the English auxiliaries *ought* and *should* by Ellis, is rendered *meet* by Drew. It is derived from the root *hal*, *nature*, also, a *share* or *allotment*. Literally the first line may be rendered thus : *virtue is that which is natural or allotted for each to do*. This idea, divested of some peculiar opinions grounded on the assumption of transmigration and destiny, comes up to the golden rule of Christian morals : “ all things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” Tiruvalluvar's definition of virtue tallies with that of Dr. Chalmers, when he says, “ nothing is virtuous but what is done under a sense of duty, or done simply and

solely because it ought ;" nor does it contradict the dictum of Butler, the prince of moral philosophers, when he says : " he hath the rule of right within, all that is wanting is, that he honestly attends to it." The doctrine that *conscience is adapted to measure virtue, as a watch is adapted to measure time*, though not developed, is apparent in the writings of the Tamil moralist. Our common proverb, *the face is the index of the mind*, is illustrated by the Tamil Poet thus :—

" As the mirror exhibits the objects which come in contact with it, so the face exhibits the workings of the mind."

In a chapter on *Equity*, are the two following couplets :—

" To incline to neither side, but to rest impartial, as the even fixed scale, is the ornament of the wise."

" The true merchandize of merchants is to guard and do by the things of others as they do by their own."

In the chapter on *The Fear of Sin*, it is said that, " the enmity of sin will incessantly pursue and kill." " Destruction will dwell at the heels of those who commit evil, even as their shadow that leaves them not."

In the chapter on *Gratitude* we have the two following couplets :—

" Forget not the benevolence of the blameless. Forsake not the friendship of those who have been your staff in adversity."

" The wise will remember throughout their seven-fold births, the love of those who have wiped away the falling tear from their eye."

Tiruvalluvar was a believer in fate, and yet he says, " Although it be said that, through fate it cannot be attained ; yet labour, (perseverance) with bodily exertion, will yield its reward." " They who labour on, without fear and without fainting, will see even fate (put) behind their backs."

In a chapter on *Benevolence* he says :—

" As this world is not for those who are without wealth, so that world is not for those who are without grace."

• With one more passage we shall dismiss our quotations from the *Kural*.

In the chapter on *True Knowledge*, the poet says :—

" Heaven is nearer than earth to those men of purified minds who are freed from doubt." One that could truly say and feel this sentiment, was certainly " not far from the kingdom of God."

In connexion with Tiruvalluvar, we have a female moralist in the person of his supposed sister called *Auvayār*. Her real name also is unknown ; the title by which she is called is ap-

propriated to aged matrons. She sang as sweetly as Sappho ; yet not of love, but of virtue. Beschi remarks that the " collection of moral sentences ascribed to her is worthy of Seneca himself. Her books are read in every village school, and her proverbial sayings are constantly quoted. Mr. Percival, in his *Land of the Vedas*, has given very good specimens of poetic translations from her writings, from the pen of the Rev. E. J. Robinson, of the Wesleyan Mission in North Ceylon. We are tempted to give a few examples of them :—

" If suffering worth to acts of kindness move,  
Forbid the doubt your bounty will not prove  
A source at last of profit and delight.  
The water furnished to its early root,  
Ere long in sweeter draughts, from loads of fruit,  
The cocoa's head will gratefully require.

" The stream propell'd to where the rice crop grows,  
Refreshes likewise, as it thither flows,  
The common grass that in its channel lies :  
In every age the genial rains that fall  
To cheer the good, are thus enjoyed by all,  
And virtue's revenue the world supplies.

" To instruments the great their glory owe ;  
The lofty are supported by the low ;  
Without assistance, rank and skill were vain.  
We spurn too oft the object we should prize :  
The rice denuded, unproductive dies ;  
The husk we scorn preserves the living grain.

" 'Tis not in blood that genuine kindred lies,  
From birth connexions that true friendships rise ;  
Congenial disease may mortal prove.  
Some distant mountain must the med'cine yield,  
By which alone our sickness may be healed ;  
And strangers may desponding care remove.

" While conscious of his fatal power to harm,  
The guilty cobra hides in just alarm,  
The guileless water-snake at large appears,  
And so deceiveth shunning public view,  
In secret their perfidious schemes renew,  
While artless innocence no danger fears.

" Though loyal hosts the king's behest obey,  
The grave philosopher bears ampler sway.  
While homage meets the sage wherever known,  
And every step extends his spotless fame,  
The monarch's title is an empty name,  
Beyond the narrow realms that prop his name."

Indian moralists divide their science into four parts, *viz.*, *dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*,—*i. e.*, virtue, riches, pleasure, and heaven. Tiruvalluvar treated of the three first ones in his work. He omitted the attainment of heaven, because

its nature could neither be conceived nor explained, wisely leaving it, as he ought, to a revelation from above. Aviyar, the sister of Tiruvalluvar, hearing that he had written 1,330 couplets, about three of the subjects, added the other, and compressed them all within the compass of one verse, which she is said to have repeated extempore :

“To give is *virtue*. That which is acquired without sin is *riches*.  
 The constant mutual affection whose tastes agree, is *pleasure*.  
 To forsake these three in the contemplation of the Supreme  
 Being is *heavenly happiness*.”

When she heard the character of her sex reviled, she is said to have repeated a stanza, the purport of which is :—“All women would be good by nature, if the men did not spoil them : and most men would have a tolerable stock of sense, if the women did not make fools of them.” There is an account of the life and writings of this “Tamil female philosopher,” by the Rev. Dr. John, Missionary at Tranquebar, in the fourth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Her *aphorisms*, or the “golden alphabet,” as they are written in the order of the Tamil letters, making a very popular school book, in English and Tamil, have been published by the Rev. J. Sugden. We fear, however, we have not been doing our favourite authors justice, by representing their sayings in a foreign garb ; for no translations can adequately represent the originals.

The *Naladiyār* is a book containing 400 verses or epigrams on Morals. It is the production of some of the literati of the Madura college ; and is of equal authority with the *Kural*, though far inferior to it in sentiment and language. It derives its name from the nature of the four-feet stanza in which it is written. There is a legend about its having been preserved from a watery grave, given by Beschi and others, from which it is supposed to have derived its name ; but we do not think it worth relating.

There is the *Nidincrivulakam* and a host of other smaller books on Morals ; but we think we have said enough on this subject. We have a Tamil version of the *Naishadam*, but by no means equal to the Sanskrit original. The greatest original Tamil poem is the *Chintāmani*, which is just being published at Madras. It is a moral epic of the highest merit. The commentator styles the author the master of all the learned. His name is not mentioned. He was a Jain, of whom Beschi remarks, that “he may with justice be called the prince of Tamil poets.” *Chintāmani* is an appellation of *Sivagan*, the hero of the poem. Many beautiful passages from it are quoted in *Ellis's Kural*. Examples of rhetorical figures are generally

given from it. From the specimen of the first part of the work, with a comment as learned as the text, which we have seen in print, we fear it will be tough reading.

There are very few original dramatic compositions in Tamil. But all the celebrated Sanskrit pieces are translated, even the *Prabódha Chandrodaya*, a Vedantic drama, which resembles *Bunyan's Holy War*. The Romanists have written a few religious dramas. There are Tamil treatises on arithmetic, logic, architecture and astronomy; but nothing of any importance. The language abounds in medical works, a list of which may be seen in *Dr. Ainslie's Materia Medica*, and is quoted in Dr. Ryle's book on Indian medicines. Agastiar is the Hippocrates of Hindustan, and is the great medical authority. An anonymous writer, quoted by Mr. Taylor, in his historical manuscripts, says of Agastiar: "According to his own declaration, it appears that he composed three millions of stanzas on the vanity of the world, and follies of the human race; one million on medicine; and two millions on alchemy; which latter was the principal theme of his study. Of his moral works, very few are in circulation, as the *Sanniyásis*, who appeared in the succeeding ages, tried their utmost to keep them as secret as possible; and whenever they had an opportunity, they did not hesitate to commit them to the flames. In one of his moral cantos, entitled *Mupathu*, (or thirty stanzas) not unlike the Wisdom of Solomon, he gives ample reasons in refutation of the notions which the people of the world entertain about *Siva*, *Vishnu*, and *Brahma*; proves that penance, bathing, and self-immolation, are unnecessary (as the means) to obtain a passage to *Kailása* (paradise), and at last instructs men to worship *Parabrahma* (the Supreme Being)." A Tract called *The Wisdom of Agastiar*, containing thirty stanzas, printed and circulated by the Madras Tract Society, is evidently the production of some Romanist, who has closely imitated the style of the original,—for it plainly treats of the mosaic records of the creation, the fall of man, the nature of sin, and the Saviour in unmistakeable language;—and at the same time is mixed up with puerilities and mysticisms. Mr. Taylor quotes some of his original stanzas in the historical manuscripts; (*See vol. I., p. 171*), and properly remarks of him that, "at this distance of time, we can only regret that Agastiar, who seems to have approximated towards the truth, should have lived so late, when the pure truth had become disguised, falsified, and forsaken, or else that he did not live later, when, with a mind in some degree prepared, he might have caught the beams of truth fresh and pure from the original fountain."

Besides the Vedantic works, such as the *Bhagavat Gita*, the *Vāshistam*, the *Mahāvākyam*, and the Upanishads, we have the *Saiva Agamas* translated into Tamil. The most popular religious book of the Vaishnavas is the *Tiruvaymozgaly*, containing hymns of praise in honour of Vishnu, which are recited in temples by the Tamil Brahmans instead of the Sanskrit Vedic hymns. They are said to be composed by the twelve *āchārys*, or disciples of Vishnu. They contain four thousand stanzas. The counterpart of this amongst the Saivas is the *Tiruvāsagam*, consisting of hymns in praise of Siva, sung in his temple by Siva Pandārams. It was composed by *Manikavāsagar*, the great champion of Saivism, who, in the ninth century overcame the Jains. Both these popular works, according to their names, signify *the Holy Word*, or *Sacred Scriptures*.

We have also a set of writers called *Judhis* or *Siddhas*.—sophis, or wise men, who have left the breathings of their soul in Poetry. These Tamil sages were men of enquiring and earnest minds who were above the popular notions and superstitions, searching after immortality and happiness. The most popular amongst them are Sivavakiar, Patragiriar, Pattanathupillai, and Thāyumānār. One of the sages after diving into the Vedas and Sastras, comes to the following conclusion :—

„ The systems all by ancient sages taught,  
 The living light with truth declared not ;  
 Their notions in conflicting theories fell,  
 With demons' lied, they found their place in hell."

One of them, a royal sage, thus laments :—

" The Shāstras being burnt up ;  
 The four Vedas shown to be false ;  
 The mystery being discovered ;  
 When shall bliss be obtained ?"

In these and similar passages, we see some glimpses of truth, and the seeking of the mind after something which the philosophy of the world cannot give and which must come from a higher source ;—" for by no art whatever can the waters be made to rise higher than their fountain."

The belief of a future state and the knowledge of moral obligation, make up the sum of natural theology or philosophy of the world. But how dark and uncertain are the conflicting statements of sages and moralists on these grand and momentous points ! On these subjects there is no resting point for the soul, but in that system which " brought light and immortality to light." The wisest of the Greeks confessed his ignorance, and



deplored the want of a superior direction. "The world by wisdom "knew not God." Mr. Percival remarks, that "the Indian "literature in some of its moral features suffers nought from "comparison with the best ethical writings ever brought to "light." Admitting that some of the views of heathen moralists are just, there is one deficiency pervading the whole, that of *motive*, necessarily resulting from a state of uncertainty with regard to every thing regarding the future. What are the results of heathen philosophy; an ideal or material Pantheism. Even the philosophers themselves, who "professed to know God, glorified him not as God, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened." He who would know truth must himself stand in the truth. It has been well remarked by a writer in America, that "It is from above that we survey what is below, and not the reverse. It is only by means of truth that we can comprehend error; whereas error understands not even itself. *Verum index sui et falsi.*" Mr. W. Taylor remarks on the Hindu sages, that they were "men superior to popular notions, yet yielding to them to avoid popular odium." To have a thorough knowledge of the first principles of morals, it is necessary to know the deep seated disease of humanity; and "to perfect holiness in the fear of the Lord," it is necessary to know the doctrine of grace by an Incarnate Saviour, of whom it might be truly said in the language of one of the Hindu sages,

"Multiplying love, Thou didst come to save my precious soul,  
Thou art infinite bliss—O King—O God!"

Mr. Drew, in his Preface justly remarks, "that it cannot be "supposed necessary for the sake of Christianity to deny to such "works whatever degree of merit they may possess. Christianity requires not the aid of falsehood, or of concealment, "nor need we wish to blacken the systems and books of the "country beyond what truth will warrant; for even in the best "there is much and pernicious error. The *Kural* itself, esteemed "the best book of morals written by a Hindu, is an illustration "of this remark. The third part on Sensual Love could not "be read with impunity by the purest mind."

Though the palmy days of Tamil literature are gone by with the Madura Pandians, yet the works that remain are standing monuments by which we may estimate the capabilities of Hindu genius. Tamil learning is at present very little encouraged, and therefore neglected in our public schools. There are many native presses, however, at Madras, Ceylon, Pondicherry and other places, at work, from which are constantly issuing works,

good, bad, and indifferent. Dr. Graul, who was lately out in this country in connexion with the Leipsic Mission, is printing Tamil works in Germany. A first Tamil book, by the Rev. G. W. Pope, on Arnold's plan, is now in the press; and will, we are sure, prove a valuable help to beginners. Tamil literature is much indebted to Christian missionaries. It was the first language studied by them. We have had the Tamil Bible complete for more than a hundred years: we have a Tranquebar, Madras, Colombo, and a Tentative version. The name of Fabricius, as the translator of the Bible, and the composer of Tamil hymns, will long be gratefully remembered by the Indian church. We are not without our Christian poets and authors amongst the natives themselves. Our Christian literature consisting of histories, commentaries, divinities, liturgies, sermons, is not to be despised; and these works are increasing very fast around us. We have books of science periodicals, and newspapers. There are various Societies whose object is to furnish us with school books. All that we want is the encouragement of vernacular schools by Government, and their establishment and vigorous working in every town and principal village. We want, moreover, our missionary educational Institutions to give prominence and encouragement to the accurate and careful study of the principles and literature of the language.

We have now done our task. But let the greatest European scholar, the famous Beschi himself, use his persuasive reasons, to urge the student to enter into the inner temple of the language, and see how its builders have perfected its beauty. Addressing the Jesuits, he says:—

"That the study will be one of considerable difficulty, I do not pretend to deny; but the labour will not want its reward. Among the natives themselves, very few can now be found, who are masters of the higher dialect. He among them who is acquainted even with its rudiments, is regarded with respect; but should he quote their abstruse works, he is listened to with fixed admiration; what praise, then, would they not bestow on a foreigner, whom they should find deeply versed in a science which they themselves consider scarcely attainable? They will readily attend to the teaching of one whose learning is the object of their admiration. And as this may evidently lead to the honor of religion, and promote the salvation of those about us, I am satisfied that this consideration alone, operating on zeal like yours, will suffice to excite you to the study of this dialect, notwithstanding the difficulties that attend it."

"But since almost all the Tamil works in this dialect are  
 "in verse, I trust you will not deem it improper, if I venture  
 "to draw your attention to heathen poets, and to the study  
 "of poetry. In former times, *St. Jerome* was severely censured  
 "for having, by the introduction of examples from the poets,  
 "sullied the purity of the church with the pollutions of the  
 "heathen. *St. Jerome* in his learned reply, demonstrates, that  
 "the apostle *Paul* repeatedly cites from the poets, in his Epis-  
 "tles, and that the most exemplary among the fathers not only  
 "made frequent use of illustrations from the writing of laymen;  
 "but that, even by their own poetry, they, far from polluting,  
 "embellished the church. These remarks apply with particular  
 "force in this country, the natives of which are swayed not  
 "so much by reason as by authority; and what have we from  
 "their own authors to adduce in aid of truth, except the verses  
 "of their poets? For, since all their writings are in verse,  
 "they have reduced to metre their rules of art, and even the  
 "rudiments of their language: whence, they naturally suppose,  
 "that he who does not understand their poetry, is totally igno-  
 "rant. Moreover, there are excellent works in Tamil poetry,  
 "on the subject of the divine attributes and the nature of virtue;  
 "and if, by producing texts from them, we turn their own wea-  
 "pons against themselves, they will blush not to conform to the  
 "precepts of teachers in whom they cannot glory without con-  
 "demning themselves. If we duly consider what has been  
 "said, we shall be satisfied, that, in this country especially, it is  
 "highly proper in a minister of the gospel to read the poets,  
 "and to apply himself to the study of poetry."

# THE RELATION OF CHRISTIANITY TO ISLAM, AND THE CORAN IN ITS LAST MECCAN STAGE.

BY SIR W. MUHAMMAD.

1. *The Coran.*
2. *Versuch einer Darstellung der Christologie des Koran von C. F. Gerock. Hamburg und Gotha, 1839.*

HAVING in a previous paper traced the history of Mahomet to his flight from Mecca, we propose now to examine the portions of the Coran revealed during the last three years of his residence in that city.

It is in the Suras of this period that we first find any detailed mention of Christianity. The connection at that time professed by Mahomet with our holy Faith, never became closer, or materially altered. It will, therefore, be convenient here to review the entire relation of Christianity to Islam, without confining the enquiry to the Meccan period only of the prophet's life.

Though the Christians and their Prophet are frequently referred to in the Coran by name, yet extended notices of the narrative or doctrines of the Gospel are few, and scattered;—so few, indeed, that it will be possible (and we think it will prove interesting to the Christian reader) to enumerate them all.

The following is the fullest and the earliest account of the Gospel history; and was produced by Mahomet shortly after his journey to Tayif. From its subject the Sura is entitled MARY, (Maryam), and opens thus:—

A commemoration of the mercy of the Lord unto His servant ZACHARIAS;—  
When he called upon his Lord with a secret invocation.  
He said:—Oh Lord! as for me, my bones are decrepit, and my head white with hoar hair.  
And I have never prayed unto Thee, Oh Lord! unheeded.  
Verily, I fear my kinsmen after me; and my wife is barren. Wherefore grant unto me from thyself a successor.\*  
Who shall be my heir, and an heir of the Family of Jacob, and make him, Oh Lord! well pleasing.

\* **ولي** In the parallel passage in Sura III, 38, the expression used is **ذرية** or *offspring*. Gerock would construe the passage as the prayer for an heir generally, and not from his own body, of which from the opening of his prayer it seems he had no expectation. He goes so far as to say that the prayer alludes probably to the marriage of Mary, his "ward," or "foster-daughter," (Pflegetochter) whose child he assumes (but seemingly on very insufficient ground) would be his heir. *Christologie*, p. 20. We very much doubt this explanation, and would

Oh ZACHARIAS ! We bring thee good tidings of a son, whose name shall be JOHN ;  
 We have not made any to be called thereby before \*  
 He said ;—Oh Lord ! whence shall there be a son unto me, since my wife is barren, and I truly have reached the imbecility of old age ?  
 He said ;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy unto me ; for verily I created thee heretofore when thou was nothing  
 He said ;—Lord make unto me a sign. He said ;—This is thy sign ; thou shalt not speak unto any for three nights. † though sound in health.  
 And he went forth unto his people from the chamber, and he motioned unto them that they should praise God in the morning and evening.  
 Oh JOHN ! Take the Book ‡ with power ; and We gave him Wisdom, as a child,  
 And compassion from Us, and Purity ; and he was virtuous and dutiful unto his parents ; he was not overbearing nor rebellious.  
 Peace be on him the day he was born, and the day he shall die, and the day he shall be raised to life.  
 And make mention, in the Book,§ of MARY, when she withdrew from her people into an eastern place.  
 And took a curtain to hide herself from them.  
 And We sent unto her Our SPIRIT, and he appeared unto her a perfect man.  
 She said ;—I seek refuge in the Merciful from thee if thou fearest God !  
 He said ;—Nay, verily, but I am a Messenger of thy Lord, that I may give unto thee a virtuous son ||  
 She said ;—How shall there be to me a son, and a man hath not touched me, and I am not unchaste.  
 He said ;—So shall it be. Thus saith thy Lord,—It is easy with me ; and We shall make him a sign unto mankind, and a mercy from us, for it is a thing decreed.  
 And she conceived him, and withdrew with him *in the womb* unto a distant place.  
 And the pains of labour came upon her by the trunk of a Palm-tree ;

take the common sense of ذرية i. e. " offspring to Zacharias himself." The Mussulman commentators do not stand on such difficulties. Abd al Cadir, the Urdu translator of the Coran, holds that Zacharias prayed "in secret," because at his advanced age, to have prayed *openly* for offspring, would have subjected him to ridicule !

\* Evidently based on Luke i., 61.

† Compare Sura III, 41. In the Gospel, Luke i. 20, 64, the dumbness continues until after the birth of John.

‡ That is, the Old Testament. The verse is spoken by God Himself.

§ I. E., the Coran.

|| Gerock, (p. 37,) with much special pleading, endeavours to prove Mahomet's doctrine to have been that Gabriel was the father of Jesus by ordinary generation. The only expression which gives the shadow of a colour to this idea, is the one in the text, where Gabriel declares himself sent, "that I may give thee a virtuous Son." But from the parallel passage, (Sura III, 45) it clearly appears that no stress can be laid upon these words. The following is the account there given : "When the Angels said, Oh MARY ! Verily God giveth thee good tidings of the Word from Him, JESUS, the Messiah, the son of Mary, &c. She said whence shall there be a son unto me, and no man hath touched me ? He said,—Thus doth God create that which He pleaseth ; when He hath decreed a thing, He only saith unto it, BE, and it shall be, &c.

Besides, in both passages, after the annunciation by Gabriel, the question of Mary as to how this should be, seeing that "she knew not a man" (Luke i. 34) ; and the reply of Gabriel that it would be by the Almighty power of God, are conclusive against any such meaning as that started by Gerock ; and show that Mahomet simply adopted the Gospel story as it was narrated to him, even to verbal coincidence.

It is farther clear from the phrases repeatedly applied in the Coran to Mary, as "she whose virginity we preserved, and into whom WE breathed of Our spirit," that Mahomet avowed the immaculate and supernatural conception of Jesus. Sura XXI, 91 ; and LXVI, 13 ; the former revealed at Mecca, the latter at Medina.

The expression, *التي احصنت فرجها*, which it is not necessary to translate literally, will satisfy the Arabic scholar, that Gerock's theory is utterly groundless.

She said.—Would that I had died from before this, and been forgotten, out of mind !  
And there cried one from below her,—Grieve not thou ! verily thy Lord hath provided beneath thee a fountain :  
And shake unto thee the roof of the Palm-tree : it will drop upon thee ripe dates, ready plucked.  
Wherefore eat and drink and be comforted ; and if thou meet any man,  
Say,—Verily I have vowed unto the Merciful a fast, and I will not speak to any man this day.  
And she came with the child unto her people, carrying him ; they said,—Oh MARY ! Verily thou hast done a strange thing ;  
Oh Sister of Aaron ! thy father was not an evil man, nor was thy mother unchaste.  
And she pointed to the child. They said,—How shall we touch him that is an infant in the cradle ?  
He (the child) said :—Verily I am the servant of God ; He hath given me the Book, and made me a Prophet,  
And made me blessed where ever I may be, and hath commanded me (to observe) Prayer and  
A fast-giving while I remain alive,  
And made me dutiful to my mother, and not overhearing nor evildoer :  
Hence be on me the day I was born, and the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised alive !  
This is Jesus, the Word of truth, § concerning whom they are in doubt.  
Is it not for God to take unto Him a Son ?—Glory be to Him !  
When He hath decreed a matter, He only saith unto it, Be, and it shall be. Sura. XIX.

There is but one other detailed account of the birth of Jesus in the Coran, and that was delivered a few years before the death of Mahomet, on the occasion of an embassy to Medina

\* Gerock, (*ibidem*), as it appears to us quite gratuitously, turns these words of natural anguish into a proof of his doctrine as to theaternity of Jesus.

† In Sura III. 33, she is likewise called the daughter of IMRAN : and it is therefore concluded by some, that Mahomet confounded Mary (Maryam) with the sister of Moses. The confusion of names is the more suspicious, as it is not favoured by Christian authority of any description, the traditional names of Mary's parents being Joachim and Anna.

Gerock combats this idea at some length, (p. 24) showing that Imrân is never named in the Coran as the father of Moses, nor Mary (Maryam) as his sister, and that Mahomet is seen elsewhere to be well aware of the interval between Jesus and Moses. The latter fact cannot, of course, be doubted. Mahomet could never have imagined that Mary, the mother of Jesus, was the sister of Moses and Aaron. But it is still extremely probable that the confusion of this misnomenclature originated in the notions of Jewish informants, amongst whom the only notorious Mary, (Maryam) was the daughter of Imrân, and sister of Moses : and they would ordinarily give the name of Maryam those accompaniments. Mahomet adopted the phraseology (for his informant were mainly, if not solely, Jews,) without perceiving the anachronism it involved.

‡ The tradition that Jesus spoke in his cradle is referred to in the *Gospel of the Infancy*, ch. I. "Invenimus in libro Josephi Pontificis, qui vixit tempore Christi, Jesum locutum esse, et quidem cum in cunis jaceret, dixisseque matri sue Mariæ : Ego, quem peperisti, sum Jesus, filius Dei, verbum, quem admodum annuntiavit tibi angelus Gabriel, misitque me pater meus ad salutem mundi."  
—See Gerock, p. 47.

§ Or, "a true saying, concerning which," &c. ; the original قول الحق is susceptible of both constructions.

¶ Sura III., 33—54. This passage contains in much detail the birth of Mary, and Gerock has traced some approximations in it to the Apocryphal Gospels.

1. Mary's parents devoted her while in the womb to the Divine service, Sura III., 35, compared with Evang. de nativ. Mariæ :—"Voverunt tamen (ejus parentes) si forte Deus donaret eis sobolem, eam se Domini servitio mancipaturos."

2. God supplied her supernaturally with daily food, *Cnf. Protev. Jacob*, ch. 8 ; και λαμβανε τροφήν εκ χειρος ἀγγέλων. So, *Hist. Nativ. Mar. et infant. Salv.* ; quotidie exa, quam de manu angeli accipiebat, &c. 3. The relatives of Mary cast arrows (lots) for her charge, Sura III., 41, compared with Ev. Nativ. Mar., cap. 6—8 ; *Protev. Jacob*, cap. 8, 9.

A common traditional source is thus apparent. — Gerock, p. 30.

from the Christian tribe of Najrân, the singular particulars of which will be alluded to below.

Of the *Life* of Christ, the particulars are unaccountably meagre, and mingled with fable : the passages, too, in which they occur, belong solely to the prophet's later years at Medina. The object of the mission of Jesus to the Jews was to confirm their Scriptures, to modify and lighten some of the burdens of their Law, and to recall them to the true service of God. \*

His miracles are thus described :—

On a certain day shall God assemble the Apostles, and  
Say :—What reply was made unto you ? They shall say ;—  
We know not, verily Thou art the Knower of secrets.

Then shall God say ;—Oh Jesus, Son of Mary ! call to mind My grace upon Thee and upon Thy MOTHER, when I strengthened Thee with the HOLY SPIRIT, that Thou shouldest speak with men in the cradle, and in mature life :—and when I taught Thee the Scripture and Wisdom, and the Law, and the Gospel ;—and when Thou formedst of clay like unto the figure of a bird by My permission, and thou blewest thereupon and it became a Bird by my permission :—and Thou didst heal the Blind and the Leper by My permission ; and when thou didst raise the Dead by my permission ;† and when I held back the Children of Israel from Thee at the time Thou showedst unto them evident signs, and the Unbelievers among them said,—Verily this is nought but manifest sorcery.

And remember when I spake by inspiration to the Apostles,‡ saying,—Believe on Me, and on My Apostle. They said,—We believe ; bear thou witness that we are Moslems. §

When the Apostles said,—Oh JESUS, SON of MARY ! is Thy Lord able to cause a Table to descend upon us from Heaven ? He said,—Fear God ; if ye be faithful. They said.—We desire that we may eat therefrom, and that our hearts be set at ease, and that we may know that Thou verily hast spoken unto us the truth, and that we may be witnesses thereof. Then spake JESUS, SON of MARY,—Oh God, our Lord ! send down unto us a Table from Heaven, that it may be unto us a Feast-day, || unto the first of us and unto the last of us, and a sign from Thee ; and nourish us, for Thou art the best of Nourishers. And God said,—verily I will send it down unto you ; and whoever after that shall disbelieve amongst you, surely I will torment him with a torment wherewith I shall not torment any other creature.

And when God shall say,—Oh JESUS, Son of MARY ! didst Thou speak unto mankind saving.—Take Me and My Mother for two Gods besides THE LORD ? He shall say,—Glory be to Thee ! it is not for Me to say that, which I know to be not the truth. If I had said that, verily thou wouldest have known it. Thou knowest that which is in Me, but I know not that

\* Sura III., 49.

† These miracles are again recapitulated in Sura III., 48, with this addition ;—“ And I will tell unto you what ye eat, and what ye store in your houses, i. e., as a proof of his knowledge of the invisible.

‡ *الحواريين* used only of the Apostles of Jesus.

§ i. e., those who have surrendered themselves unto God.

|| *عيدا*, An Eed, or religious festival recurring periodically.

which is in thee; verily, Thou art the Knower of secrets. I spake not unto them aught but what Thou commandedst Me, saying,—Worship God, My Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness unto them whilst I continued amongst them; and since Thou hast taken me away, Thou hast Thyself been their keeper, and Thou art a Witness over all things. If Thou punish them, verily, they are Thy servants, and if Thou have mercy upon them, verily, Thou art the Glorious, the Wise!

God will answer.—This is a day on which their truthfulness shall profit the truthful. They shall have Gardens with rivulets flowing through them, and remain therein for ever. God is well-pleased with them, and they well-pleased with Him. That shall be a great Felicity!\*

This passage is remarkable as affording in the supernatural table that descended from heaven, the only possible allusion, traceable in the Coran, to the Lord's Supper. The tale is probably founded on some misapprehended tradition regarding "the Table of the Lord."†

To complete the miserable outline, it remains only to be added that Jesus escaped the machinations of the Jews, and was taken up alive to heaven. In a passage aimed at his Jewish enemies of Medin, Mahomet thus upbraids their rebellious forefathers:—

—And for their unbelief; and for their having spoken against Mary a grievous calumny; and for their saying,—*Verily we have killed the MESSIAH, JESUS, son of MARY, the Apostle of God.* And they killed him not, nor did they crucify him, but he was simulated (in the person of another) unto them. And verily they that are at variance about him, are in doubt concerning him. They have no knowledge regarding him, but follow only a conjecture. And they slew him not certainly. But God raised him up unto Himself; and God is the Glorious, the Wise! And there is none of the People of the Book but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of Judgment he will be a Witness against them‡

In addressing the idolatrous Meccans, Mahomet appealed to the Ministry, Revelations, and rejection of Jesus, as he was wont to appeal to the history of other prophets, in analogy and support of his own Mission. His adversaries saw their

\* Sura V., 118 to end.

† The singular fancy of the Traditionists and Commentators has created a host of miraculous accompaniments to this table;—fruit from the trees of Paradise, bread, meats, and fish, which, though broiled, were still alive, and for the convenience of the guests threw off their scales and bones!

The poor, lame, and wretched were invited to the feast, which lasted forty days. The commentators probably confounded the Lord's Supper with the feeding by Jesus of the multitudes.

‡ The purport of this last verse is obscure. It probably implies that the death of Christ will take place before the Judgment Day: and that the Jews will then be forced to believe in him.



opportunity, and replied that if Jesus, who appeared in human form, was worshipped by his followers, there could be nothing absurd, (as he would insist,) in their praying through images,—the representatives of heavenly powers,—to God. They exclaimed with delight that his whole argument thus fell to the ground ;—

And when JESUS, Son of MARY, was proposed as an example, lo ! thy people cried aloud,  
And they said, What ! Are our own gods the best, or he ?

They have proposed this unto thee only as a cause of dispute ;

Yea, they are a contentious people !

Verily he was no other than a servant, upon whom We were gracious, and We made him an  
example unto the Children of Israel :—

[And if We pleased We could make from amongst yourselves Angels to succeed you upon Earth ;]  
And verily he shall be for a sign of the last hour. Wherefore doubt not thereof, and follow me ;  
this is the right way.

And let not Satan obstruct you, for he is your manifest Enemy. *Sura XLIII.*, 56—60.

This was in fact the only position which, at the present advanced period of his Mission, Mahomet could consistently fall back upon ; and it was ever after carefully maintained. Some terms of veneration, in use among Christians, are indeed applied to Jesus, as “the WORD of God,” and “His SPIRIT which he breathed into Mary.”\* But the Divine Sonship was steadfastly denied : the worship of Jesus by the Christians was placed in the same category as the supposed worship of Ezra by the Jews ; † and, in one place, the doctrine of the Trinity is expressly reprobated. It is a Medina Sura :—

Ye people of the Book ! Commit not extravagancies in your religion ; and speak not of God aught but the truth. For verily the Messiah, JESUS, Son of MARY, is an Apostle of God, and His WORD which He placed in Mary, and a Spirit from Him. Wherefore believe in God, and in the Apostles ; and say not, there are THREE. Refrain : it will be well for you. Verily the Lord is one God. Glory be to Him ! far be it from Him, that there should be to him a Son. To Him belongeth whatsoever is in the Heavens and in the Earth ; and He is a sufficient Patron. The Messiah disdaineth not to be a Servant of God : neither the Cherubim that draw nigh unto Him. *Sura IV.*, 169. 170.

It may well be doubted whether Mahomet ever understood the real doctrines of Christianity. The few passing observations regarding our Faith to be found in the Coran, commence at a period when his system was already, in great part, matured, and seem founded upon information not only deficient but deceptive. The whole of his historical know-

\* So *Sura IV.*, 169. “His WORD, which He placed in Mary, and a SPIRIT, from Him.” John was to bear testimony to “the WORD from God,” *Sura III.*, 39. At the annunciation, the Virgin is thus addressed ;—“Oh Mary ! God giveth thee good tidings of THE WORD from Himself,—the Messiah, Jesus,” &c., *Sura III.*, 40. “We breathed into her of OUR SPIRIT.” *LXVI.*, 13 : *XXI.*, 91.

† *Sura IX.*, 31.

ledge\* (for whatever he knew, it was his practice to embody in the Coran,) is contained in the few extracts already before the reader; and whether regarded in its own meagre and apocryphal outlines, or compared with the ample details of Jewish history, both Scriptural and traditional, shows that the sources were singularly barren and defective. The Sacrament of Baptism is not even alluded to; and if there be an allusion to the Eucharist, we have seen it to be utterly disfigured, and well nigh lost in fable. The great doctrine of Redemption through the death of Christ was apparently unknown (for if it had been known and rejected, it would no doubt, have been combated in the Coran,) and His very crucifixion denied.

We do not find a single ceremony or doctrine of Islam in the smallest degree moulded, or even tinged, by the peculiar tenets of Christianity.—While Judaism has, on the contrary, given its colour to the whole system, and lent to it the shape and type, if not the actual substance of many ordinances.

But although Christianity is thus so remote from Islam as to have had practically no influence in the formation of its creed and ritual, yet in the *theory* of Mahomet's system, it occupies a place equal, if not superior, to that of Judaism. To understand this we must take a brief review of the development of the system itself.

In his first breathings of pseudo-inspiration, the prophet professed no distinct relation with any previous religion, excepting perhaps with the purer element in the national worship said to have been derived from Abraham, though grievously overlaid with idolatry and superstition. His Mission was simply to recall the Arabs to the service of the true God, and a belief in "the day of reckoning."

In process of time, he gained, through Jewish informants, some acquaintance with the existing Scriptures of the Jews and Christians, and the systems founded thereon. The new Revelation was now announced as concurrent with the previous "Books." The Coran was described mainly as an attes-

\* Of the period subsequent to the ascension, the only trace of acquaintance with the spread of Christianity is in the story of the three Apostles (one of whom is supposed to have been Simon Peter,) who went to Antioch, and of one of their converts there who suffered martyrdom. Sura XXXVI., 13—28.

The story of the seven sleepers, who slumbered 309 years, and then arose to find the idolatrous world Christianized, can hardly be classed under this head, though it shows the interest Mahomet was beginning to take in Christians. It will be found, with abundance of childish romance and fiction, in Sura XVIII.

Both Suras belong to the late Meccan period.

fore press forward in good works. Unto God shall ye all return, and He will tell you that in which ye disagree.

Judge, therefore, between them according to that which God hath revealed, and follow not their desires, and beware of them lest they tempt thee aside from a part of that which God hath revealed unto thee.—*Sura V.*, 50—57.

Thus each of the former revelations was not only to be believed in as the Word of God by all the faithful of whatever denomination, but to be directly used and implicitly observed by Jews and Christians respectively (as their guide and director) and by Mahomet himself in judging amongst them. In disputed and doubtful points, the Coran was to be admitted as a conclusive oracle.

In conformity with this expansive system, we find that, at a period long anterior to the Hégira, Mahomet propounded in the Coran the doctrine that a grand Catholic faith pervaded all ages and revelations—the pure features of which had been held in the boldest relief by the patriarch Abraham.\* This primitive religion varied at each dispensation by accidental rites, comprised as its essential features, belief in the One true God, rejection of all idolatry or worship of Meditators as sharers in the power and glory of the Deity, and the implicit surrender of the will to God. Such surrender is termed “Islam;” and hence Abraham is called “the first of Moslems.” To this original Islam it was now the Mission of Mahomet to recall *the whole of mankind*.

Each successive Revelation had been abused by its votaries, who had quickly turned aside from the pure elements forming the groundwork of the dispensation. They had magnified or misinterpreted rites intended to be only collateral. By perverting doctrines, they had turned the gift of Revelation into a curse. They had fallen into a thousand sects, “each rejoicing in its own opinions,” and fencing itself round with intolerance and intense hatred.

Amidst the contending factions, truth might possibly be discovered by the earnest enquirer, but it would be with difficulty, and uncertain steps. The Jew denounced the Christian,<sup>o</sup> and the Christian the Jew. Some worshipped not only Jesus, but His mother: others held both to be mere creatures. From this labyrinth of confusion and error, it pleased the Almighty once again to deliver mankind. Mahomet was the Apostle of this grand and final Mission, and his judgment was to be

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\* See *Sura XVI.*, 120, 123. Connected with this Catholic faith is the doctrine that a prophet has been sent to every people. *Sura XXVIII.*, 60; *XVI.*, 36; *v.*, 57.

heard unquestioned amid the clash of opposing authorities. This in a Meccan Sura :—

He hath ordained unto you the Faith which He commanded unto Noah, and which We have revealed unto thee, and which We commanded unto Abraham and Moses and Jesus, saying, set up the Faith and fall not to variance.

And they fell not to variance until after the knowledge (of Divine Revelation,) had come unto them,\* not of enmity among themselves; and if the word from thy Lord had not gone forth (rescuing them) unto a fixed time, the matter had been decided between them. And verily they that have inherited the Book after them are in a perplexing doubt regarding the same.

Wherefore call them thereto (i. e., unto the Catholic Faith;) and be steadfast as thou hast been commanded, and follow not their desires: and say, I believe in all the Scriptures which God hath revealed; and I am commanded to do justice between you. God is our Lord and your Lord. To us will be reckoned our works, and to you your works† There is no ground of difference. ‡ between us and you.— *Sura XLII., 12--15.*

In this intermediate stage, Salvation was not confined to Islam, but would be obtained by every righteous man, whatever his religion, so as he abjured idolatry.

In the last period of development, the Coran rides triumphant over both the Law and the Gospel, and casts them unheeded into the shade. This, however, arose not from any express declaration, but from the necessary progress of the system. The popular impression which would attribute to Mahomet either the formal cancelment of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, or any imputation against their perfect genuineness and authority, is entirely mistaken. No expressions regarding them ever escaped the lips of Mahomet, but those of the most implicit reverence and highest eulogy. §

\* This is a favourite idea repeated frequently in the Coran as in *Sura II., 254.* The commentators are inclined to explain it of Islam, *viz.*, that Jews and Christians did not fall away till Mahomet came, and then they denied the prophet they had been expecting. But the idea seems to point rather to the perversion of former Revelations which, instead of leading men to the true faith, broke them up into opposing sects.

• † That is,—“your works will not be vain and rejected as those of the idolators, but will be reckoned towards Salvation, equally with those of my own followers.”

‡ “Ground of contention,” “quarrel,” “dispute.”

§ A pamphlet, we believe, is about to be published by the Agra Tract Society entitled, *The Testimony borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures*, in which every text having any reference whatever to those Scriptures, will be quoted. It is clearly proved by this collection, that the strongest and most unequivocal testimony is borne by the Coran to the Jewish and Christian Scriptures as current in the time of Mahomet; that the evidence extends equally to their genuineness and authority; and that there is not a hint any where to be found as to their cancelment or interpolation.

It was the opposition of the Jews, and the cold suspicion of the Christians, as well as the martial supremacy of Islam over the Hejâz, that imperceptibly, but inevitably, led to the exclusive imposition of the authority of Mahomet and the Coran. The change that dispensed with previous Revelation was made in silence. In the concluding, as in the early days of his mission, Mahomet hardly ever refers to the former Scriptures. His scheme was complete, and rested now on other pillars. The steps by which he had ascended to his final elevation were left far behind and forgotten.

Islam, indeed, had in the later years of the prophet, been rapidly diverging from all sympathy with the Bible. An appeal to it would now have proved embarrassing: and it seems probable that his silence was in some degree intentional. Whatever effect the doctrines of Christianity, if properly understood, might have had on the mind of Mahomet when yet enquiring, and moulding for itself a creed, it is evident that long before the final settlement of Islam at the last Pilgrimage to Mecca, his system had hardened into a form in which it was impossible that any new influences could produce material alteration. Argument was not now tolerated. Mahomet was the Prophet of God. His word was law. Every opposing doctrine must vanish before the divine command.

The exclusive and growingly intolerant position of Islam is sufficiently manifested by the ban issued against the Jews and Christians, as unfit for the sacred rites and holy precincts of the Meccan temple; and by the Divine command to war against them until, in confession of the superiority of Islam, they should consent to the payment of a tribute.

It may be interesting to illustrate the practical treatment of Christianity by Mahomet, after his acquisition of political power, by describing some of the treaties entered into with Christian tribes. The following relates to the important Christian settlement of Najrân.

"And the Prophet of the Lord wrote to the Bishop of the Bani Hârith, and the Bishops of Najrân, and their priests, and all that followed them, and their Monks,—saying, that 'they should continue in (the possession and practice of) every thing small and great, as it then stood, in their churches, their prayers, and their monasteries. The pledge of God and of His prophet is given that no Bishop shall be removed from his bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery, nor any

"Priest from his priesthood; that their authority and rights shall not be altered; nor any thing whatever which is customary amongst them, so long as they shall conduct themselves peaceably and uprightly. They shall not be burdened with oppression, neither shall they oppress."\*

The narrative of the embassy of this people to Medina is in itself curious, and has a double interest from being referred to in the Coran. It is as follows †:—

A deputation of fourteen chief men from Najrân repaired to Mahomet. Among them was Ackil or Abd al Masih of the Bani Kinda, their chief, Abdal Harith, their Bishop, and his brother Kurz, their guide. On reaching Medina, they entered the mosque, and prayed turning towards the east: and they were clothed in fine raiment lined with silk. Then the prophet called them: but when they came, he turned away and would not speak with them. And Othmân told them it was because of their dress. So they departed that day.

In the morning they came again clothed in their monastic dress and saluted Mahomet; and he returned their salutation, and invited them to Islam, and they refused; and words

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\* *Hâ-kidi*, p. 51½. At p. 56½ there is another treaty with the Christians of Najrân given in greater detail, and probably subsequent to the above. It is to the following effect: that Mahomet had commanded them to render tribute of all their fruits, yellow, white, and black (ripe and unripe?) and captives; but that he had generously commuted this for 2,000 suits of clothes of the value of an owkeea (ounce of silver) each; 1,000 to be given every Rajab, and 1,000 to every Safar. Whatever exceeded or fell short of the value of an owkeea to come into account; as likewise all armour, horses, camels and other goods taken from them by the Moslems. They were to entertain Mahomet's messengers (collectors) twenty days or less, but not to detain them beyond a month.

When there was war in Yemen they were to lend Mahomet thirty suits of armour, thirty horses, and thirty camels, and any that were lost were to be made good by Mahomet's people.

On the part of Mahomet, the guarantee of the Prophet of the Lord was given for their lives, religion, lands and property,—the absent as well as the present,—and for their Churches and places of prayer. No Bishop to be removed for his bishoprick, nor any Monk from his monastery; nor any minister ( *واقف* ) from his ministry ( *وقفانية* ). Everything, little and great, to remain as it then was.

No claim of blood prior to Islam to be allowed. Claims of right to be decided justly. Whoever took interest was free from Mahomet's guarantee.

"Now for all that is written in this paper, there is the protection of God and his prophet, for ever until the Lord send forth His command (i. e., the day of judgment) if ye deal uprightly and conduct your affairs properly, ye shall not be burdened with injury." Abu Sofian, and five others witnesses.

† The statement is given from Wäckidi. Hishâmi (p. 200) has encompassed his version of it with numerous puerile additions in favour of Islam, such as that their Bishops had with them books inherited from their predecessors and bearing the seal of each successive bishop, in which a notice of Mahomet was found; imaginative conversations between Mahomet and the party to the discomfiture of the latter, &c.

and disputation increased between them. And Mahomet recited to them passages from the Coran, and said :—"If ye deny that which I can say unto you, *come let us curse each other.*" So they went away to consider the matter. And on the morrow Abd al Masih, with two of the chief men, came to Mahomet and said : "We have determined that we shall not curse with thee ; wherefore command regarding us whatsoever thou wilt, we will give it ; and we will enter into treaty with thee. So he made a treaty with them ;\* and they returned to their cities. But in the evening Ackil with a companion went back to Mahomet and professed Islam, so they were received and entertained in the house of Abu Ayub the Adjutor. †

The incident is thus alluded to in the Coran :—

Verily, the analogy of Jesus is with God, like unto the analogy of Adam. He created him out of the dust, then said unto him BE, and he was. This is the truth from thy Lord : wherefore be not thou amongst the doubters.

And whosoever shall dispute with thee therein after that the true knowledge hath come unto thee ; say—*Come let us call out (the names) ‡ of our sons and your sons, of our wives and your wives, of ourselves and yourselves ; then let us curse one the other, and lay the curse of God upon those that lie !*

Verily this is a true exposition. There is no God but the Lord, and verily God is mighty and wise. And if they turn back, verily God is acquainted with the evil doers.

SAY :—Oh ye people of the Book ! come unto a just sentence between us and you, *that we shall not worship aught but God, and that we shall not*

\* The particulars of the treaty are similar to those in the previous note.

† *Wackidi*, p. 69. The subsequent history of the Najran Christians is there traced. They continued in possession of their lands and rights under the treaty during the rest of Mahomet's life, and the whole of Abu Bakr's Caliphate. Then they were accused of taking usury, and Omar expelled them from the land and wrote as follows :—

"The de-patch of Omar, the Commander of the Faithful, to the people of Najran. Whoever of them emigrates is under the guarantee of God. No Moslem shall injure them,—to fulfil that which Mahomet and Abu Bakr wrote unto them. •

"Now to whomsoever of the chiefs of Syria and Irac they may repair, let such chiefs allot them lands, and whatever they cultivate therefrom shall be theirs ; it is an exchange for their own lands. None shall injure or maltreat them ; Moslems will assist them against oppressors. Their tribute is remitted for two years. They will not be troubled except for evil deeds."

Now some of them alighted in Irac, and settled in Najrania, near to Cufa, (p 69)

That the offence of usury is alleged in justification of this measure, appears to us to disprove the common tradition of the command said to have been given by Mahomet on his death-bed, that the Peninsula was to be swept clear of all other religion but Islam.

‡ Sale has it—*Let us call together.* But if the text is rightly referred to the occasion of the Najran embassy, it can only mean to "call over and curse the names ;" because the wives and sons of the embassy were not at hand to summon.

*associate any with Him, nor shall we take any of us the other for Lords beside God.* And if they turn back, then bear witness, saying—Verily—we are the true believers—*Sura III*, 57—63.

It was surely a strange manner of settling the question which the Arabian Prophet proposed, and we have no reason to be ashamed of the Christian embassy for declining it. Still we cannot but see in the passage the earnestness of Mahomet's belief, and his conviction that a spiritual illumination had been vouchsafed to him, bringing with it knowledge and certainty where to the Christian all was speculation and conjecture.

Another Christian embassy was received from the Bani Taghlib. "It was formed of sixteen men, some Moslems and some Christians. The latter wore crosses of gold. And the prophet made terms with the Christians, stipulating that they should themselves continue in the profession of their religion, but should not baptize their children in the Christian faith."\*

These narratives clearly show the terms of sufferance upon which, at the last, Mahomet permitted Christianity to exist. It was indeed less obnoxious to him than Judaism, because he did not experience from it such persevering and active hostility. Hence the Clergy and Monks are spoken of in terms of comparative praise.† But, after all, his grand object was entirely to *supersede* Christianity as well as Judaism, and the professors of both were equally subjected to a humiliating tribute.\*

The stealthy progress by which this end was reached, has now

\* *Wäckidi*, p. 61½. The account of the embassy of the Bani Hanifa is more decidedly unfavourable to Christianity, but its details appear of doubtful authority. Mosilama, the false prophet, was among the number, and there are some anticipations of his sacrilegious claims.

As the embassy were departing, "Mahomet gave them a vessel in which were the leavings of the water with which he had performed his lustrations, and he said: *When you reach your country, break down your church and sprinkle its site with this water, and make in its place a mosque.* And they did so, and the vessel remained with Al Ackâs. And the Muedzzin called to prayers. And the monk of the church heard him, and he exclaimed—*it is the word of truth and the call of truth!* and he fled. And that was the last of the time (of Christianity.) *Wäckidi*, p. 62.

The story appears unlikely, because nowhere else is Mahomet represented as exhibiting such antagonism to Christians and their Churches, when they submitted themselves to him.

† See *Sura LVII*, 27. "And we caused Jesus, son of Mary, to succeed them, and we put into the hearts of those that followed him compassion and mercy; and the monastic state—they framed it for themselves (we did not command it unto them) simply out of a desire to please God," &c.

So *Sura V*, 77. "And thou wilt find the most inclined amongst them to be believers, to be those who profess Christianity—This because there are amongst them Clergy and Monks, and they are not proud; and when they hear that which hath been revealed unto the prophet, thou shalt see their eyes flow with tears, because of what they recognize therein of the truth," &c.



been made clear. He first confirmed the Scriptures without qualification or reserve. The next asserted for his own revelation a parallel authority, and by degrees a superseding or dispensing power. And, finally, though he never imputed error to the Scripture itself; or (though ceasing to appeal with former frequency to its evidence,) failed to speak of it with veneration, he rejected all the Christian dogmas, and demanded their rejection by his Christian followers, on the simple evidence of his own inspiration. Assuming, perhaps, that the former Scriptures could not be at variance with the mind of God as now revealed to himself, he cared not to verify his conclusions by a reference to "the Book." A latent consciousness of the weakness of his position probably rendered him unwilling honestly to face the difficulty. His course was guided here, as it was guided at so many other points, by an inexplicable combination of earnest conviction and uneasy questioning, if not of actual though unperceived self-deception. He was sure as to the object; and the means could not be wrong.

It may be useful to enquire briefly from what probable sources Mahomet obtained his meagre and deceptive information of Christianity.

One of the most remarkable traits in the teaching of the Coran is, that Jesus was not crucified, but one resembling him, and mistaken by the Jew, for Jesus. This fact is alleged, as we have seen,\* not in contradiction of the Christians; but, *in opposition to the Jews*, who gloried in the assertion that Jesus had been put to death by their nation. Hence it would almost seem that Mahomet believed his teaching on this head to be accordant with that of the Christian Church; and that he really was ignorant of the grand doctrine of the Christian faith,—Redemption through the death of Christ.

The singular correspondence between the allusions to the crucifixion in the Coran, and the wild speculations of the early heretics, has led to the conjecture that Mahomet acquired his notions of Christianity from a Gnostic teacher. But Gnosticism had disappeared from Egypt before the sixth century, and there is no reason for supposing that it had at any time gained a footing in Arabia. Besides, there is not the slightest affinity between the supernaturalism of the Gnostics and Docetæ, and the sober rationalism of the Coran. According to the former, the Deity must be removed far from the

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\* See the quotation above from Sura IV. 155—158.

gross contact of evil matter. The Æon Christ, which alighted upon Jesus at his baptism, must ascend to its native regions before the crucifixion. With Mahomet, on the contrary, Jesus was a mere man,—wonderfully born, indeed,—but still an ordinary man, a simple servant of the Almighty as others had been before him.\* Yet although there is no ground for believing that Gnostic doctrines were inculcated on Mahomet, it is possible that some of the strange fancies of those heretics, preserved in Syrian tradition, may have come to the ears of his informants (the chief of whom, even on Christian topics, seem to have been Jews, and been by them adopted as a likely and convenient explanation of the facts which formed the great barrier between Jews) and Christians. The Israelite would have less antipathy to the Catholic faith of Islam and the recognition of the mission of Jesus, if allowed to believe that Christians as well as Jews, had been in error, and that His people had not, in fact, put Jesus, the promised Messiah, to a shameful death; but that, like Enoch and Elijah, he had been received up into heaven. "Christ *crucified*" was still, as in the days of Paul, "the stumbling-block of the Jews." But here the stumbling-block was at once removed: and without any offence to his national pride, the Jew might confess his belief in this emasculated Christianity. It was a compromise that would readily and strongly approve itself to a Jewish mind already unsettled by the prophetic claims of Mahomet.

By others it has been attempted to trace the Christian stories of the Coran to certain apocryphal Gospels supposed to have been within the reach of Mahomet. But though some few of the details coincide with these spurious writings, the great body of the facts in no wise does so.† Whereas, had there been a ready access to such books, we cannot doubt that Mahomet would, as in the case of Jewish history and legend, have borrowed largely from them.

Gerock, after weighing every consideration, concludes that Mahomet acquired his knowledge from no written source, but from Christian tradition *current among the people of Arabia*:—

Am gerathensten möchte es daher wohl seyn, die Berichte

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\* This subject has been well discussed by Gerock, who shows the utter incongruity of Islam with Gnosticism, (p. 11.) Der positive besonnene character des Islam ist den Gnostischen speculationen gänzlich zuwider." (p. 12.)

See Gerock, p. 8. The "Gospel of Barnabas" is of course excepted, because it is the modern work of a Christian Apostate to Islam. "Aber es ist gewiss, dass dies Evangelium das Werk eines Betrügers ist, der erst lange nach Mohammed, vielleicht in Italien selbst, lebte, und sich bemühte, den Erzählungen des Koran und der Mohammedanischen Schriftsteller durch eine angeblich Christliche Unterlage mehr Ansehen und Glaubwürdigkeit zu verschaffen." (p. 9.)

des Koran über den stifter der Christlichen Religion aus der Tradition zu erklären. Es scheint nämlich, das Mohammed seine Berichte über Christus und einige andere, unbedeutende Erzählungen aus der Christengeschichte weder aus schriftlichen quellen, als kanonischen oder apokryphischen evangelien, noch aus bestimmten mündlichen mittheilungen, sondern vornämlich aus einer in seinem Vaterlande umhergetragenen Volkstradition schöpfte—Page 13.

As the sole source of information this appears to us insufficient. There is no ground for believing that either at Mecca or Medina there existed elements of Christian tradition from which could have been framed a narrative agreeing, as that of the Coran does, in many points, and even in several of its expressions, with the Gospels genuine and apocryphal, while in others it follows or outstrips the popular legend.

But tradition quite sufficient for this end survived in the southern confines of Syria, and no doubt reached Mahomet through both a Jewish and a Christian medium. The general outline of the Christian story in the Coran, having a few salient points in accordance with the Gospel, and the rest filled up with wild marvels, is just such as we might expect an enquiring Jew to learn from the traditions of the lower classes in Judea. The Christian slaves of Mecca, too, had generally been ravished from their homes in boyhood, and would remember little more than a few Scripture stories, with perhaps some fragments of the creed. Either the Jew or the Christian may also have heard the opening of the Gospel of Luke, and communicated to Mahomet the outline of the birth of John and Jesus, which he transferred to the Coran. It is also possible that some one may have repeated to Mahomet from memory, or read from a manuscript, those verses of the Gospel;—but this is a mere conjecture, and in itself improbable.\*

Mahomet's confused notions of the Trinity and of the Holy Ghost, seem most naturally to have been received through a Jewish informant, himself imperfectly acquainted with the subject.

It is not very apparent from the few indistinct notices in the Coran what Mahomet believed the Christian doctrine of the Trinity to be. In a passage above quoted, Christians are reprobated for "taking Jesus and his Mother for two gods."

\* It is unlikely that any Arabic translation of the Scriptures, or any part of them, was ever within Mahomet's reach, notwithstanding the traditions regarding Waraca. See *Life of Mahomet from his Youth to his Fortieth Year*, p. 26. If there was such a translation, it must have been imperfect and fragmentary.

besides the Lord."\* It is hence concluded that the Trinity of the Coran was composed of the Father, Mary, and Jesus. Such may be the case, but it is not certain. Zealous Protestants sometimes use language resembling the verse just quoted, without imputing to their adversaries any error in their views of the Trinity. The reverence and service for Mary had long been carried to the pitch nearly of Divine worship, and the "orthodox" party had hotly persecuted those who would not accord to her the title of "the Mother of God."† Mahomet might therefore censure the Christians for "taking Jesus and his mother for two Gods," without adverting to the Trinity.

On the other hand, the only passage in which the Trinity is specifically mentioned,‡ makes no allusion to the divinity of the Spirit: nor are the expressions "the Spirit," and "the Holy Spirit," though occurring in numerous texts throughout the Coran, ever used as if in the errors of Christianity they signified a Person in the Trinity. The phrase, as we have seen in a former paper,§ commonly meant Gabriel, the messenger of God's revelations to Mahomet. And it is possible that a confusion, in the prophet's mind, of the Holy Ghost with Gabriel, may have arisen from the annunciation of the Saviour by the latter, while he is also stated to have been conceived by the power of the Holy Ghost.|| The term is also repeatedly used in a more general sense as signifying *the Spirit of inspiration*.¶ It was the divine "Spirit" breathed into the clay, which gave life to Adam;\*\* and Jesus, who like Adam, had no earthly father, is also "a Spirit from God" breathed into Mary.†† When it is said that God "*strengthened Jesus with the Holy Spirit*,"‡‡ we may perhaps trace the use of current Christian speech, not inconsistent with Jewish ideas. §§

The assurance with which Mahomet appeals to Jews and Christians as both professing in their Scriptures, the promise

\* Sura IV., 169.

† Worship had been paid even to images of the Virgin and of Jesus from the 4th century. In the 6th century Gregory vainly endeavoured to prohibit the worship, while he encouraged the use of such images.—See *Waddington's History of the Church*, Vol. I., p. 295.

‡ Sura V., 109

§ *Extension of Islam*, p. 23.

|| Luke i. 35.

• ¶ Sura XVI., 2; XL., 16; XLII., 52.

\*\* Sura XV., 29

†† Sura XXI., 91; LXVI., 13; IV., 169.

‡‡ Sura II., 87, 254; V., 119. So LVIII., 22. See also other passages quoted in the note at page 23 of the *Extension of Islam*.

§§ Compare Psalm I.I., 12; "Uphold me with thy free Spirit." Gerock, though not alluding to the same expression, comes to a similar conclusion: "Das der heilige Geist der Christen dem Mohammed hier dunkel vorsich webte, ist einleuchtend besonders wenn wir bedenken, wie derselbe in dem Besuche bei Maria mit Gabriel in eine Person verschmilzt." (p. 79.)

of a prophet to come; whom, if they only put aside their prejudices, they would recognize in Mahomet, "as they recognized their own sons," is very singular, and must have been supported by ignorant or designing men of both religions. It would seem that Mahomet seized upon two kinds of expectation of the most different, and indeed, incompatible character, and adroitly combined them into a cumulative proof of his own Mission. The Jewish anticipation of a Messiah was fused by Mahomet, together with the utterly discordant anticipation by the Christians of the second Advent of Christ, into one irrefragable argument of a coming prophet, expected both by Jews and Christians, and foretold in all the Scriptures.

That the promise of the Paraclete was capable of perversion, we see in the heresy of Montanus, which made much progress at the close of the second century. It would seem that a garbled version of the same promise was communicated to Mahomet, and thus employed by him:—

And call to mind when JESUS, Son of MARY said;—Oh Children of Israel! Verily, I am an Apostle of God unto you, attesting the Towrât revealed before me, and giving good tidings of a prophet that shall come after me, whose name is AHMAD.\*

The prophecy of Moses to the Israelites:—"God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee, *of thy brethren*, like unto me,"† may plausibly enough have been adduced by a perverted Jew in favour of the Arabian Prophet.

That he was the Prophet promised to both people, lay at the root of the Catholic system so strongly inculcated by Mahomet in his middle stage; and there is no reason to doubt that the assumption was implicitly believed by himself.

From this review it appears to be highly probable, that Mahomet gained his chief knowledge of Christianity by the same Jewish medium, through which, at an earlier period, his more copious information of Jewish history reached him. His Meccan adversaries did not conceal their strong suspicion that the prompting from which the Scriptural or legendary tales proceeded, was not solely that of a supernatural inspiration. They openly imputed the aid of strangers:—

From whence shall there be an admonition for them; for, verily, there hath come unto them an evident Apostle:  
Then they turn from him and say,—*One taught by others, a madman!* ‡

\* Sura LXI., 6. This is another form of the root *Muhammed*, signifying like it, "the Praised." See John XVI., 7, where *παράκλητος* may have been rendered *περικλυτος*.

† *Deut.* XVIII., 15.

‡ *Sura XLIV.*, 14.

And the unbelievers say ; *Verily, this is a fraud which he hath fabricated ; and other people have assisted him therein.* But they say that which is unjust and false.  
They say : *They are fables of the Ancients which he hath had written down ; which are dictated unto him Morning and Evening.*  
Say :—He hath revealed it who knoweth that which is hidden in Heaven and in Earth. He is forgiving and merciful.

And verily We know that they say.—*surely a certain man teacheth him.* The tongue of him whom they hint at is foreign, but this is in the tongue of simple Arabic.

Whatever the rough material, its passage through the alembic of "simple Arabic" converted it at once into a gem of unearthly water. The recitations of a credulous and ill-informed Jew, re-appeared as the inspirations of the Almighty, dictated by the noblest of his heavenly messengers. The wild legend and the garbled Scripture story of yesterday, come forth to-morrow as a portion of the divine and eternal Coran !

And, however strange it may appear, the heavenly origin of his revelations, obtained though they were from such a fallible and imperfect source, was sincerely believed by Mahomet himself. It would be against the analogy of his whole life, to suppose that there was here a *conscious* fraud. Occasional doubts and misgivings, especially when he first submitted to Jewish prompting, there may have been, but a process similar to that by which he first assured himself of his own inspiration, would quickly banish them.

But the ignorance which covered so strange a deception in his early prophetic life, cannot be pleaded for his later years. The means of reaching a truer knowledge lay plentifully now within his reach. But they were not heeded, or rather were absolutely rejected, because a position had been taken up from which he could not, with credit or consistency, recede. Was not his own inspiration as sure as the recorded revelations of preceding prophets ; was it not far more authoritative than the uncertain doctrines deduced from them by their erring adherents ? Ignorance thus became wilful. Light was at hand : but Mahomet preferred darkness. He chose to walk "in the glimmerings of his own fire, and in the sparks which he had kindled."

The connexion of Christianity with Islam has led us to

\* Abdool Cádír translates, "*which are written out beside him morning and evening*;" and thinks it necessary to add the following explanatory note :—"At first the times of prayer were appointed for the morning and evening. The Moslems used at those time to gather about the prophet. Whatever new passages of the Coran had descended, they used to write down with the object of remembering them. The unbelievers thus misrepresented them."

† *Sura XXI.* § 6.

‡ *Sura XVI.*, 103.

follow the system of Mahomet to its full development at Medina. But our review of his life has reached only to his flight from Mecca; and before dismissing that portion of his career it is proper to enquire at this point, what his general teaching was, and what had been its effects.

The Coran still continues \* to be made up, as before, of arguments in refutation of idolatry and the idle objections of the Meccan people; of the proofs of God's Omnipotence, Omniscience and Unity; of the vivid picturings of the Judgment, Heaven, and Hell; and of legendary and Scriptural stories. The great verities of a minute and Over-ruling Providence, and of a final Retribution, are sometimes illustrated by passages of exquisite imagery and living poetry. The bold impersonation of THUNDER, in the following quotation (which may be taken as a sample of the better portions of the period,) has given its name to the Sura from which it is taken:—

Verily God changeth not His dealing with a People, until they change that which is in their Souls. And when God willeth Evil unto a People, there is none that can turn it away, nor have they any Protector beside them.

It is He that showeth you the Lightning to inspire Fear and hope; and raised the heavy clouds.

The THUNDER doth celebrate His praise, and the Angels also, from awe of him. And He sendeth forth His Bolts and shivereth therewith whom He pleaseth, while they are wrangling about God: for He is terrible in might!

He only is rightly invoked. And those whom they invoke beside Him answer them not at all, otherwise than as one stretching forth both hands unto the Water that it may reach his mouth, and it reacheth it not. So is the invocation of the unbelievers founded only in error.

And to God boweth down in worship whatsoever is in the Heavens, and in the Earth voluntarily and by force, and their Shadows likewise in the morning and in the evening.†

Say;—Who is the Lord of the heavens and of the Earth; Say—GOD. Say: Wherefore, then, do ye take besides Him guardians who have no power to do their own selves a benefit nor an injury. Say;—What! Are the Blind and the Seeing equal? What! is the Darkness equal with the

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\* The Suras of this period (*i. e.*, from the 10th year of the Mission to the Hegira) may be approximately classed as follows: 63. (in chronological order) LI.; 64, XLVI.; 65, LXXII.; 66, XXXV.; 67, XXXVI.; 68, XIX.; 69, XVIII.; 70, XXVII.; 71, XLII.; 72, XL.; 73, XXXVIII.; 74, XXV.; 75, XX.; 76, XLIII.; 77, XII.; 78, XI.; 79, X.; 80, XIV.; 81, VI.; 82, LXIV.; 83, XXVIII.; 84, XXIII.; 85, XXII.; 86, XXI.; 87, XVII.; 88, XVI.; 89, XIII.; 90, XXIX.; 91, VII. The Suras at the close of this list become some of them very long, and include portions given forth at Medina, and added to them there. One striking feature of the closing Meccan Suras, is the frequent allusion to the approaching emigration of himself and his followers.

† This a conceit Mahomet is fond of; the Shadows perform obeisance to God, being long and prostrate in the morning, rising during the day, and again elongating in prostration in the evening.

Light? Or do they give partners unto God that have created like unto His creation so that the creation (of both) appear alike in their eyes? Say:—God is the creator of all things. He is THE ONE; the AVENGER!

He bringeth down from on high the Rain, and the Valleys flow, each according to its measures; and the Flood beateth the swelling Froth. And from that which men melt in the furnace, to make ornaments or vessels, ariseth a Scum, the like thereof. Thus doth God compare the Truth with Falsehood. As for the SCUM it passeth away like Froth: but that which benefiteth mankind remaineth on the Earth.

Thus doth God put forth similitudes.\*

The positive precepts of this period are still very limited. The five times of prayer, it is said, were imposed by God on the prophet's ascent to heaven, one or two years before the Hegira.† All kinds of flesh were permitted for food, *if killed in the name of the Lord*,‡ but the blood, and that which dieth of itself, and the flesh of swine, were strictly prohibited.§

While a few superstitions, by which the meat of animals was under certain circumstances held by the Arabs to be unlawful, || were denounced, and the practice of compassing the holy temple naked was proscribed as the device of Satan, ¶ the rites of Meccan pilgrimage were maintained: and enjoined as of divine command and propitious to true piety. It is probable that the Jews strongly objected to this new feature of the Reformed Faith, and we accordingly find a laboured defence of

\* *Sura XIII.*, 13—19.

† As yet, however, the five periods are nowhere distinctly commanded in the Coran. The nearest approach to such command is the following:—"Wherefore patiently bear with what they say, and celebrate the praise of thy Lord before the rising of the Sun, and before its setting: and praise Him sometime in the night and in the extremities of the day, that thou mayest be pleasing unto him." *Sura XX.* 129. By *the extremities of the day*, is naturally understood the fall of day, and day-break. But some—to reconcile the passage with the prescribed hours,—interpret it as signifying *mid-day*, at which as it were the day is divided into two parts.

‡ The same motives led to this condition as to the Apostolical admonition to abstain from "pollutions of Idols," and "meats offered to Idols." (*Acts XV.*, 20, 29.) The prohibition seems to point to the heathenish practice of the Meccans slaying their animals as a sacrifice to, or in the name of their Deities. *Suras XVI.*, 115; *VII.*, 118, 121, 145.

§ References as above. The influence of Jewish habit and precept is here manifest. As to the references in the *later Suras*, it is to be remembered, that they were composed close upon the Hegira, and the habit now began of throwing into a former *Sura* passages connected with its subject. It is possible, therefore, that some of what we quote as Meccan, may have been in reality early Medina verses given forth after the emigration.

|| See *Sura V.*, 112, where the names of the forbidden animals are quoted. *VI.*, 136, 144; *X.* 59. See also the note at page 24 of the *Forefathers of Mahomet*

¶ *Sura VII.*, 27-23. This was connected with the Homs: see *Forefathers of Mahomet*, page 20.



the innovation which it may be interesting to place before the reader.

And call to remembrance when WE gave to Abraham the place of the Temple (at Mecca); saying, join not in worship anything with me, and purify my house for them that compass it, and for them that stand up and bow down to pray.

And proclaim unto mankind a pilgrimage, that they may come unto thee on foot, upon every lean camel,\* flocking from every distant road:—that they may testify to the benefits they have received, and commemorate the name of God on the appointed days upon the brute beasts which We have given them for a provision:—Wherefore eat thereof and feed the wretched and the poor. Then let them stop the neglect of their persons, and fulfil their vows, and compass the ancient house.

This do. And he that honoureth the sacred ordinances of God † it is well for him with his Lord. The flesh of cattle is lawful unto you excepting that which hath been read unto you. Wherefore abstain from the pollutions of idols, and abstain from the false speech: following the Catholic faith unto God, not associating any with him; for he that associateth any with God is like that which falleth from the Heavens, and the birds snatch it away, and the wind bloweth it into a distant place.

Hearken to this: whosoever honoureth the Sacrifices of God, ‡ verily they proceed from purity of heart. From them (the victims) ye derive benefits until the appointed time: then they are brought for sacrifice unto the ancient House.

And unto every people have WE appointed rites, that they may commemorate the name of God over the brute beasts He hath provided for them. And your GOD is one God; wherefore submit yourself unto Him and bear good tidings unto the Humble:—

Those whose hearts, when God is mentioned, tremble thereat:—and unto those that patiently bear what befalleth them and observe prayer, and spend in alms of that WE have provided them with.

And the victims § have WE made unto you as ordinances || of God. From them ye receive benefit. Commemorate, therefore, the name of God over them as they stand disposed in a line, and when they fall slain upon their sides, eat thereof, and give unto the Poor both him that is silent and him that beggeth. Thus have WE given thee dominion over them that ye may be thankful.

Their Flesh is not accepted of God, nor yet their Blood: but your Piety is accepted of Him.

Few and simple as the positive precepts of Mahomet up to this time were, they had wrought a marvellous and a mighty work. Never since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep and waged moral strife with

\* Lean and famished from the long journey.

† شعائر الله *rites or offerings*; but from what follows, *victims* would seem to be here meant.

‡ The word signifies *camels* offered in sacrifice البدن

§ Or *signs, symbols*. It is the same word as before. شعائر

|| Sura XXX.,—40.

Heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life,—the like faith that suffered sacrifice and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience sake.

From time beyond memory, Mecca, and the whole Peninsula had been steeped in spiritual torpor. The slight and transient influences of Judaism, Christianity, or Philosophy, upon the Arab mind, had been but as the ruffling here and there of the surface of a quiet lake ;— It still and motionless below. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty and vice. It was a common practice for the eldest son to marry his father's widows inherited with the rest of the estate.\* Pride and poverty had introduced among them, as among the Hindus, the crime of female infanticide.† Their religion consisted in gross idolatry, and their faith was rather the dark superstitious dread of unseen beings, whose good will they sought to propitiate and their displeasure to avert, than the belief in a God of Providence. The life to come, and retribution of good and evil, were as motives of action, practically unknown.

Thirteen years before the Hegira, Mecca lay lifeless in this debased state. What a change had those thirteen years now produced ! A band of several hundred persons had rejected idolatry, adopted the worship of the one great God, and surrendered themselves implicitly to the guidance of what they believed a revelation from Him ;—praying to God with frequency and fervency, looking for pardon through His mercy, and striving after good works, almsgiving, chastity and justice. They now lived under a constant sense of the Almighty Power of God, and of His providential care over the minutest of their concerns. In all the gifts of nature, in every relation of life, at each turn of their affairs, individual or public, they saw His hand. And, above all, the new spiritual existence in which they joyed and gloried, was regarded as the mark of His especial grace : while the unbelief of their blinded fellow-citizens was the hardening stamp of His predestined reprobation. Mahomet was the minister of life to them :—the source under God of their new-born hopes ; and to him they yielded a fitting and implicit submission.

In the short period, Mecca had, from this wonderful move-

\* See an instance of this practice ( "such fornication as is not so much as named among the Gentiles," I Cor. v. i.) in the 2nd note, page 27, of *the Life of Mahomet to his Fortieth Year.*

† This custom Mahomet stringently proscribed, Sura VI.; 137. 140, 151, and it disappeared with the progress of Islam.

ment, been torn into two factions, which, unmindful of the old land-marks of tribe and family, were arrayed in deadly opposition one against the other. The believers bore persecution with a patient and a tolerant spirit. And, though it was their wisdom so to do, the credit of a magnanimous forbearance may be freely accorded to them. One hundred men and women, rather than abjure their precious faith, had abandoned their homes, and sought refuge, till the storm should be overpast, in Abyssinian exile. And now, again, even a larger number with the prophet himself, emigrated from their fondly loved city, with its sacred temple, to them the holiest spot on earth, and fled to Medina. There the same wonder-working charm had, within two or three years, prepared for them a brotherhood ready to defend the prophet and his followers with their blood. Jewish truth had long sounded in the ears of the men of Medina, but it was not till they heard the spirit-stirring strains of the Arabian prophet, that they too awoke from their slumber, and sprang suddenly into a new and earnest life.

We shall leave Mahomet to describe his people of this period in his own words :—

The servants of the Merciful are they that walk upon the earth softly, and when the ignorant speak unto them, they reply *Peace!*

They that spend the night worshipping their Lord, prostrate and standing :—

And that say,—Oh, our Lord ! Turn away from us the torment of Hell : verily from the torment thereof there is no release. Surely it is an evil abode and resting-place !

Those that when they spend are neither profuse nor niggardly, but take a middle course ;

Those that invoke not with God any other God ; and slay not a soul that God hath forbidden, otherwise than by right ; and commit not Fornication, For he who doeth that is involved in sin,—

His torment shall be doubled unto him in the day of judgment : therein ignominiously shall he remain for ever,

Excepting him that shall repent and believe and perform righteous works ; as for them God shall change their evil things into good things ; and God is forgiving and merciful.

And whoever repenteth and doeth good works, verily, he turneth unto God with a true repentance.—

They who bear not witness to that which is false ; and when they pass by vain sport, they pass by with dignity :—

They who, when admonished by the revelations of the Lord, fall not thereupon down as if deaf and blind ;—

That say, Oh, our Lord. Grant us of our wives and children such as shall be a comfort unto us, and make us examples unto the pious !

These shall be rewarded with lofty mansions (in Paradise,) for that they persevered, and shall be accosted therein with welcome and salutation :

For ever therein :—a fair Abode and Resting-place !

When we speak, however, with praise of the virtues of the early Mussulmans, it is only in comparison with the state and habits of their heathen countrymen. Neither their tenets nor their practice will in any respect bear competition with Christian, or even with Jewish, morality. This is plentifully illustrated by the practical working of the system, when shortly after, at Medina, it had a free field for natural development.

For instance, we call the Moslems chaste, because they abstained from indiscriminate profligacy, and kept carefully within the bounds prescribed as licit by their prophet. But those bounds, besides the utmost freedom of divorce and change of *wives*, admitted an illimitable license of cohabitation with "all that the right hand of the believer might possess," or, in other words, with any possible number of damsels he might choose to purchase, to receive in gift, or to ravish in war.

The facility of divorce at this period, (when even the easy check of three intervening months before the re-marriage of the divorced female was not imposed,) may be illustrated by the following incident: Abd al Rahmán, son of Awf, on his first reaching Medina, was lodged by Sád, son of Rabi, a Medina convert, to whom Mahomet had united him in brotherhood.\* As they sat at meat Sád thus addressed his guest:—"My brother! I have abundance of wealth: I will divide with thee a portion thereof. And behold my two wives! Choose which of them thou likest best, and I will divorce her that thou mayest take her to thyself to wife." And Abd Al Rahmán replied:—"The Lord bless thee my brother in thy family and in thy property!" So he married one of the wives of Sád.†

At the opening scene of the prophetic life of Mahomet, we ventured to fetch an illustration of his position from the

\* This refers to the arrangement made by Mahomet on his first reaching Medina according to which each Emigrant was specially joined in close brotherhood with one of the Medina converts.

† After this brotherly mark of affection, Abd al Rahmán said, "My brother take me on the morrow to the market place." So they went, and Abd al Rahmán traded, and returned with a bag of butter and cheese which he had made by the traffic. And Mahomet met him in one of the streets of Medina with the saffron clothes of nuptial attire upon him, and he said, "How is this?" And Abd al Rahmán replied, "I have married me a wife from amongst the Adjutors." "For what dower?" "For a piece of gold of the size of a date stone." "And why," replied Mahomet, "rest with a goat?" *Wákidí*, pp. 202, 203, 282.

The above is intended by the traditionists to illustrate the poverty of Abd al

temptation of our Saviour. The parallel between the founders of Christianity and Islam might be continued to the flight of Mahomet, but there it must stop; for it is the only point at all corresponding with the close of Christ's ministry. Beyond that term, in the life of Rule, of Rapine, and Indulgence, led by Mahomet at Medina, there is absolutely no feature whatever common with the course of Jesus.

During the periods above indicated as possible for comparison, persecution and rejection were the fate of both. But the thirteen years' ministry of Mahomet had brought about a far greater change to the external eye, than the whole of Christ. The apostles fled at the first sound of danger; and however deep the inner work may have been in the 500 by whom our Lord was seen, it had produced as yet but outward action. There was amongst them no spontaneous quitting of their homes, nor emigration by hundreds, such as characterized the early Moslems; nor any rapturous resolution by the converts of a foreign city to defend the prophet with their blood.

This is partly owing to the different state of the two people among whom respectively Jesus and Mahomet ministered:—Jesus amongst Jews, whose law he came not to destroy but to fulfil, and in whose *outer* life, therefore, there was no marked change to be effected:—Mahomet amongst a nation of idolators sunk in darkness and vice, whose whole system must be overturned, and from the midst of whom converts, to exhibit any consistency whatever, must go forth with a bold and distinctive separation.

There was, too, a material difference of aim and teaching.

Rahmân when he reached Medina as contrasted with the vast wealth subsequently amassed by him. "At his death he left gold in such quantities, that it was cut with hatchets till the people's hands bled." He had 1,000 camels, 3,000 sheep and 100 horses. He had issue by *sixteen* wives, besides children of concubines. One of the former was Tamadhir, the daughter of a Christian Chieftain whom he married at Mahomet's bidding, and who bore to him Abdallah (Abu Salma) the famous traditionists. As one of his four widows, she inherited 1,00,000 dinars.

Abd al Rahmân was penurious. Mahomet said to him, "Oh son of Awf! Verily thou art amongst the rich, and thou shalt not enter Paradise but with great difficulty. Lend therefore to thy Lord, so as He may loosen thy steps." And he departed by Mahomet's advice to give away all his property. But the prophet sent for him again, and told him by Gabriel's desire, that it would suffice if he used hospitality and gave alms.

It will be a curious and useful to trace the multitude of wives and concubines, and the vast wealth of the chief leaders of early Islam, as illustrating its gross and earthly spirit even in its next day and at the fountain head.

The spiritual system of Jesus was essentially incompatible with worldly means and motives. His people, *as such*, though in the world, were not "of the world." The idea of his followers making him a king, or the citizens of another country being invited to receive him and support his cause by arms, would have been at direct variance with the whole spirit and principles of Jesus. And it was this spirituality of aim and agency, to the entire exclusion of earthly aids, that chiefly tended to produce the great difference in apparent progress.

The reason for Mahomet's toleration of his Meccan opponents was present weakness only. While patience *for awhile* is inculcated by God on Mahomet and his followers, the future breathes all of revenge and victory. It is true, that in the Coran, the instruments are yet hidden,—known to God alone. But not the less are the enemies of the prophet to be overthrown and perish; and that with a *material* destruction like the flood and flames of Sodom and Gomorrha. Human agency was moreover diligently sought after. The tribes as they came up to the yearly solemnities of Mecca, are one by one canvassed and exhorted to rally round "the cause of God and His prophet," the chiefs of Tayif are tempted by the prospect of sovereignty over the rival city and temple; and at last, when all nearer aid is despaired of, the converts of Medina are bound by an oath of fealty to defend the prophet with the same courage and weapons as their wives and children.

It might easily be foreseen from the first rise of opposition, (and the prospect had its full effect upon the Arab,) that arms and warfare, with all their attractive accompaniments of revenge and predatory raids, would decide the struggle.

It was, we believe, with the full anticipation of such a struggle (for he was not long at Medina before taking the initiative,) that Mahomet, alarmed by the council of the Coreish, hid himself in the cave, and fled from Mecca. Compare with this, if indeed there be any common ground of comparison, the peaceful and sublime serenity with which Jesus calmly awaited the diabolical machinations of the Jewish council. Contrast further with the sword about to be unsheathed by Mahomet, the grand principle for the propagation of his faith pronounced by Jesus before his heathen judge:—"My kingdom is not of this world; if My kingdom were of this world, then would My servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews; but now is My kingdom not from hence."

Having now sketched the Life of Mahomet to the point of his quitting Mecca, it is not our intention to prosecute the subject further for the present.

The opportunity is appropriate of apologizing to the readers of this Review for the unwonted course of publishing in its pages, and in a disjointed form unfavourable to the subject itself,—the results of *original* research. For the abundant forbearance experienced, notwithstanding the unusual, and, for the general reader, often uninteresting, character of some of the articles, the writer feels bound to express his acknowledgments. He indulges a hope that these articles may perhaps tend in some degree to clear away the obscurity and misapprehension which envelope the infant days of a religion, second in importance to Christianity alone.

## THE ENGLISH IN WESTERN INDIA.

By—WATSON, ESQ.

*The English in Western India. Being the Early History of the Factory at Surat, of Bombay and the Subordinate Factories on the Western Coast, from the Earliest Period until the commencement of the Eighteenth Century.* By Philip Anderson, A.M., Chaplain in the Diocese of Bombay, &c. Bombay, 1854.

**I**n this age of elaborate essays and ponderous tomes, when the observations of a day or wanderings of a week are inflated from their legitimate sphere, it is not without a secret feeling of gratulation that we discover less pretentious labours, challenging the attention, and striving to obtain in the world of literature a standard of importance and acknowledgment. The size and contents of the work now before us have just claims upon our attentive consideration, and would, but for the discrepancy between its title and contents, have elicited our warmest commendation.

The author entitles his production, *The History of the Factories at Surat, Bombay, &c., &c.*, from the earliest period up to the eighteenth century, and we confess we were somewhat startled, at the same time highly delighted, at having met with a writer whose power of condensation reduced his annals to a corresponding number of octavo pages. Our enjoyment was not, however, destined to be of long duration. The two first lines of the preface destroyed our hopes of curtness, and explained that which the title does not, the nature of the work in these words:—

“The following pages will not, it is hoped, be thought uncalled for, as they fill an hiatus in Indian History,” and farther on we learn: “The aim has simply been to *supplement* histories and record circumstances which had been concealed from observation, through the neglect of enquirers, a low estimate of their value, or timidity in exposing nude and ugly truths.”

This prefatory exposition is correct; the work is not strictly a history, but rather the combination of a number of hitherto unrecorded facts, highly important. we admit, as shewing more the private than political workings of the first settlers and their successors in India. We wish, however, for the author's sake, that the title had been indicative of the contents, for quoting his own language “He has not endeavoured to walk upon the stilts of fancy, but has been satisfied with the secure footing of plain dealing and truth.” To this statement we fully subscribe, and have much pleasure in bearing our testimony to the praiseworthy manner in which he has endeavoured



to elucidate many of the ambiguous and early portions of the connection between the British and Indian Governments. This necessarily portrays scenes, crimes, and actions alike startling and pusillanimous, which the honorable and humane will ever reject as a blot upon our presence in the East. On the other hand, the uncertain diplomacy and irreconcilable factions here developed, afford ample grounds for admiring the persevering energy of the East India Company and its officers, to whom the British nation are indebted, for having successfully brought into order, elements so uncongenial, and subjugated a territory of such magnitude and importance to the British Crown.

Advisedly we pay this tribute to the endeavours of the East India Company, the reputation of which has too frequently been assailed by interested calumniators for specific interests, and we are well pleased to find works like the present offering to the public, the means of forming an unbiassed opinion. \*Doubtless many appointments have been unfortunate, and acts enforced that were both premature and ill digested. Nevertheless there is this fact, let us handle it as we may, that India with her three Presidencies, her boundless wealth and enormous population, is an appendage of the British Sovereign. And let us hope that those who deny the previous fortunate, if not good government, by which such success has been obtained, will demonstrate or assist in showing the most certain and effectual means for improving and consolidating these valuable possessions.

The past history of British India, environed as it has always appeared with wonders, and constantly presenting fresh and startling incidents, has hitherto failed to satisfy the reader, who has felt that much was left untold, and undeveloped. Our author tends to elucidate this, and demonstrates in the early career of the East India Company, how its reputation and capital were worked for other than its own interest. Sometimes the crown, sometimes the ministers, and again a clique of its directors assumed all control for specific purposes, and proportionately with such struggling for speculation and patronage, were the legitimate objects of the Company prostrated, while whatever mishaps or calamities ensued, the public knew but one object to censure, and unmitigated blame fell, deservedly or not, upon the unfortunate Company.

The volume before us has a tendency to set matters right, in many instances, and totally removes the obscurity which environs several early transactions with India,

placing at the same time the culpability of many misdeeds upon the right persons, so that the public have now a fairer opportunity of judging of the past, and estimating the progress of the future British rule in India. The establishment of the British power in India is one of the most startling events recorded in the pages of history, and teaches this moral lesson,—that the force of example, when based upon truthfulness and integrity, can effect as great and potent ends, as the force of arms, or the subtlety of diplomacy.

It is too well known to be necessary to dilate upon, that the first appearance of the English in India was as humble suppliants, and in accordance with their prayers, a portion of land was granted to them for the purpose of erecting a factory thereon, so that they might trade and barter with the natives upon a similar footing to the Spaniards, Portuguese and others already established in the country. The application for, and concession of, this grant of land was brought about by the following circumstances: A traveller named Stephens, having some years previously communicated the nature of the Indian trade, it was determined by a body of London merchants, that one Mildenhall should journey thither, to obtain from the Emperor of Delhi—the great Aurungzebe—authority to trade in his dominions. To effect this, Mildenhall departed in 1599, and reached Agra overland in 1603, from whence, after an expiration of three years, he returned, satisfied with his endeavours. It does not, however, appear that any substantive advantage resulted from this journey, but it certainly paved the way for the subsequent visit of Captain Hawkins, who reached Surat in 1609, bearing a letter from King James to the Emperor. He was well received, and had permission to establish a factory at Surat. But this promise, as oft broken as renewed, so disgusted Hawkins, that he sailed homewards in 1612, leaving the King's letter, to which the Emperor did not condescend to reply.

The only advantage resulting from Hawkins' voyage, was the promise alluded to, respecting the establishment of a factory at Surat. This was eventually effected by a daring mariner named Best, who, despite the impediment and resistance offered him, boldly proceeded to the promised settlement, upon which the Emperor transmitted a firman, that provided for the residence of an English plenipotentiary at Surat, and an authority for his countrymen to trade fully, openly, and without impediment. Best being as shrewd as he was determined, well knew that this concession was produced more through fear than any other cause.

and thence determined to avail himself of so favorable an opportunity, and demanded and obtained a ceremonious acknowledgment from the native authorities. This, while it produced marked effects upon the native population, to a certain extent paralysed the energies of the Spanish and Portuguese, who had hitherto been most strenuous antagonists, because they naturally feared that the English would destroy their lucrative monopoly in the Indian trade.

Affairs having succeeded according to Best's expectation, he immediately availed himself of his authority, by forthwith establishing the long desired factory, and having accomplished this, he returned home in 1613, having laid the foundation of a sure and profitable trade. Best was ably succeeded by Captain Downton, who, upon his arrival at Surat in 1615, found but three factors, as they were then termed, who had been appointed by this predecessor. Intrigue or interest had caused the dispersion of the remainder. Downton's measures produced much animosity towards him from European interests, and considerable native injustice. These, coupled with the unhealthiness of the climate, caused his death in the ensuing August. He was a vigorous and talented man, and perfected the arrangement connected with the factory, or as it was then termed, "The English House," which he placed under the management of a head factor named Kerridge. Hitherto all transactions with native powers had been carried on by the Company's Agent, but it was now resolved to try the effect of a Royal Mission, for which purpose Sir Thomas Roe left England on the 6th of March 1615, and arrived at Surat on the 24th of the ensuing September. The object of this embassy was two-fold; to arrange a definite treaty, and recover a large amount of money alleged to be owing by the courtiers and ministers of the Emperor. Roe's reception was as gracious as could be expected, yet the terms of his treaty were generally rejected, and, much to his mortification, he discovered that the factors of Surat threw every impediment in his way. Foreign and native interest he was prepared to encounter, but that of his own countrymen surprised and chagrined him. Eventually this opposition was withdrawn, and Roe returned, having recovered all bribes, extortions and debts, and further obtained permission to establish another factory at Baroch.

Weighing the results of this embassy, it must be confessed that Roe's diplomacy was highly creditable to him, and his abilities strongly recommended him to the then reigning Sovereign Jehangheer, who, unlike most Oriental potentates, regarded less the minister than the man, and much less the presents

than the mental accomplishments of the ambassador, whose learning and affability attracted the good will and respect of all. The Flat that conveyed Roe to his destination, was commanded by a then so-called "General" Keeling, who endeavoured to found a factory at Cranganor under the auspices of the ruler of that district, but being viewed rather as fit objects for extortion than encouragement, the factors availed themselves of the first favourable opportunity of escaping with their property to Calicut. Thus was established the factory, whose looms soon obtained an European celebrity, which they deservedly retained, until British skill and capital removed the seat of manufacture from the vicinity of Bombay to Manchester.

In reference to Sir Thomas Roe, with whose conduct the Company were so well pleased upon his return to England, our author remarks, "They paid him the compliment of offering him an honorary seat in their Court of Committees, and more substantially rewarded him with a pension of two hundred pounds per annum. He afterwards obtained a seat in Parliament where he supported the Company's interests."

For several years after Best, Downton and Roe, we have, and perhaps fortunately, no authentic documents upon which reliance can be placed, but this much is certain that debauchery and speculation of the most flagrant character usurped the place of good Government. The oldest despatch of the Surat factory is dated July 26th, and it affords little information, but from other sources we learn that the Company's Agents were then negotiating with the Emperor and King of Golconda, for an extension of their trade to Hindustan. Surat having by this time risen into considerable importance, they were desirous of extending their commercial pursuits to other and more distant parts of India, and for the purpose of more effectually adding weight and importance to the residents at their factory, the principal was termed the "Chief of the Honorable Company of English Merchants Trading to the East." When or how this title was obtained is enveloped in obscurity, but the use of the word Honorable may be fairly assumed as a privilege, granted by the Crown as an acknowledgment for past, and encouragement for future public services.

As already remarked, Surat at this period had become a position of considerable importance, and was destined to be the point of radiation, from whence the commercial spirit of Britain should thrust forward its then infantine powers. Situated on the left bank of the Tapti, at a distance of fourteen miles from the sea, the vessels which then navigated the Indian Ocean easily ascended the river, and found secure anchorage off the town.

From remote antiquity it had been celebrated for the number and wealth of its inhabitants, the beauty of its gardens, and fertility of its soil, while the concourse of foreigners in the place amply testified to the importance of its commerce. As tributaries to her, Surat claimed the produce of Scinde, Guzerat, and the Malabar Coast, together with the entire trade of Africa, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf, while the vales of Cashmere and distant lands of Cathay alike contributed to the markets of this emporium. Notwithstanding, however, all these advantages, residence at Surat, was not unmixed with annoyance and hardships. The Native Governor inflicted his misrule equally upon his fellow subjects and the Europeans, and to secure his favor, the latter had recourse to all sorts of artifices and corruption.

About the year 1636, Methwold, who was President, returned to England, and was succeeded by one Fremlen, and the latter by Francis Benton, but of these Presidents few authentic accounts remain, and these few generally devoid of interest. Benton's monument in the cemetery at Surat bears testimony to his exertions, and declares that "for five years he discharged his duties with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity." Then followed Captain Jeremy Blackman whose appointment is dated 1651, with a salary of £500, but a strict inhibition from private trade, which had hitherto been the principal source of emolument to the Company's servants.

We may here retrace our steps to shew that the successes of the first Company were not free from bitter and protracted annoyances. Their Prosperity naturally woke up a spirit of the emulation, and a desire upon the part of other enterprising men to participate in such advantages. After various applications, Sir William Courtend obtained from Charles I. a license to engage in the Indian trade, and forthwith Captain Weddel and Mr. Mountney were despatched in 1636, under the protection of the British Crown. Weddel, upon his arrival, addressed the President and Council of Surat, and at the same time forwarded a copy of the King's letter, in which His Majesty avowed that he had a particular interest in the New Company, and requested the President, if required, to render them any assistance. Weddel took the opportunity at the same time of expressing an earnest hope, that the present enterprise would not be viewed unfavorably, and that both Companies might operate with a friendly regard to each other. But "the President having received no information from his superiors in England, either could or would not believe that a New Company had been formed, and desired to know

"what privileges had been granted to the New Company. The following year he received a letter from the Secretary of State, shewing that there was no doubt about the innovation." The receipt of this official communication spread the wildest consternation among the factors and *employés* of the Old Company, and was followed by the deepest despondency. Absolute ruin was predicted, and every desire manifested to impede the success of their opponents. But the wisdom of the Home Directory frustrated this violent outburst, and left the choleric factors and their abettors to vent their spleen and indignation anew, when they discovered that "the Innovators were trading at Rajapoor, which they regarded as their domain, and that they had established factories at Batticolo and Carwar."

From the foundation of the New Company until the year 1650, the spirit of contention embittered the officers of both corporations, and this militated against working to advantage. It was therefore determined to bury all animosity in oblivion, and an agreement was entered into, to trade with India upon joint account, and to the exclusion of their countrymen generally, many of whom termed "Interlopers," had pursued a lucrative though hazardous traffic in those parts, which it was arranged between the Companies should now be suppressed. During the contention of the two Companies, if the progress of events frustrated their exertions in one direction, accident, as commonly happens, favoured them in another, and laid the foundation of a trade the most important of any.

Somewhere about the year 1636, the Emperor of Delhi having a beloved daughter seriously ill, was informed by one of the nobles of his Court, of the skill exhibited by European practitioners of medicine, and was induced by this nobleman to apply to the President for aid in his extremity. Upon this Mr. Gabriel Boughton, Surgeon of the Company's Ship, *Hope-well* was directed to proceed to the Court of Delhi, and render his professional services. "This he did with such success, that the imperial favours were liberally bestowed upon him, and, in particular, he obtained a patent permitting him to trade, without paying any duties throughout the Emperor's dominions." The benefit of this concession would probably have been very doubtful, had his good fortune not followed him to Bengal, where he cured a favourite mistress of the Nawab, who in gratitude confirmed all his privileges, which, says our author, were thus employed: "The generous Surgeon did not in his prosperity forget his former employers, but advanced the Compa-

"pany's interests, by contriving that his privileges should be extended to them. Having done so, he wrote an account of his success to the factory of Surat, and the next year a profitable trade was opened in the rich provinces of Bengal." Thus the trade of two out of the three presidencies was established, became a splendid monopoly, and laid the foundation of the pre-eminence now enjoyed.

The natural advantages of Bombay had not escaped notice, and "the Company had hoped to gain possession of it so early as 1627. In that year, a joint expedition of Dutch and English ships, under the command of a Dutch General, Harman Van Speult, had sailed from Surat with the object of forming an establishment here, as well as of attacking the Portuguese in the Red Sea. This plan was defeated by the death of Van Speult, but in 1653, the President and Council of Surat again brought the subject under the consideration of the Directors, pointing out how convenient it would be to have some insular and fortified station, which might be defended in times of lawless violence, and giving it as their opinion that, for a consideration, the Portuguese would allow them to take possession of Bombay and Bassein." This suggestion, which was submitted to Cromwell, remained unacted upon. But in 1661, the Portuguese Government, upon the marriage of the Infanta Catherina with Charles the II., ceded the long wished-for island to England as the Infanta's dower. Accordingly a fleet of five ships, under the Earl of Marlborough, arrived in the harbour on the 18th September of that year.

But the Portuguese, notwithstanding the presence of a Viceroy to see the articles of cession strictly observed, were unwilling to resign a place so richly endowed by nature, and excepted to the English demand, finally refusing to arrange any terms or listen to any proposals. Marlborough not having the means of reducing the place, was compelled to relinquish the island, and determined upon returning to England, previously to which he offered to assign Bombay to the President and Council of Surat, but as they had no authority to accept, or means of obtaining the mastery of the place, the offer was declined. After Marlborough's departure, the Portuguese permitted Cook, who commanded the few soldiers remaining of the body that had been brought out, to occupy the place, but subject to such humiliating terms, that they were never ratified by either of the Crowns interested in the matter, and the English Government were so dissatisfied with Cook's measures, that they deposed him, and demanded satisfaction for damages sustained, in consequence of the island not

having been delivered over, according to the original agreement.

Cook reluctantly yielded the Government to his appointed successor, Sir Gervase Lucas, an old warrior and devoted royalist, whose nomination was of great assistance in establishing British authority among the Portuguese, who, during Cook's time, had been accustomed to dictate their terms and requirements. Indeed, in one instance, because there was hesitation exhibited, respecting the grant of a considerable tract of land for the Jesuit's College at Bandora, they threatened to resort to arms. This threat, upon assuming office, Lucas pronounced an act of treason, and declared all the Jesuit's lands to be forfeited to the crown. Upon this Cook declared he would join the Portuguese in an attack on Bombay, but his threats were treated with contempt, and himself denounced as a rebel. Sir Gervase arrived at his seat of authority on the 5th of November 1666, and died on the 21st of the ensuing May. He was succeeded by Captain Gary; this gentleman, beyond being skilled in several languages, we have little information.

Regarding the acquisition of Bombay not having proved commensurate with the expectations of the King, he became anxious to rid himself of a worse than useless territory, and by royal charter conferred it upon the Honorable Company, the terms of the transfer being simply that the Company held the island of the King "in free and common soccage, as of the Manor of East Greenwich, upon payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold, "on the 30th of September in each year." At the same time all stores, arms and ammunition upon the island, with requisite powers for its defence and government, were granted to the Company. Upon receipt of the copy of the charter in 1668, Sir George Oxenden, who had been appointed President of Surat in 1662, agreed to assume forthwith the Government of Bombay. But feeling that the officers of the crown might demur to the Company's supercession, and the supremacy of a few mercantile agents at a distance of two hundred miles from them, they proceeded with much care to avoid offence, and despatched one of their number—Mr. Goodyer—to explain incidental matters, and endeavour to effect amicable arrangements. Goodyer, who had previously been on terms of intimacy with Deputy-Governor Gary, admirably accomplished his task, and shortly after Gary formally surrendered his trust, and was succeeded by Captain Young.

Some few years elapsed before the importance of Bombay became manifest. At length it was regarded as a valuable acqui-



sition, being well situated, with a safe and commodious harbour—besides which, it offered direct means for effecting communications with the English factories in Persia, on the Malabar Coast, and with the Spice Islands. But above all, small as the territory was, the English were the sole masters, and wholly removed from the annoyance of native official cupidity, and, in the event of a war with the Dutch, by holding Bombay, they were enabled adequately to protect their servants. Accordingly the Company determined to augment the military strength, increase the population and develop its resources. Scarcely had the fortifications and the military arrangements been completed, when, on the 20th of February 1673, a Dutch fleet arrived for the purpose of taking the island by surprise, but when the Commander Rickloffe Van Goen discovered the well constructed batteries mounted with heavy ordnance, and supported by a park of light field pieces, together with three large *men-of-war*, and five French ships ready to assist the English, he quietly disappeared, and shortly after peace was concluded between the belligerent powers, which left Bombay free from further annoyance in that quarter.

“By way of increasing the population and developing the “resources of the island, attempts were made to establish manufactures, and directions were given for inviting spinners and “weavers to settle. Every legitimate influence was to be employed so as to attract them from the interior, and cotton “was to be served out to them from the Company’s stores that “they might convert it into cloth without any outlay of money. “The Court, having heard that the manufacture of cotton stockings by knitting was successfully carried on at Goa, required “that the same should be attempted at Bombay, and that four “or five hundred pairs should at once be forwarded to England. “Not only the poorer sort of artisans, but opulent tradesmen “were also induced to settle by promise of liberal treatment and “religious toleration. As a first step, a regular engagement was “entered into with Nima Parak, an eminent Banya residing in “the city of Diu, and formal articles were agreed to on both “sides. On the part of the Company it was promised that all “the Banya caste, who might remove to the island, should enjoy “the free exercise of their religion within their own houses, and “should be secured from all molestations. It was stipulated “that no Englishman, Portuguese, or other Christian, nor any “Mussulman should be permitted to live within the private “grounds of the Banyas, to enter them for the purpose of “slaughtering animals, or to offer their persons the slightest “injury, or indignity. If any should in opposition to these

"regulations offend them by intruding upon their privacy, the Governor or his Deputy should, on receiving a complaint to that effect, cause the offenders to be severely punished. The settlers were to be allowed to burn their dead, and to observe all such ceremonies as were customary at their weddings; lastly it was engaged that none who professed their religion, of whatever age, sex or condition they might be, should be compelled to embrace Christianity, nor that any should be forced against their wills to carry burdens."

These wise and humane stipulations were followed by other steps for the encouragement of trade. Docks were to be constructed, a mint established, and two Courts of Judicature opened in 1670, while the Court of Directors recommended the embodiment of a regular police. Besides these military and commercial efforts, there were nevertheless shadows darkening the background, and over-clouding all the praiseworthy exertions of the Government. The settlement had acquired the reputation of being the focus of pestilence and disease—a very plague spot—three years being the estimated duration of European life there, and of every five hundred English who arrived, not one hundred was supposed to leave it. The catalogue of diseases chronicles many of those now prevalent, and affords, amongst the rest, unmistakeable evidence of the existence of cholera at this period.\* The Portuguese practitioners termed it, "The Chinese Death, or cholic. It was divided, according to their system, into four kinds.

The first was simple cholic; its symptoms severe griping. The second was attended with diarrhœa as well as pain. The third were pain and vomiting, while purging, vomiting and intense pain were symptoms of the last kind, and generally brought its victim's sufferings to an end in twenty-four hours."

Different causes were assigned for the severe mortality which undoubtedly was experienced, but it would appear that intemperance and debauchery contributed more sufferers than any other source. In writing of this the Deputy Governor remarks: "strong drink and flesh is mortal, which to make an English soldier leave off, is almost as difficult as to make him divest his nature, nay, though present death be laid before him as the reward of the ill-gratifying his palate. This is the true cause of our Bombay bills of mortality having 'swelled so high.'" To provide the sick with good attendance and wholesome diet, a hospital was erected forthwith, and the decrease in the ensuing year's mortality was attributed to the improved mode of treatment and accommodation. Constantly surrounded by sickness and calamity, it is satisfactory to know that the religious

requirements of the community were not left unheeded, in the transition from inertness to activity which characterized the period. The usual place for celebrating Divine worship was a hall in the fort, but this being considered inadequate, it was suggested that a large and appropriate building should be erected, where natives and foreigners, having the opportunity of witnessing the method of conducting the service of the Church of England, might possibly become converts. The idea was warmly supported by the President Sir George Oxenden, and a large sum—upwards of five thousand pounds collected, but the progress of the new building was intercepted by the invasion of the Siddis, and public attention being diverted from the object, the subscribed capital, when required at a subsequent period, was nowhere to be found, some official having appropriated it to his own use. But though this for a time threw a very praiseworthy intention to one side, it did not at all influence the steady progress which religion had made.

The invasion to which we have just alluded, formed another of the difficulties which had to be overcome, nor were the characters or desires of these antagonists either estimable or easy to comply with. "These Siddis were troublesome, dangerous neighbours, and it is difficult to say whether their enmity or their friendship was most to be dreaded. In 1672, they anchored with a fleet off Bombay, and requested the President's permission to enter the harbour, and ravage the districts belonging to Sivaji. Their application was refused, but having afterwards relieved Jingira, which was besieged by Sivaji, and routed the Mahratta troops, they returned to Bombay, so inflated by success, that they entered the harbour without thinking it necessary to ask any one's consent. The President received them with constrained civility, for he was in an awkward predicament. On the one side the Siddi urged him to form a league against Sivaji, on the other side Sivaji vowed that, if this was done, he would instantly invade Bombay. It was lucky the Siddi was reasonable enough to take this dilemma into consideration. He promised to abstain from hostilities against the Mahratta districts which lay along the harbour, and prepared to take his departure."

If the Company at the outset had difficulties to encounter at Bombay, they were by no means less harassed at their original settlement of Surat. The Mahratta chief Sivaji just mentioned, gave great anxiety to the English factors, and "at length on the 5th of January 1664, he entered Surat. Such of the inhabitants as were able made their escape, the helpless native

"Governor shutting himself in the castle which was protected by English cannon, and leaving the Mahratta robber to plunder the city at his convenience. Both the English and Dutch factors stood upon the defensive, the conduct of the former being so gallant, that they not only held their own, but saved the property of many natives. Encouraged by his successful pillage, Sivaji again on the 3rd of October 1670, entered Surat, and ransacked the city, and arrested for the time all commercial undertakings. This, although it caused the English to suffer severely from the hostility of the Mahratta usurper, constrained them to treat him with consideration and respect. Even when he was actually engaged in assailing Surat, the factors of Bombay felt so dependent on his country for their grain and fire-wood, that they addressed him in conciliatory language, and interchanged civilities with him."

Fortunately about 1672, the factors' wishes and Sivaji's interest tended to an amicable arrangement, and a treaty was adopted, by which, while peace was secured, the British hoped to obtain compensation for losses that had been sustained Sivaji's conquests having exalted him in the eyes of his Mahratta followers, his ambition was gratified by his election to a throne, a ceremonial that was witnessed by Henry Oxenden, afterwards Deputy Governor of Bombay. This gentleman, aided by two other factors, arranged a treaty with the new sovereign, which afforded compensation for previous losses, and was on the whole, highly favorable to the Company's interest. The arrangement left the British to contend solely with the Siddis, whose depredations in a few years were put a stop to, partly by force and arrangement. Thus far native opposition was withdrawn, but there still remained the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French as competitors, and it is to be regretted that every endeavour to negotiate with these was frustrated by cupidity and envy, till at last they respectively sank under the weight of their own machinations, perversity, and want of judgment. It may be imagined, with Native and European antagonism, with disease and political opposition, that the British had plenty to occupy them, but there were, besides all these, still further annoyances in the shape of pirates, whose atrocities were dreadful inflictions, and, though last, not the least of their anxieties arose from the Interlopers or English Merchants, who traded upon their own account. To arrest their trading propensities, "strict injunctions were received from home that such should be seized, when taken, their ships and cargoes were to be confiscated, one-half the value was appropriated to His

"Britannic Majesty's use, and the other half according to their Charter to the Company." This, it should be remarked, was practised at a time, when the Company proclaimed that free-trade was permitted, and were enjoying with impunity exclusive privileges. But like most monopolies, it swerved from public to private benefit, and aroused indignation from the impediments it threw in the way of commerce, and gave rise to the proposition for the establishment of a New Company, which, though divided at first, eventually produced effects to which in their order we shall advert.

Bad as were these political and commercial grievances to endure, the internal affairs of the factories added much to the general annoyance. Temporary successes were regarded as justifying extravagances, which, in their turn, introduced vicious principles and public outrages. Some idea of the absurdities of the times may be drawn from the pomp with which the President used to move about. "He had a standard-bearer and body-guard, composed of a sergeant and double file of English soldiers. Forty natives also attended him at dinner, each course was ushered in by the sound of trumpets, and his ears were regaled by a band of music. Whenever he left his private rooms, he was preceded by his attendants with silver wands. On great occasions, when he issued from the factory, he appeared on horse-back, or in a palanquin, or a coach drawn by milk white oxen. Red horses with silver bridles followed, and an umbrella of State was carried before him." This pomp and extravagance the Directors wisely strove to check, and they distinctly informed their President, that it would afford them much greater satisfaction, were he to suppress such unmeaning shew and ostentation. And the more effectually to compass their wishes, they reduced his salary to three hundred pounds a year, and dignified him simply with the title of Agent.

As a matter of course, follies, such as those exhibited by the President, were sure to find imitators, and were enlarged upon by subordinates, and hence with inadequate means, ill-restrained temperaments, and exciting drinks, all sorts of evils were engendered. Accordingly, we find, without surprise, one Thorpe, an officer in the Company's Navy, seizing a boat and crew of the Siddis for the purpose of extortion; and another drunken Taval Captain, while on board one of the Siddis' vessels as a guest, drawing his sword upon his host, and, on returning to his ship, firing a broad-side at his imaginary foe. These two incidents prove the entire want of control existing, and leave no room for wonder at native indignation towards the Company's Officers.

Farther on we learn that a vainglorious fellow named Pitt, who had been removed from the desk to the drill, gave the President an infinitude of trouble, while a reckless Corporal caused the explosion of thirty-five barrels of gunpowder, and greatly damaged the new fortifications of Bombay, by throwing a lighted bandolier up into the air.

Thus, regardless alike whether the Company were embroiled with native powers, or injured by waste, and discipline defied, their subordinates pursued their mad and dissipated courses, which too frequently involved the credit of their employers by the way in which they allowed matters to be hushed up. As an instance, a duel fought between Mr. Hornidge and Captain Minchin had its origin at some wild orgie, "and," as President Augur remarked, "was the effect of that accursed Bombay punch, to the shame, scandal and ruin of the nation and religion. The combatants were confined to their quarters, and suspended from the service, pending a reference to Surat, but as the Deputy Governor interceded for them, they were pardoned after paying a small fine." Laws, we here perceive, were viewed as subservient to official favoritism rather than as a means of suppressing offences, but it must in justice to the Company be admitted that, as far as home control was concerned, their exertions were directed to a purer administration of justice. Still the difficulties in making a distant Government conform to home regulations were very great and of proportionate tediousness. The mal-administration of the law was accompanied by the inefficiency of the army, for, after every arrival of troops, a fearful mortality prevailed, chiefly occasioned by excessive drinking, to which vice gambling amongst officers and men was superadded. These propensities, with the means and opportunities of enjoying them, were not likely to amend the condition of a class who, we have the authority of Clive for saying, were drafted from the refuse of our jails, and commanded by "officers seldom above the rank of Lieutenant, without order, "discipline or military ardour."

Another feature of considerable importance—the disproportion of the sexes, had at length attracted the attention of the authorities, and, at the suggestion of Augur, a number of gentlewomen and females of the working-class were induced to migrate; but the former having been injudiciously selected, made but few alliances at Bombay, while the latter, having comparative luxury at their command, became loose and licentious. An observer, writing of these females, remarks that, "he was shocked to see how sickly their children were in consequence of the "free and easy way in which the mothers lived, and their inve-

"terate habit of taking strong liquors." This importation of females, far from realizing the wished-for end, proved generally to be a failure, and involved much personal<sup>o</sup> suffering, and brought besides great obloquy upon the Government and its enthusiastic originator. It might fairly have been inferred that, after so many troubles, domestic and foreign, some little respite would now occur, but it was ruled otherwise. The pecuniary embarrassments of the Home executive demanded both speedy and effectual retrenchment to relieve them. The accomplishment of this was felt by, and offended all their servants, Civil and Military, European and Native, but the military, it was admitted, suffered most, and had many just causes of complaint. These eventually led to a meeting, which was fortunately suppressed by the promptitude of the local authorities, who tempered clemency with firmness.

But a few years later the retrenchments led to a more serious result. The expense of fortifying Bombay, not having been covered by the revenue, the Company became burdened with debt, and determined still further to reduce the number of their Military, and consequently the entire "establishment" was "reduced to two Lieutenants, two Ensigns, four Sergeants, four Corporals and a hundred and eighty Privates. No batta was "to be paid, the detachment at Surat, the troop of horse "was disbanded, and Keigwin, its Commandant, dismissed the "service." Keigwin, who was a man of energy and decision, forthwith went to England and remonstrated against such unjust and impolitic proceedings, and made such an impression on the Court of Directors, that he was invited to return and lend the aid of his experience to the Company in their embarrassed position. He immediately complied, and would doubtless have arranged every thing satisfactorily, but to his chagrin, in twelve months after his return, he found the Home Authorities had revoked a portion of his official control, and reduced his pay to a miserable pittance. Disgusted with such treatment, and having a strong public sympathy, he declared his secession from the Company, and that the inhabitants of Bombay were subjects only of the King of England. In this declaration he was supported by the majority of the Residents. When the intelligence reached "England, that Bombay had revolted and the President had not "been able to reduce it to order, the King commanded the Court "of Directors to appoint a Secret Committee of Enquiry. Upon "their report his Majesty sent a mandate under his sign "manual to Keigwin, requiring him to deliver up the island, and "offering a general pardon to all, except the ringleaders. It "was further declared that if Keigwin and his followers

"offered any resistance, all should be denounced as rebels and "traitors." At the same time a reward was offered for Keigwin and his associates.

Harsh measures were rendered unnecessary, by the immediate recognition of the King's authority by the whole of the population. Keigwin, having obtained a promise of free pardon for himself and supporters, surrendered the island to Sir Thos. Grantham on the 12th of November 1684. "Such was a revolt which happily began and ended without bloodshed. Alarming as it was, and dangerous to the existence of Anglo-Indian power, it forms an episode in our history of which we are not ashamed. Keigwin emerges from the troubled sea of rebellion with a reputation for courage, honor and administrative capacity; on the other hand, the clemency of the Crown and Company is worthy all admiration." Some few cases of hardship were doubtless experienced, but upon the whole it was a bold sedition nobly forgiven, and germinated a juster treatment of the officials, without compromising the integrity of the Company.

Upon the suppression of Keigwin's rebellion, Sir John Wyburn, from political motives, was despatched as Deputy Governor to Bombay. But John Child, the Governor, finding the new Deputy too independent to lend himself to the perpetration of the various schemes of aggression which had been concocted by Sir Josiah Child and his brother Directors at home, means were employed for depriving Wyburn of his appointment, of which fortunately he did not live to experience the mortification. The aggression here referred to was the first attempt on the part of the Company, to exercise authority or dictate terms to the native rulers. This spirit evoked by Dutch example and fostered by Sir Josiah Child, was now destined to break forth, and little else was thought of than strengthening the military body, and conferring great advantages upon this hitherto neglected portion of the public service, and further, Bombay was ordered to be fortified as strongly as money could make it.

At this period, acting under the influence of the grossest mis-statements and blind infatuation, "the Court of Directors pompously announced that they were determined to make war, not only on the Nawab of Bengal, but, in the sequel, upon the Emperor himself. Nor was this sufficient, they actually ordered their General to seize the goods of the King of Siam, Bantam and Zombi as reparation for injuries received." These designs were confidentially conveyed to their General, who was nothing loath to act up to the spirit of such instructions, he and his brother Sir Josiah, having been the principal



instigators of this piece of absurd and dangerous policy. Accordingly, as might have been anticipated, we shortly after find that the Emperor Aurungzebe became indignant at several piratical acts of the English on the coast of Bengal, and still more so when he learnt that his Governor at Surat had been insulted by the English authorities. Upon demanding from Child some explanation, the latter, who had well studied his part, threw all the blame upon the Interlopers, and in his turn made numerous demands from the Governor of Surat, the concession of which was the only means of avoiding war. As might have been anticipated, his demands were treated with contempt, and "then assuming that justice was on his side, he waited until he had a fair opportunity of resorting to violence. The appointment of a fresh Governor at Surat, known as having a friendly inclination towards the English, induced a hope that amicable arrangements might have been effected. But this personage was not so yielding and gentle as had been expected, for, on the 26th of December 1688, he seized and imprisoned the factors, Harris and Gladman, and ordered all the goods of the Company to be sold, and offered a large reward to any who would take Child dead or alive."

The General on his part having failed by negotiation to release Harris and Gladman, now exhibited his real character and captured several richly freighted native ships, besides forty vessels laden with provisions for the Mogul Army, yet at the same time he wrote to Aurungzebe that his intentions were pacific. Upon this, the Emperor ordered the confiscation of all the property belonging to the English at Surat. Child, inflated with his new character, notwithstanding his letter to the Emperor, behaved with great arrogance to his Admiral the Siddi, "and told him plainly, that if his fleet ventured to sea, he would assume their intentions as hostile, and deal with them as enemies." Instead, however, of carrying out this threat, and adopting the only means for securing the safety of Bombay, he merely acted upon the defensive, and endeavoured to throw the onus of his culpability upon the inactivity of the English Presidents in Bengal and Madras, who, by his folly, were placed in similarly ridiculous situations to himself.

Child, though in truth with vanity sufficient to have rushed upon this, or indeed, any other undertaking, had neither the skill, nor the courage to enforce it, while his conduct and capabilities received neither support nor respect from his fellow settlers. Accordingly in this comparatively isolated position we soon find him writing in a style of misgiving to the Court of

Directors, and hoping by a change of conduct, to delude his adversaries.

"This duplicity and repentance were alike too late, Child's arrogance and his seizure of the provisions intended for the army of Yákéet Káhn, the Siddi, made that officer a willing agent to execute the Emperor's wrath. With an unaccountable infatuation, the English Governor had neglected to strengthen the fortifications of Bombay, although the Court of Directors had so urgently reminded him that this was necessary, and on the 14th of February 1639, the Siddi landed at Sewri with twenty or twenty-five thousand men, and at one o'clock in the morning three guns from the castle apprized the inhabitants of their danger. There might be seen European and Native women rushing with their children from their houses, and seeking a refuge within the fort. Next morning the Siddi marched to Mazagan, where was a small fort mounting fourteen guns, which the English abandoned with such haste, that they kept behind them eight or ten chests of treasure, besides arms and ammunition. Here the Siddi established his head-quarters and dispatched small force to take possession of Mahim fort also deserted."

"The following day the enemy advanced, and the General ordered Captain Penn, with two companies, to drive them back, but he and his little party were defeated. Thus the Siddi became master of the whole island, with the exception of the castle and a small tract extending about half-a-mile to the southward of it. He raised batteries on Dongari Hill, and placed one within two hundred yards of the fort. All persons on whom the English authorities could lay hands were pressed into their service." Thus passed the months from April to September.

"During the monsoon, the Siddi obtained supplies from the interior and from the Jesuits of Bandora, who paid a heavy reckoning, for thus assisting the enemy, at the end of the war. Their property was seized, and provisions were extremely scarce in the English quarters until the monsoon was over. But then the Company's cruizers being able to put to sea, were so successful in capturing vessels and supplies belonging to the Mogul's subjects, that distress was alleviated. Still the danger was imminent. The Siddi's army was increased to forty thousand fighting men, and the English troops which never amounted to more than two thousand five hundred, dared not venture to meet them in the field."

Child readily perceived that negotiation was his only resource, and found that the most abject submission would alone

assuage the Emperor's wrath. He accordingly despatched two envoys named Weldon and Navar to the Mogul Court. They were treated with the utmost indignity, and after much suffering were admitted to the Emperor's presence as culprits, prostrate, and with their hands tied behind them. He listened to their entreaties, and at length consented to an accommodation on condition, "That all monies due from them to his subjects should be paid, that recompense should be made for such losses as the Moguls had sustained, and that the hateful Sir John Child should leave India before the expiration of nine months." Thus terminated this unfortunate act of bombast, by which the Company, both in money and reputation, was a severe sufferer, as well in England as in India. Besides which, "the British Nation felt that a disgrace had been inflicted upon them which they attributed to the Company's Resident. This Company, it was argued, is clearly unfit to represent English interests in India. The public, and what was more to the purpose, the House of Commons also approved the suggestion." Child through the whole of his career apparently received the cordial support of the Company, but it is now generally known that this support, and the various testimonials he received, emanated solely through the influence of his brother, who was still the Chairman, and the more candid writers of the day, universally condemn the whole of Child's proceedings. Fortunately for him, he did not long survive to experience the humiliation resulting from a total overthrow of his rash proceedings, and his death much facilitated arrangements with native powers.

Harris who with several other factors had been released after great sufferings, succeeded to the Presidency of Surat and Governorship of Bombay. He was a weak incompetent person and was soon relieved of his appointment by Annesley Vaux, who, after two years' service, was himself dismissed for not (as second Judge, to which honorable position he had been appointed) straining, or rather violating, the law against interlopers. In 1692, Captain, afterwards Sir John Goldesborough was appointed Commissary General, with absolute power to dismiss all or any servants whom he might consider unqualified or negligent. His death in 1694, afforded an opening for the appointment of Sir John Gayer, a man of good character and ability, but whose efforts were frustrated by events beyond his control. Orington, who was a Chaplain in the Navy, has left us some very unsatisfactory descriptions of men and manners existing in

India at this period, which, though changing, were not improving. His enquiries respecting the factory, or, as he calls it the lodge, at Surat, afford the following interesting particulars : The building was rented of the Emperor at sixty pounds a year, and about forty Europeans resided within the walls. The President was allowed three hundred pounds a year, and, as the prohibition against private trade had been cancelled, he and the other chief factors could accumulate considerable wealth in a few years. The Council was composed of an Accountant, Store-keeper and Purser Marine, in addition to the President. After these, ranked the Secretary, but it was tacitly regarded amongst the factors as a rule of courtesy, that the Chaplain should rank as third in the factory.

The second in Council received a hundred and twenty pounds a year, the Chaplain, as formerly, a hundred, senior factors forty pounds, junior factors fifteen pounds, and writers seven pounds. Forty or fifty persons were in attendance for general purposes, besides several others that were appointed specially to wait upon the President and each of the factors, and at the gate of the factory was a porter to see that no suspicious persons entered, and that the writers and others were within the walls at proper hours. All Europeans connected with the factory dined at the same table, where they took their places according to seniority. The dinner service was sumptuous, all the dishes, plates and drinking cups being of massive and pure silver, and the provisions of the best quality. There were English, Portuguese and Indian cooks, so that every palate might be suited. On Sundays, and a few other days, high festival was kept, and the choicest of European and Persian wines introduced. At this period the finances of their Company were in a most embarrassed condition, but, singular to say, their servants never were in greater affluence, and their credit was sustained by advances from them, while trade was so oppressed, and weighed down with imposts, that but little could be transacted.

The climate also, Bruce remarks, instead of improving, was deemed more pestilential, and year by year disease swept away its victims with a rapidity truly alarming. Of seven or eight hundred Europeans, who inhabited Bombay before the war, not more than sixty were left, and there were but three Civilians to carry on the Company's business. It therefore became necessary to close the Courts of Admiralty and Common Law. Children suffered equally with those who arrived at maturity, not one child in twenty surviving. Many things contributed to introduce this dreadful mortality, but

principally the badness of the water and scarcity of provisions. Indeed, "in consequence of the scarcity of flesh meat, "European sailors were required to fast one or two days in the "week, just as good Churchmen were in England, by the writers "of the Homilies, in order that the fisheries might not be ruined." On these days hungry tars were only permitted to eat *kichari*, a mixture of rice and split pulse ; so because they conformed to the habits of the Hindus, they termed these days *banian* days, hence the derivation of a term though largely used but little understood. Dissoluteness and immorality of the most fearful and debasing kind were universally prevalent, and this added vigour to the attacks of the climate.

Alluding to these last our author justly remarks, "It must "be admitted that the Company did all in their power to arrest "the progress of vice at Bombay, but, as the English nation was "in the midst of an iniquitous career, to which the first impulse "had been given by that mean debauchee miscalled 'the Merrie Monarch' and his court, it was not to be expected that a "warning voice from London would gain respectful attention "in India. As an earnest of their desire to secure more "moral and religious conduct, the Directors wrote, "The "Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committees of the East "India Company, having been informed of the disorderly and "unchristian conversation of some of their factors and servants in parts of India, tending to the dishonor of God, the discredit of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scandal of the English nation, make certain rules and regulations, with a view to render the religion we profess amiable in the sight of those heathens among whom they reside, and to prevent all profane swearing, and taking the name of God in vain by cursed oaths, all drunkenness and intemperance, all fornication and uncleanness." If any persisted in committing these sins they were to be punished, and, if found incorrigible, sent to England. But of what avail could instructions like these be, when the local authorities not only tolerated the principal evil, but actually legislated for the quantity and price of those articles most freely drunk, and essential to intoxication. Thus we find, according to these regulations, a bottle of sherry was to be charged two xeraphims, and an order was published, that if any man went into a victualling house to drink punch, he might demand one quart of good Goa arak, half a pound of sugar, and half a pint of good lime water, and make his own punch, and if the bowl was not marked with the clerk of the markets' scale, then he might break the bowl, and depart without paying either for it or the punch.

Cases of poisoning were frequent in such places. A rough kiss, or drunken jest with reference to the black attendant who concocted the drink, too often induced her to poison the liquor, and deal a demoniacal retribution to the thoughtless roysterer.

Of any sanction to these dreadful proceedings, it is but just to give the Home authorities a total acquittance; nay, more; had their instructions been supported and vigorously enforced, many of the evils and much of the dissoluteness that prevailed would have been unknown. But their instructions were disregarded and intentions frustrated, and lamentable were the consequences that resulted.

That which, however, could not be effected by the Company, public opinion soon floated across the seas, and stimulated the commercial interests at home again to raise an opposition, which in due course made its influence felt. There had long existed a body of merchants dissatisfied with the Company's monopoly, who had endeavoured to draw public indignation upon the possessors of these advantages. It may therefore be readily supposed that the indignified financial position of the Company, its mal-administration both at home and abroad, together with the degraded and debauched population of which it seemed, and was accredited, both originator and protector, furnished its adversaries with weapons of offence, not easily avoided even in those corrupt times. Accordingly in 1691, numerous petitions were presented to Parliament, praying for the dissolution of the Old, and the establishment of a New Company. These prayers, in consequence of the unsatisfactory defence made by the Company, were supported by the House of Commons, in an address to the King.

This movement having been rendered abortive, similar but more numerous petitions were presented to the Commons in 1693, which were in some degree nullified by an extensive system of bribery. There still, however, remained sufficient power to present another address to His Majesty, praying him to dissolve the Company at the expiration of three years, which, it was promised, should be considered. This reply, though deemed satisfactory to the Commons, was not so viewed by the public, consequently in the October session of the same year, addresses, not from merchants only, but from traders generally, inundated the House. In these the petitioners undertook to prove that the transactions of the Company had been a scandal to religion, a dishonor to England, a reproach to the laws, an oppression to the people, and the ruin of their trade. The ministry, in defiance of the charges, having been heavily bribed, persuaded the King to grant the Company

a new Charter. This produced a temporary conflict between the Government and the House of Commons, the latter resisting the grant as an infringement of their peculiar rights. They further passed a resolution, that no British subject could be prevented trading to the East Indies, except by Act of Parliament. In 1695, the Commons followed up this resolution by an enquiry into the means by which the new Charter was obtained. This the King endeavoured to stop by a threat of closing the session, but the House was not to be intimidated. They appointed a committee to examine the books of the Company, and there discovered sufficient to justify articles of impeachment against the Duke of Leeds, on suspicion of largely participating in the bribery that had been practised, amounting on the whole to ninety thousand pounds. This sum had been disbursed by Sir Thomas Coke, one of the Directors, who being committed to the Tower, offered a full disclosure upon being indemnified. But the King screened the exposure of his ministers' profligacy by proroguing Parliament. This protection of the Sovereign was of little service, indeed, and only aggravated matters, for public indignation ran so high, that it was deemed advisable in 1698 to dissolve the Old, and establish a New Company. Nevertheless, this was not effected without considerable opposition, for the Old Company had independent of great interest, able advisers to support their cause. Their advocates argued, and with much truth, that the country had derived vast benefit from the trade that had been opened, that the Company having become Lord-Proprietors of St. Helena and Bombay, to deprive them of their territory, which had been conceded by Royal Charter, would be the height of injustice; the more so from their having expended large sums in the factories and fortifications, and that public justice and good policy would alike be shaken if their rights were infringed.

Remonstrances like these, supported by twenty members of the House of Lords, and many others of importance, had their effect upon the Commons, and in deference they passed a bill, which allowed the Old, or London Company to trade for three years only, to enable it to wind up its affairs. The antagonistic association was entitled "The English Company trading to the East Indies," and, to ingratiate itself with the public more thoroughly, asserted that its actuating principle was national and not exclusive. As may be imagined, these two Companies viewed each other with the greatest detestation, and the origin of the one and maintenance of the other, deriving their positions from the

antagonism of the Commons and the Crown, furnished them with still further grounds of defiance. This conflict, little heeded at home, afforded their respective servants in India ample scope for acting on the most pernicious principles, and causing an alternating ascendancy by no means favorable to either. But still it had the effect of shaking off the lethargy of the old, and stimulating the new Company, to introduce many innovations and improvements upon the previous method of carrying out proceedings.

In addition to the usual regulations, the Commons, much to their credit, caused to be inserted in the Charter of the New Company, which subsequently by their amalgamation became the Charter of both, special provisions for an educational and religious establishment. "A minister and school-master were to be maintained in every garrison and superior factory, and a decent place appropriated exclusively for Divine Service. Moreover, it was ordered that every ship of five hundred tons burden and upwards, should carry a Chaplain. all Clergymen, whether sent for duty in ships or in factories, were to be approved either by the Archbishop of Canterbury or the Bishop of London, and care was to be taken that they were treated with respect. It was strictly enjoined also that all Chaplains who went to reside in India, should learn the Portuguese language within one year after their arrival, and should also apply themselves to learn the language of the country, to propagate, if possible, the Protestant religion amongst the Gentoos in the Company's employ."

This was progress in the right direction, and disposed the public to view favorably the exertions of the New Company, which now seemed to have overcome the most prominent opposition. But the Old Company, when their open exertions failed to advance their views, silently sought for channels to overthrow their competitors, and in this they at length deemed themselves successful, for in their rivals' Charter it was provided that "all subscribers to the new stock might trade separately and on their own account." Availing themselves of these privileges, the Old resolved to subscribe largely to the funds of the New Association, and then to trade separately, when the three years allowed them should have expired. This, however, they were unable to accomplish, and whatever latent hopes had been previously entertained in 1695, were effectually dissipated, public opinion being still so adverse to them. Nevertheless, like desperate gamblers, trusting that some latent piece of fortune might come to their succour, and enable them, if not to defeat, at all events to divide with their compe-



titors ; they admonished their servants to prolong their existence by opposition, rather than to concede with grace, and dictated their views in this extraordinary language : "Two East India Companies could no more exist without destroying each other, than two kings at the same time regnant in the same kingdom ; that now a civil battle was to be fought between the Old and New Company, and that two or three years must end this war, as the Old or New must give way ; that, being veterans, if their servants abroad would do their duty, they did not doubt of victory ; that if the world laughed at the pains the two Companies took to ruin each other, they could not help it, as they were on good ground and had a Charter." Similar feelings actuating both Companies, mutual opposition ensued, and after severe losses on both sides, a compromise was eventually effected, which rendered further contention useless and injudicious.

The operations of the New Company were pushed on with vigour, notwithstanding the foregoing opposition, and they despatched one Lucas to Surat as their agent, and in April 1699, forwarded to him intelligence that Parliament had sanctioned their exertions, and granted them a Charter of which they furnished him with copies. Lucas thus authorized, at once presented a copy of the Act to the President, and then in company with Bouchier and Dr. Leckie, waited upon the native Governor, who immediately enquired into the accuracy of their representations. The President and Council were obliged to admit the genuineness of the authority, but declared that they had received no information upon the subject. The Governor's first impression was, that the factors would take advantage of this embarrassed state of things to deny their liabilities. He therefore commanded their broker to find security that the President and Council should not leave the city, and had their shroffs maltreated to make them disclose the Company's accounts.

During this time Lucas was assiduously undermining the Old Company with the natives, by spreading reports that the King of England and the Parliament had withdrawn their opponent's Charter, in consequence of the disordered state of their affairs, the crimes and delinquencies of their factors, and the intemperate use which their President and Governors had made of the authority vested in them. These representations, no doubt, told with considerable effect, but there was another thing which gave greater weight to the operations of the New Company, *viz.*, that of securing the services of Waite, Pitt, Mather, Annesley and Bouchier, who had been servants of the Old

Company. They were men of great experience, if not of unsailable integrity, and now embarked zealously in the establishment of their new employers. To these secessions were added in 1699, those of Mewse and Brooke, much to the consternation of the President, Sir John Gayer, and this defection was speedily followed by the arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as President of the New Company, whom, in order that "he might be superior to Gayer, the King had not only knighted, but declared his Consul, thus placing him in a position which the President of the London Company could not occupy."

Waite reached Bombay on the 11th of January 1700. But as Gayer did not acknowledge his authority, he repaired forthwith to Surat. There also the old factors treated him with contempt and disrespect. Nothing daunted, Waite insisted at Swally that the Old Company should strike their flag as a mark of respect to His Majesty's representative, and that his own flag should be saluted as that of a Vice-Admiral. This respect not being accorded, he forthwith sent a body of men on shore to haul down the obnoxious standard, a task which they soon accomplished, but as the victors were returning with the captured flag, it was rescued by a large detachment from the factory, and reinstated in its former elevated position. This defeat discouraged or probably made Waite reflect upon his own uncertain position, for he desisted from farther open demonstrations, and availed himself of artifice and intrigue, representing to the Emperor, that his opponents were thieves and confederates of pirates, the latter of whom were abhorred for the many robberies and atrocities, which they had practised against the Emperor and his subjects; "that he was expecting four Men-of-War who would act under his authority, and endeavour to destroy all pirates; and as a climax, he caused the walls of the city to be placarded, warning persons from taking passes for the London Company's ships. These were speedily pulled down, but their effect was not obliterated, and by this strategy he inflicted a wound that was not readily healed."

The new factory was founded on a similar scale to the old, but Waite complained that his salary was not equal to that of the Old Company's General, who received five hundred pounds per annum, and had an allowance of five hundred more for the maintenance of his table. "The second in council received one hundred pounds per annum. The chief factors including Benjamin Mewse, Chief for China, Jeremiah Bonnell, Europe Warehouse-keeper, John Lock, Secretary, and two merchants, received sixty pounds per annum, the other five factors forty pounds each, fourteen writers twenty pounds

"each, Chaplain one hundred pounds, Surgeon thirty, and "a Genoese cook twenty. These and ten soldiers who received four pounds each, and a suit of clothes, and a trumpeter "were all the Europeans upon the establishment." Notwithstanding ample means and effective arrangements, there were yet considerable obstacles to overcome. The Native Government supported the Old Company, not from any regard, but simply because they knew their characters, and were ignorant of the others who might be dangerous persons. Waite, therefore, continued his system of undermining his opponents, in which he eventually succeeded, and they at length came to be viewed as interlopers and connected with the coasting pirates, a statement partially correct, and therefore easily reconciled by the natives. He also promulgated a report, that their Charter would terminate in 1702, and advised a close watch upon their proceedings, otherwise they would remove with their property and avoid payment of their debts. Sir John Gayer, at this period, leaving Bombay for the purpose of refuting Waite personally at Swally, gave unintentionally a favorable coloring to these calumnies, which led to calamitous results.

Conflicting interests such as these could not long exist, and as if by mutual consent, both parties looked forward to the arrival of Sir W. Norris, a Member of Parliament, who had been despatched as an Ambassador to the Emperor at the cost of the New or English Company, to obtain a firman of trade throughout the imperial dominions. His advent inspired the adherents of the New Company with great hopes; and their opponents, although anticipating favorable results, yet were apprehensive, and they were for some time undecided, whether to acknowledge his authority or treat him as an enemy.

In this dilemma they applied to Sir John Gayer for advice, who counselled submission and respect, while, personally, he refrained from exclusively supporting the New Company. This behaviour which implied a judicial supremacy over the Ambassador was both unwise and unwarrantable, and afforded ground at Fort St. George, and Masulipatam, for the old factors to offer insults, and render abortive the Ambassador's intention of proceeding by way of Golconda to his destination. Frustrated in this way of reaching the court, Norris accepted an invitation from Waite to visit Surat, and had no sooner arrived than troubles and disturbances arose in every direction, both parties being equally culpable. The Ambassador now notified to Gayer, that on the 28th of December 1700, he should publicly read his diplomatic commission, and requested him, as an English subject, to attend and hear it. Upon which Gayer refused to acknowledge either him or his authority, and

forthwith despatched an agent to court, to counteract the Ambassador's views.

Waite, incensed at this contumacy, made a formal complaint to the Native Governor, and demanded the imprisonment of all concerned in this insult to the Ambassador, but his request being unheeded, Sir W. Norris caused Wyche and Garrett, two Members of Council, to be arrested and delivered to the Governor, who detained them until they found security for their appearance when required. Nothing could have delighted the Mogul officers more than this quarrel, as it afforded them ample means for exacting bribes from both Companies, and native cupidity was not satisfied until it had pretty well fleeced them. but "as the New Company found the Old burdened with debts, they gained a victory in this contest of bribes, and induced the Governor to strike a blow, which, it was hoped, would be fatal to the old factory. This was no less than the seizure in February 1701, of Sir John and Lady Gayer, several factors, their wives, children, soldiers and servants—in all one hundred and nine persons, who were kept in confinement for upwards of three years."

The Ambassador who had left Surat to visit the Emperor on the 27th of the previous month, disclaimed all knowledge of, or participation in, this outrage, and when he demanded by whose authority it was perpetrated, Waite stepped boldly forward and declared himself responsible, stating, that he considered the interests of his employers fully justified him. Under these circumstances, Sir W. Norris was compelled to let things remain as they were for the present, for any endeavour to afford redress would implicate the New Company in the opinions of the natives, without any resulting benefit, and he therefore trusted that an early opportunity would afford itself for negotiating for their release.

• After a tedious journey, the Ambassador reached Panala on the 7th of April, and solicited an audience which was granted, and, to give due effect to his position, and render more secure the objects sought, a splendid procession was marshalled, and lavish presents made to the Emperor, who, in return, granted such firmans as were demanded, but subject to this condition, that security should be given for the protection of his subjects from both European and Native pirates. To this Norris reasonably objected, on the ground that it would be impossible for him to control the rovers on the Malabar Coast and Mogul dominions, but offered in lieu a lakh of Rupees, which offer was met by the following reply: "the English best knew the value, if it was their interest to trade, and if the

"Ambassador refused to give an obligation, he knew the same way back to England that he came." Farther attempts at negotiation were considered hopeless, and Norris demanded his passports. These were sent him on the 5th of November, and he commenced his return.

Three days afterwards he was overtaken by an officer, who declared his papers were incorrect, and that he must return. To this he refused, but agreed to halt for a couple of days, at the expiration of which he again set out, and on the 14th reached Birmapuri, the residence of his old enemy Gazedi Khan, whom he refused to visit. On the twenty-second day he resumed his journey, but had scarcely advanced four miles, when he was surrounded by troops, and his tents and baggage seized. Upon which he was forced to return to Birmapuri, when he protested against this outrage, but was simply informed that it was by order, and that he must wait. At length on the 5th of February, he was informed by the Khan, that the Emperor had sent a letter and sword for the King of England, and that a firman would shortly follow. On the 5th of April, Norris was allowed to depart, and reached Surat on the 12th, having been occupied six months and seven days in travelling four hundred miles, a distance which even in those days usually occupied only a month.

This embassy from which such great results were expected was, says our author, "ill conceived, worse planned, and still worse executed. Sir W. Norris, although deficient in the coolness, astuteness and decision, which were necessary to render diplomacy successful, yet, the failure of his embassy must not be laid altogether at his door. His position was one of extraordinary difficulty, the London Company left no stone unturned to disgrace him, the advice he received from the Presidents of the English Company in Bengal, Fort St. George and Surat, could only confuse and perplex him when he went to Masulipatam. Waite was jealous of Counsellor Pitt who was there, and found it was necessary for Norris to go to Surat, and Pitt on the other hand maintained he should not go to Surat, as it would be derogatory to an Ambassador to be flitting from port to port, instead of proceeding at once to court. Then when his expenses increased and he wanted money, Waite referred him to Pitt, and Pitt to Sir Edward Littleton in Bengal. He consulted these troublesome presidents, as to the sort of firman he should procure, and each made a different proposition. When he had broken off engagements with the Mogul, all complained of him, but each had a reason different from the others. Waite and his Council said, he had no right to do so without their consent. From Masulipatam

"they plainly wrote and told him that he had been a rash, imprudent and an absurd stickler for forms. At Hughly, they charged him with being dilatory. In fact, he had bitter enemies, false friends, and divided counsellors, it was therefore no marvel that he fell a victim to a combination of adverse circumstances, to which many a wiser and more resolute man than he was would have succumbed." Worn out and disgusted, he left Surat on the 18th of April 1702, and reached the Mauritius on the 11th of July, where the ship remained until the 7th of September, and after being a few days at sea, he was attacked with dysentery, which terminated fatally. Feeling that his end was approaching, "he dictated to Harlwyn the treasurer of the embassy, a vindication of his conduct, and pathetically expressed a hope, that notwithstanding his misfortunes, his memory would be respected, and concluded by commending all persons who had been engaged in the embassy to the Court's favor and protection." This done, he made use of the few remaining hours to prepare himself for "another and a better world."

Existing contention seemed rather to be aggravated than allayed by the departure of Norris, the evil results of which it is hardly possible to exaggerate. But fortunately in 1700, the English Company, foreseeing the mischief arising from continuous competition, made a proposition for uniting the two associations. Their adversaries, viewing this as a sign of weakness, contemptuously rejected the idea, but protracted suspense and continuous misfortunes at length induced them to view the scheme for amalgamation more favorably, and on the 27th of April 1702, a draft-agreement was adopted, although it took some time to reconcile previous animosities and conflicting interests. "The work of reconciliation was now undertaken in earnest, and from this time we may date the commencement of a career, which, after a necessary period of existence, led the East India Company to wealth and power." Upon entering into the required negotiations, much difficulty was found in settling the pecuniary affairs of the two Companies. For the London were burdened with a debt of one hundred and forty lakhs of Rupees, and other securities at their different factories, while their home debts were proportionate. In this dilemma, Lord Godolphin was referred to, and he effected an arrangement satisfactory to both.

In the appointment of officers subject to after arrangements, Sir John Gayer was nominated General and Governor of Bombay, Mr. Burniston, Deputy-Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President of Surat. Other servants were to be nominated

according to rank, and such as were dismissed had the option of returning to England. Matters being thus arranged, all seemed settled with the appearance of working amicably, but Waite's intemperance and intriguing spirit disturbed every good intention, nor was it until his services were "discontinued," to use a mild term for his dismissal, that the two Companies felt the beneficial results arising from the wisdom of their union. Lord Godolphin, who rigidly weighed and investigated the position of the two bodies, delivered his award on the 29th of September 1708. The award which first declared the title of the New Corporation as the United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, decreed that there were to be three Presidencies in India. That a new Governor with the title of General, and a Council, were to be appointed for Bombay, the Council being elected from the Civil Servants, but the number was to be left open for convenience, and to these joint authorities all matters were to be submitted. Aislaie was appointed General, Proby second in Council, Rendall third, Goodshaw fourth, Wyche fifth, Mildmay sixth, Boone seventh, and Oakley eighth. They were to delegate four of their number to act as President and Council of Surat, and to nominate as many factors and writers as they required.

We might here fairly terminate our review in the words of the author: "The union of the two Companies is an epoch which properly closes the early history of the British in India. From this time the United Company commenced a new and wonderful career, past struggles had left it in a state of exhaustion, its advance was at first feeble and tardy. But it never receded a step, never even halted. Movement imparted fresh health, and it acquired strength by progress, whilst yet an infant of days, it walked timidly, but with increasing size, assumed a bolder front, and at last, in a gigantic form, strode fearlessly across the whole continent of India." But there yet remains a short, but able summary, meriting attention, the particular characteristics of which are candour and conciseness, and as the author has well digested his subject, and is fully qualified to express an opinion, we cannot pass over this portion of his work.

With regard to the East India Company and the obscurity which envelopes its early proceedings, he remarks, "It is a singular fact, that as yet no written history has ventured to express an impartial opinion respecting their affairs. Bruce is the only author who has composed a connected narrative, but he wrote for the Company. Hence throughout his three quarto volumes, but one or at most two adverse criticisms are to be met with. The result proved antagonistical to the

"intention, facts oozed out which rendered the partial statements of foreigners more readily credited, while the enemies of the Company attacked them violently with misrepresentations, and supplied with imagination those facts which the Company unwisely withheld."

The early Court of Directors were certainly neither better nor much worse than the age in which they lived. Corruption was flagrant from the throne downwards, so that when we estimate their proceedings, we must compare them with the prevailing customs, and not select this body as meriting an inordinate share of public indignation. "The Company never laid claim to any of the higher order of virtues. They professed to be honest and enterprising, but their aims were limited by their own interests. But there are, it is true, periods in their early history, when their conduct was almost magnanimous. The Court of Directors lived and laboured for themselves, but they resisted so stoutly the open assaults of doughty adversaries, countermined the concealed approaches of secret foes, rallied their fainting troops, and from their own unfailing fires rekindled the extinguished energies of their servants. Such an indomitable spirit claims our admiration, for the vulgar instinct of self-preservation appears then in an imposing dress of heroic glory."

The contrast between past and present Government is thus pourtrayed, and deserves attention from all connected with, or interested in India. It cannot fail to make a strong impression upon our Indian brethren, in allusion to whom it is remarked: "It would be well if discontented natives could be brought to compare their position under British rule, with that of the English under Native. There is now at least security for life and property, the tax which the subject pays for the support of the Government is small, when we consider that really it is the rent of his land. He has the most absolute control over his own movements. He may travel North, South, East or West, and be safe from injury and insult. If his journey be on land, the tribes, such as Bhils and Kalis, which formerly would have plundered him, are now the police which protect him; if his course be over sea, he no longer fears, lest behind each headland, there should lurk some ferocious rover, and that to double it would be his death or ruin. His religion is tolerated and his person respected, the oppression of petty tyrants is restrained by equitable laws, and he meets with consideration and politeness from that dominant people, whom he still regards as outcasts and unfit to share his social enjoyments."



Compare this with the position of the English under Native authority. "There was no power to protect the merchant either "by land or sea; if he wished to convey his goods from Surat "to Agra, he could only hope to defend them from plunder by "mustering a strong party, and setting regular guards at each "camping place, as though he were in an enemy's country. "Still more dangerous were the paths of the ocean. There he had "to depend entirely upon his own resources, for it would have "been vain to seek protection from law. Nay, the proud "Emperor appealed to the despised strangers that his shipping "might be protected, and they were expected, not only to "defend themselves, but also the mariners and traders of a "vast empire, yet he and his subjects, helpless haughty barbarians, affected to despise the English, wronged them incessantly, imprisoned their chiefs, insulted their envoys, fleeced their merchants, and drove them to turn upon their oppressors in despair. Thus the evils of native rule compelled English merchants to protect their warehouses with battlements, and all the muniments of war.

"Short as this history is, it yet seems a labyrinth of human follies and errors. Religion, however, which is the only solid basis of all knowledge, enables us to trace through it all a mysterious clue of Divine Providence and protection. European vices and Native vices bear an overwhelming proportion on the record, and the catalogue is relieved by a few items of virtue. But as two negatives make an affirmative, so the vices of Europeans and Natives have produced a positive good. The thirst for riches, the unscrupulous efforts of ambition, the reckless violence which often struck Hindoos with terror—all these were the disgrace of the English, but they hurried them on to empire. The perfidy, the cunning which over-reached itself, the cowardice, the exclusive bigotry which disgraced the natives, smoothed the way to their subjection, and surely these results are being directed by the Universal Benefactor to good. We know of no other way in which India could have been regenerated. Had the English in India been a set of peaceful saintly emigrants, what impression would they have made on the country? Had the natives placed confidence in each other, and been united under a common faith, how could they have given way to the encroachments of a few foreigners?

"But although Providence has thus brought good out of evil, we have certain indications that for the future, they who sow vices will not reap a harvest of blessings. Moreover, all history teaches one certain truth, which is this, that between conquering and conquered people, there must be mutual for-

"bearance, frankness and liberality, or there is no hope of  
"permanence, much less of progress and improvement. Where  
"these are wanting, good policy, energy and courage cannot  
"long be of any avail. We may take a lesson from Sparta  
"in ancient, and Spain in modern times. The Spartans would  
"admit no conquered people to the rights of naturalization,  
"and the consequence was, that as their power spread, the  
"boughs soon became too heavy for the trunk, and it was  
"uprooted by a tempest. The Spaniards treated most illiberally  
"the natives of South America, and consequently their con-  
"quered territories were wrested from them. Widely different  
"was the manner in which the Romans discharged their duties  
"towards the people which they subdued. Whole families,  
"cities, even nations, were admitted to all the rights of Roman  
"citizenship ; \* so that, as has been said, 'it was not the Romans  
"that spread upon the world, but, it was the world that spread  
"upon the Romans.' Hence conquerors and conquered rose in  
"company to greatness. Amalgamation like theirs cannot indeed  
"take place between European and Oriental races. The example  
"of the Portuguese has satisfied us that it is not desirable. But  
"there can be no reason why there should not be mutual  
"esteem and regard. These, however, can never be built up  
"securely, unless they have for a foundation growing intelli-  
"gence, a more fervent and disinterested love of truth, a noble  
"morality, a juster appreciation of immutable principles than  
"formerly distinguished Natives or Europeans. When truth  
"is represented on both sides, with intellectual vigour as a  
"living principle, Natives will have a claim to receive, and  
"Europeans will have a disposition to give, both political and  
"social privileges. Then, indeed, we shall plant, and posterity  
"shall gather greatness and happiness for both the English  
"and the Native multitudes of Hindustan."

Our extracts will have enabled the general reader to form  
a fair opinion of the value of this literary accessory to Indian  
history, but there is another part which we have scarcely  
touched upon, and which reveals much of the under-working,  
and difficulty with which the Leviathan Company has had to  
contend. We allude to the anecdotal portion, which furnishes  
both personal and political information alike amusing and in-  
structive, and deserves attentive perusal, inasmuch as it explains  
many secret springs of action hitherto wanting in the early nar-  
ratives of the records of the East India Company.

\* i. e. Not only to the *jus commercii*, *jus connubii*, and *jus hereditatis*, but also to the *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*.



